The Leisure Time Activities of Moscow's Teenagers

Research into those age groups that are less engaged in the cultural life of Moscow.

Part I

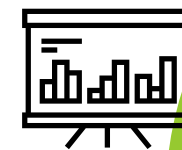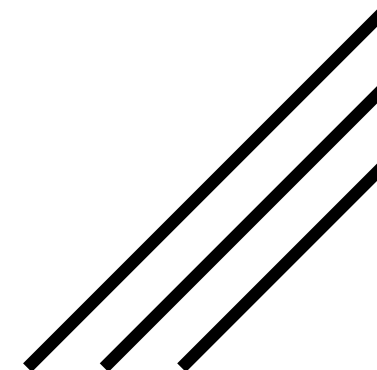Moscow. 2018

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Foreword

Moscow's cultural life is changing. Cultural institutions and parks are being upgraded around the city and the modernization of many public areas is well under way. City cultural events have grown to be much more varied and grander in scope. The variety of themes for city events has also improved. For the first time in many years the city is thinking about its vast infrastructure and beginning to renovate its libraries and culture centers. Finally, the citizens and the media have once again started to notice these changes.

Throughout this period of change, the Moscow Institute for Social and Cultural programs has been carrying out a study to research the cultural activities and attitudes of Moscovites. The 2012-2015 monitoring of Moscow's cultural life revealed a significant growth in attendance of flagship cultural institutions as well as at citywide cultural events. However, sociological research also showed that this growth was mostly among young, economically active citizens. It turned out that the younger teenagers, middle-aged people and senior citizens of Moscow weren't as involved in attending cultural institutions and city celebrations.

Having identified the people that are least involved in the cultural life of Moscow, we categorized them as 'hard to reach', a reference to their distance from the cultural life and politics of the city. This study is focused on these 'hard to reach' citizens.

The 'hard to reach' age groups turned out to include practically everyone. Our research has revealed that cultural institutions are only in high demand among young adults who have started University or begun to work and are actively growing their social network. The general pattern appears to be that as these young adults get older, the frequency of their attendance at cultural centers and events declines. There is then resurgence in their cultural activities when they have children of their own to take. However, as soon as the children become independent or enter adolescence, both the parents and the children disappear from museums and cultural centers.

The results of our research are split into three parts, each one dedicated to a specific age group of Moscow citizens:

- teenagers 13 to 18 years of age;
- middle aged people 35 to 54 years of age;
- senior citizens 55 years and older.

We have used various sociological methods in our research. At the stage of methodology development the authors analyzed the available history of research into each of the age groups in Russia as well as internationally. Then a survey of a thousand respondents out of the quoted representative sample was made for each age group. Quantitative data was expanded with data collected during interviews with experts, in-depth one to one and group interviews, and focus groups. *For more information on methodology please see Appendix 1 in each of the three parts.*

The research that MISCP undertakes is driven by the understanding that culture is one of the most important elements in the quality of life and development of human capital. Moscow already offers a large variety of leisure

activities for its citizens and a number of interesting choices for spending free time. However, the competition for citizens' free time is often won by shopping malls' food courts, aimless strolls around the city and the biggest competitor at the moment — staying at home on the sofa with the TV and Internet close at hand.

Creating a stable demand for cultural life is a question of habit formation. The earlier a person learns to navigate his way through the complicated web of cultural activities the city has to offer, mastering various forms of leisure and learning how to choose between them, the easier it will be to incorporate cultural activities into their life and take pleasure in them.

Most of the time, citizens' engagement in the cultural sphere is blocked by barriers such as the absence of time, money and sufficient information about the cultural projects. In addition, other problems in a big city are infrastructural: access to transportation and a subjective view of the safety of specific areas can greatly affect cultural involvement.

However, making a general assessment of the barriers that keep people from being more active isn't sufficient when it comes to improving the situation. It's important to understand the decision-making process that citizens go through when it comes to choosing how to spend their leisure time, and thereby find the threads that cultural institutions can pull at to interest people in visiting them.

While conducting this study we aimed to find out how Moscovites of different ages organize their free time, what they take into account when choosing an activity, which cultural sphere they prefer and what options and limitations are important in their decision.

We hope that our research will help cultural institutions and independent professionals in the cultural sphere to work more effectively with different age groups. This is why we focused on collecting data that can have a practical implementation in the development of cultural programs and communication between cultural institutions and event planners. The results of the research can be useful not just for the culture professionals, but also to everyone who works with teenagers and people over 35. Having said that, our hope is that it is the managers of cultural projects and programs who will find it most useful.

Obviously this text should not be considered as an exhaustive analysis. We ourselves have been left with a lot of questions, such as which specific YouTube channels can best promote libraries' activities? What do older Moscovites see as 'contemporary art'? When does "I don't have time" become code for "I don't know how to spend my time" and how can we help Moscovites distinguish the difference between these two states of mind.

But as long as Moscow has a thriving public cultural life, (which we hope is a very long time), we will be searching for answers to these and many more questions and hope that you will enjoy each new project.

We will be happy to discuss the results of our research and help others to use them practically. Get in touch at: info@miscp.ru.

Maria Privalova,
Research curator

Why Work With Teenagers?
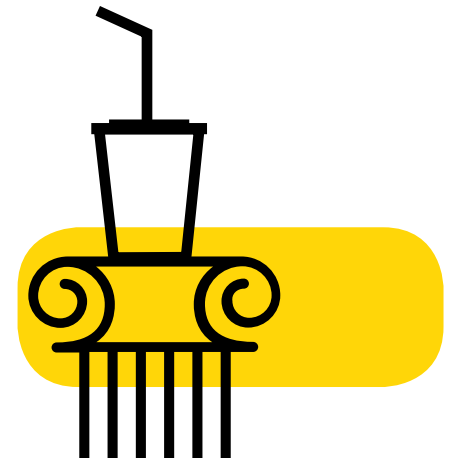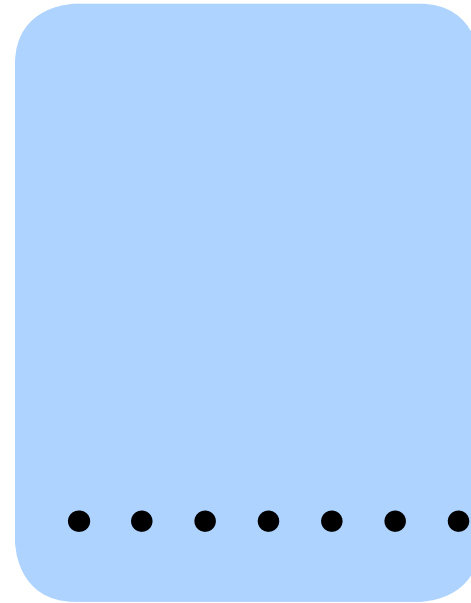
Sociological data shows that Moscow teenagers are an autonomous and closed group of citizens with a low level of cultural engagement. In 2014-2015 45 % of teenagers didn't attend any of the city's festivities and many of them aren't even aware of the most popular cultural symbols: for instance, at focus groups they admitted that they weren't even aware that the Tretyakov Gallery is made up of several buildings. This clearly demonstrates that modern cultural institutions really have their work cut out when it comes to increasing engagement among teenagers.

> Teenagers are constantly searching for 'themselves', re-evaluating various aspects of their lives, in an attempt to distance themselves from their families and find independence.

Why should cultural institutions be interested in attracting teenagers at all?

First of all — it's the age when their preferences for leisure activities and cultural recreation are formed, delineating what their habits will be as adults. Working with teenagers today means acquiring a large audience of adults in the future.

Teenagers are very sensitive to everything around them as this is the age, according to psychologist Katerina Murasheva, they "reevaluate their contract with the world"[1]. Various areas

of social relationships like friendship and love are re-discovered as if anew, which leads to a sometimes painful process of redefinition.

Unlike adults and children, teenagers are in a constant search for 'themselves', re-evaluating various aspects of their lives, in an attempt to distance themselves from their families and find independence. For this reason, many researchers claim that the search for a separate identity is the key defining characteristic that allows us to identify teenagers as a separate social group at all. In many cases, this identity is expressed in their leisure and consumer activities. The formation of a spectrum of habits at this time, often determines their future behavior as adults.

Secondly, teenagers have a lot of time on their hands and are also highly mobile.

These factors make teenagers a desirable audience especially for cultural institutions in remote areas. From our data, 37 % of teenagers have more than 4 hours of free time on weekdays and 78 % have a whole day or more of free time over the weekend. 67 % of them travel around the city easily, and do so enthusiastically from the age of 14 onwards. For example, during the focus groups we encountered a lot of stories of travelling to a remote cinema for the lower ticket prices or to meet a fun group of friends.

Thirdly, teenagers are capable of attracting more of their friends to cultural institutions.

This happens if a teenager is interested in the activity of a cultural institution himself. Teenagers are very sensitive to the opinions of their friends and take their peers' opinions into serious account when choosing a leisure time activity. During the study there were

cases where a whole group of friends would take part in a new activity like painting, on the recommendation of just one individual teen. The decision to do something in their free time is usually taken collaboratively (often in social media chats), with the most influential teens being those who can paint the most vivid imaginary picture of an activity. Therefore, by taking these factors into account and undertaking the correct work with teenagers, cultural institutions can significantly improve their attendance levels among this age group.

And finally, contrary to popular belief, teenagers are prepared to pay for interesting cultural events.

A large number (58 %) of respondents pointed out that they are ready to spend their allowances on entertainment, even though the amount they have available isn't big: depending on the family's income it's between 500-1000 rubles a week. Another popular expenditure is food (69 %), a service which is included in some cultural institutions.

The attraction of teenagers into cultural institutions creates the potential for a significant increase in the overall number of visitors in the future. Their mobility, and the high probability that they will attend with a group of friends, as well as their ability to pay for interesting events makes them an extremely attractive audience for cultural institutions, especially the remote ones.

1. Murashova K. The terrifying meeting of a teenager and himself. // Eastern Christianity and Universe. — 16.10.2015

Portrait of the Teenage Audience: a Sociological Perspective

Teenagers are often studied through the prism of psychological analysis. This allows for an individual look at each teenager, their family, environment and outlook on life. A good example is offered by Pixar's film "Inside Out" which gives an interesting take on the interaction of emotion-heroes that are in conflict in the head of a girl on the verge of teen-age.

The sociological perspective on teenagers on the other hand implies firstly a broader area of study and a less detailed portrait, and secondly more focus on the external behavior of teenagers in the context of their social structures — schools, families and city, than on their internal psychological reactions.

Adult stereotypes about teenagers often discriminate against them. In order to work effectively with teenagers, it's necessary to research them from an objective standpoint on their activities, rather than stereotypical beliefs in 'youth problems'.

Any given conversation about teenagers in sociology inevitably implies an answer to the question (often latent): what place do teenagers have in society[1]? For a long time one of the most influential answers to this question when it came to forming Russian government policy in this area came from the theory of the social development of young people authored by V.I. Chuprov PhD. According to this theory "the distinctive social quality of young people is linked to the specific role they take in the process of reproduction of the social structure and is defined by the ability of the young generation to inherit and reproduce the structure of social relations at the moment of its formation"[2].

Young people are viewed on the basis of how well they are able to adopt, change and broadcast the social experience of previous generations. This view was further developed in numerous studies of risk behavior in young people. Young people in this case are presented as a group that is more prone to the risks of the modern world due to the transitional state of the young people themselves, as well as that of society as a whole. Both of which are further complicated by the ongoing transformation in the channels and methods by which intergenerational experience is transferred*.

However, in a constantly changing modern world, it's difficult to insist on the correctness of the traditional model for transferring cultural codes from the elder generation to the younger. Back in the 1970s Margaret Mead[3] drew attention to the fact that the present is characterized by significant change to the traditional topdown pattern. It's now much more of a dialogue between generations wherein the elder generation also adopt some of the practices of the younger.

Our position on this question is close to that of researcher Elena Omelchenko, who insists on the "normalization" of conversations about young people, which requires the "introduction of ideologically and morally neutral terms for describing the youth question. Neutrality in this context means liberation from the adult-authoritarian stereotypes that discriminate against young people's subjectivity, rejection of modal phrases such as 'a generation's duty and responsibility' for the future of the nation, and finally a rejection of the tendency to universalize the abstract

* For example, in 2015 Monitoring Research Laboratory at Moscow State University of Psychology and Education conducted a study of teenage activities from the point of view of risk.

category of 'young people' in a manner that excludes young individuals from other important social-cultural groupings with which they have more in common than their age group peers"[4]. This approach implies a change in emphasis to the study of young people's cultural activities rather than attempts to solve 'young people's problems'.

1. Ideas taken from an article by V.A. Lukov: Conceptualization of Youth in the 21st Century: New Approaches and Ideas. // Economy. Sociology. Management. — 18.05.2012.

2. Chuprov V.I. Development of Youth: Conceptualization of the Term // Russian Youth: Social Development. Ed. by V.I. Chuprov. M. : Science, 1992.

3. Mead M. Culture and Continuity. Research into inter-generational conflict // Cited in Levikova S.V. Youth Subculture. M., 2004.

4. Strangers Allowed: Narratives, Journals and Artefacts… Authentic Evidence For and Against "Normalization" / Ed. by E.L. Omelchenko. Iulianovsk: Pub. by Iulianovsk State University, 2005.

Key ideas

1. Attracting teenagers increases the potential for growing an audience for cultural institutions — the teen years are formative years when leisure habits are created, which then greatly influence the rest of a person's life.

2. Teenagers are usually studied through a prism of psychological analysis which implies an individual look at each teenager, his family, environment and outlook on life.

3. We feel that sociological analysis is more effective for researching teens as a category of citizens. At the same time young people can't be seen as the most at-risk social group, as the present implies a dialogue between generations where the elder generation not only pass on various useful practices to the younger ones, but also adopt some of theirs in return.

4. A sociological perspective on teenagers offers a look at their actual practices rather than a teen's internal reactions in the context of larger social structures — school, family, city. This is research into teenagers' cultural behaviors not 'teenage problems'.

Teenagers' Leisure Time: Main Trends and Patterns
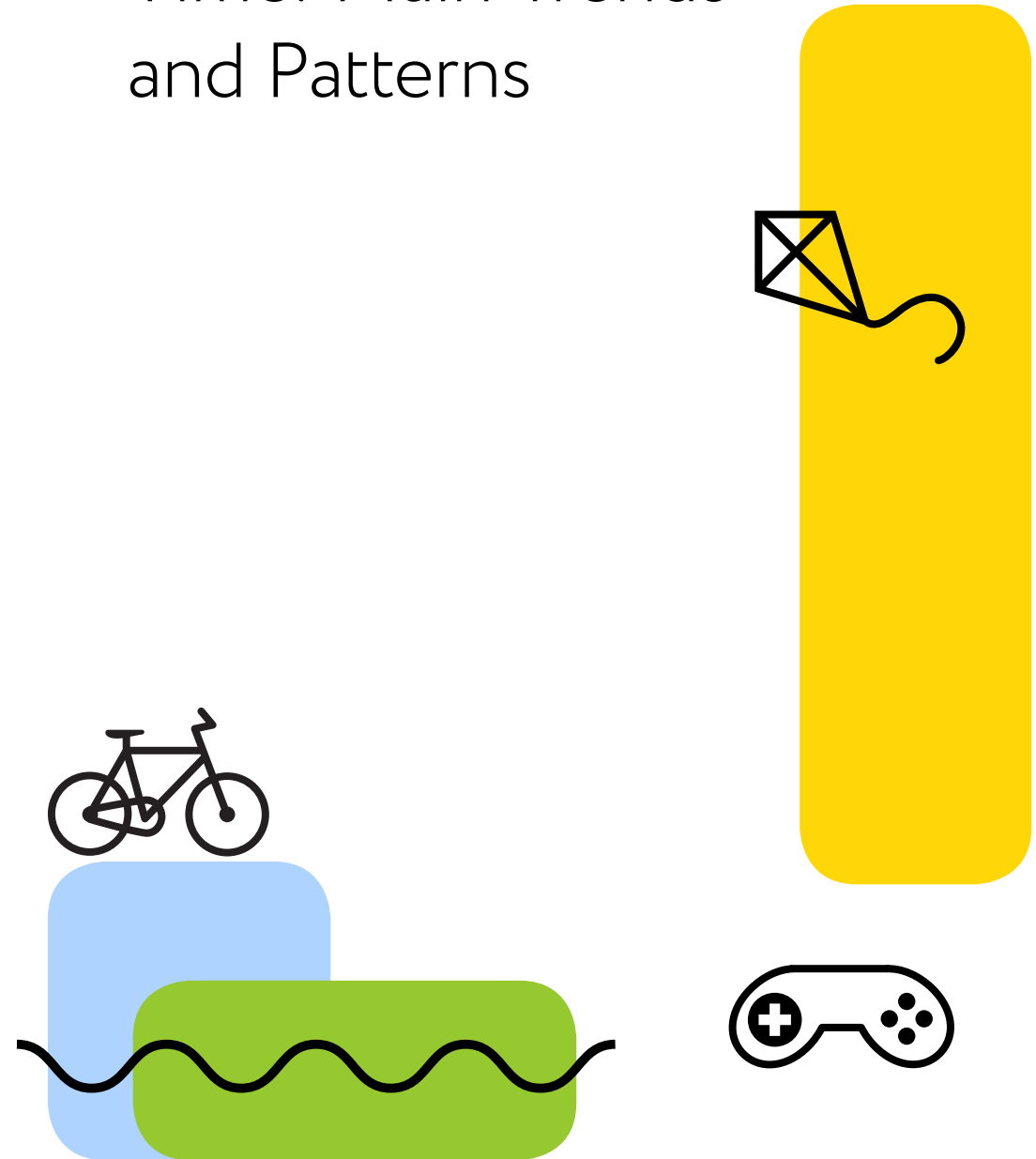
Where do Moscow teens spend their time?

Which obstacles must cultural institutions overcome to attract more teenagers?

Where do teenagers find information on cultural events and how do they exchange it with each other?

This research illustrates the various ways teenagers spend their leisure time. And although we have noted a degree of homogeneity among teens in different regions of the city, and in different kind of schools, this shouldn't be taken as a sign that there are no differences between individual teenagers. Differences in their behavior and leisure practices definitely exist, but they can only be clearly understood through a more complicated and detailed analysis of their interests, values and attitudes.

At the moment the preferred type of teenage leisure activity is generally oriented at communication but not structured around a defined goal (excluding trips to the cinema). In teenage groups it's always necessary to redefine and secure your place and status, so the opportunity to meet new people is extremely important for the teenager. This greatly influences their choice of leisure time activity. The teen drive for communication with new people is seen especially
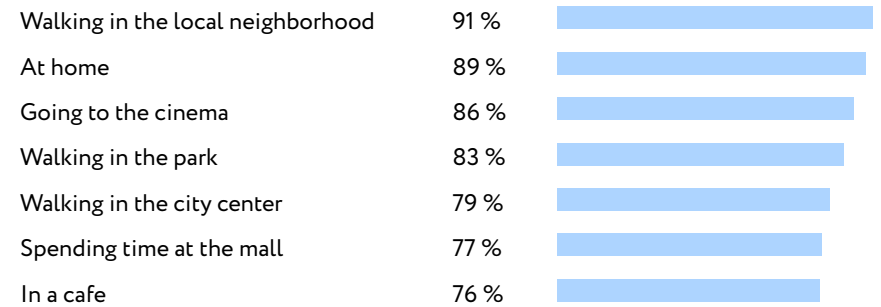
vividly in discussions about summer camps, but this tendency is also common in the formation of friendship circles:

> *"I hate going to camp with my girl friends, because all you do there is hang out with them and not meet anyone new. Just sit there with them. I hate it so much that I would probably just run away (from my friends – editor's note)."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 14 years.*

Diagram 1

The most popular leisure activities among Moscow teens

Activity	%
Walking in the local neighborhood	91 %
At home	89 %
Going to the cinema	86 %
Walking in the park	83 %
Walking in the city center	79 %
Spending time at the mall	77 %
In a cafe	76 %

Interestingly enough, unlike other age groups, teenagers are very active outside of their home. Even though being at home is second place in popularity, walking in the park and going to the cinema are right behind it — and the most popular activity of all is walking in the local neighborhood.

On the other hand, leisure activities offered by the city and aimed specifically at teenagers, turned out to be significantly less popular. Anticafe, flashmobs and festivals had the weakest showings amongst the preferred type of leisure activities: less than 30 % each.

As with their online communication through social media, when choosing a leisure activity outside their home teenager's main motive is socializing.

In fact, during surveys and focus groups some of the terms relating to the apparently teen-friendly activities, actually needed to be explained to our sample teenagers:

Moderator: "Anticafes. Have you ever been in one of those?"

Respondent 1: "What's an anticafe?"

Moderator: "It's when you pay money for the time spent in a café rather then for the food you have eaten. And they have free tea, coffee, cookies."

Respondent 1: "We don't have that."

Respondent 2: "Remember we saw that sign that said 'anticafe'?"

Moderator: "It has all sorts of stuff, board games, computer games…"

Respondent 4: "And where are they located?"

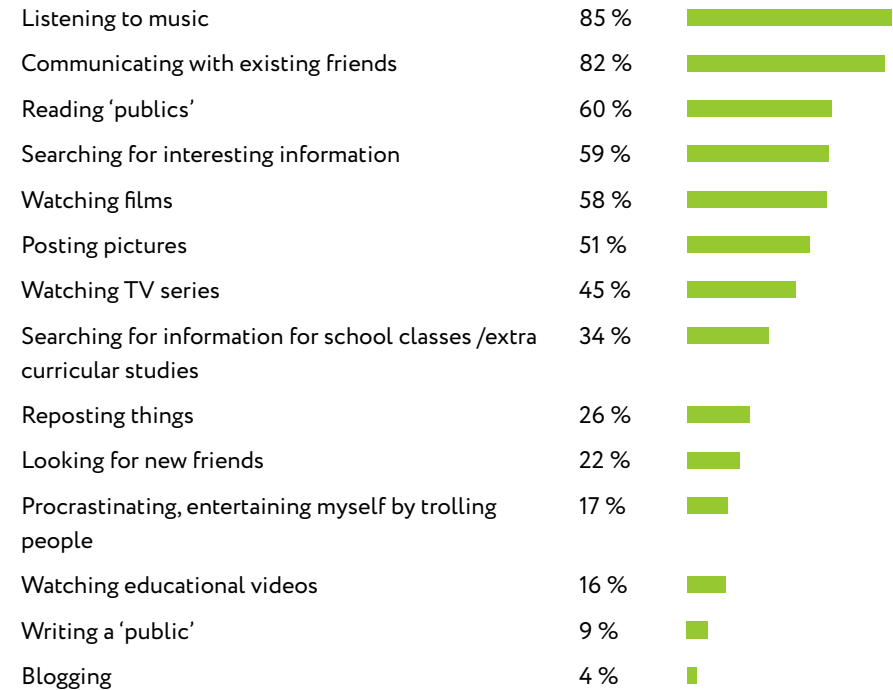*Moderator: "All over Moscow."*

Respondent 1: "Let's go to one."

Teenage focus groups, young women, 16-18 years.

It's important to note that the desire to communicate with people guides teens not only when choosing an activity outside of their house, but also when using the internet. 77 % of teenagers said that while at home they prefer to be on social media. Social media is mostly used to communicate with friends (82 % of teenagers are users).

Diagram 2

What do teenagers use social media for (multiple answers possible)

Listening to music	85 %
Communicating with existing friends	82 %
Reading 'publics'	60 %
Searching for interesting information	59 %
Watching films	58 %
Posting pictures	51 %
Watching TV series	45 %
Searching for information for school classes /extra curricular studies	34 %
Reposting things	26 %
Looking for new friends	22 %
Procrastinating, entertaining myself by trolling people	17 %
Watching educational videos	16 %
Writing a 'public'	9 %
Blogging	4 %

In addition to communication, teenagers also find social media important for entertainment and informational reasons. In answer to the question about the reasons for going online, the leading answers didn't have anything to do with school/education. Only a third of teens look for information for school studies and extracurricular activities, while the number of those who watch educational videos is even smaller.

> Teenagers place a lot of importance on the opportunity to independently set rules for themselves.

More and more discussions about social networks that take place today have shifted from their negative influence to their various more positive effects: for example how they can be used in education[1]. Jun Ahn demonstrates the connection between social network use and the gathering of social capital, strengthening social connections, which is extremely important for school kids: the researcher showed that online communication has a positive effect on offline contacts[2]. Adopting practices from the online media, including video games (which 51% of respondents play) can be a successful strategy for organizing additional activities in cultural institutions. One example is a project by the "Questgame" company. Speaking to a teen in the language he understands can simplify the finding of common ground.

Orientation to online activities can be even more productive, as teenagers place a high value on the ability to independently set their own rules:

> *Respondent 4: "We also make our own flashmobs. You know, we walk down the street and then suddenly begin to hop on one leg. And that's it. We're having fun, even if it's just the five of us that are doing it."*
>
> *Moderator: "Right, you can hop, you can hug, you can bite…"*
>
> *Respondent 2: "Yeah, when my brother and I are outside and walking down the street, we start to hug lamp posts. And then after a while other people begin to do it too."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young women, 13–15 years.*

Key Ideas

1. The opportunity to meet and communicate with new people is key when teenagers are choosing what to do with their leisure time.

2. Types of city leisure activities that were specially created for teenagers have turned out to be unpopular with them. Anticafe, flashmobs and festivals achieved the lowest scores on teenage preferences, mostly because they weren't aware of these leisure formats.

3. 77 % of teenagers prefer to be on social networks when at home. Social media is an important tool for communication and exchange of information.

4. Adopting online activities, including video games, can be a successful strategy for creating extracurricular activities in cultural institutions.

1. Korolova D.O. Use of Social Media for Educational Purposes and Socializing Teenagers: Analytical Review of Empirical Research (International Experience) // Psychology and Education. 2015. Vol 20. No 1 p 28 — 37.

2. The Role of Virtual Social Networks in the Life of a Modern Youth. Report based on scientific research / Arzhanich E.V., Sadorin I.V., Kolesnikova E.F.,Gurkina O.A., Novikova E.M., Maltseva D.V., Moscow, 2014.

Resources and Obstacles to Participation in Cultural Life
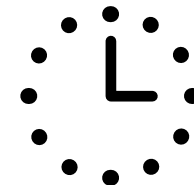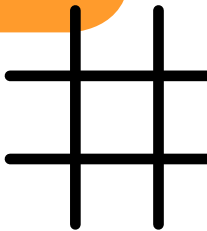
The teenage years are characterized by a shift to a new level of autonomy from parents and family. This shift happens in a number of areas simultaneously: teenagers get the right to travel more freely; they usually have more financial resources than younger children and more control over these resources, and they also begin to have much more control over their own free time.

> A low level of responsibility allows teenagers to have a carefree attitude to their free time and money as they don't see a correlation between the two.
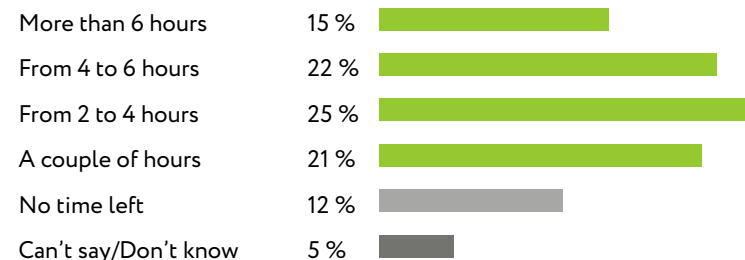
Having been given the opportunity to independently control their basic resources, teenagers begin to participate in the cultural life of the city. We have analyzed how teenagers use their resources and why these choices sometimes become obstacles to a more active participation in the city's cultural life.

Time resources

In general teenagers have a lot of free time: 78 % of respondents have at least one whole day free at the weekend. The majority of the surveyed teenagers (91 %) don't have school on Saturday and only 22 % of them are busy for both days of the weekend. During weekdays, the number of teenagers that have a lot of free time and those who don't are approximately the same.

Diagram 3

The amount of time that teenagers have left over after school, extracurricular clubs and homework during the weekdays (one answer only)

More than 6 hours	15 %	
From 4 to 6 hours	22 %	
From 2 to 4 hours	25 %	
A couple of hours	21 %	
No time left	12 %	
Can't say/Don't know	5 %	

Their lower level of financial and other responsibilities compared to adults allows teenagers to have a carefree attitude to money and time, as they are free from the direct link between how time is spent, and how much money is earned. This then can lead to some rather erratic decisions from the point of view of adult time management, such as leaving the house and travelling long distances without a specific purpose:

> *"To be honest, I don't know… that day we didn't have any specific plans, didn't know what to do and where to go. And so we got on the metro and just rode it for a bit. We decided to get out on Chehovskaya, and just walk around. Then we saw a café and decided to go in."*
>
> *Teenage focus group, young woman, 14 years.*

So contrary to the popular myth that teenagers are constantly busy with school work and tutors, they actually have a large amount of free time on their hands, which at the moment isn't being used to attract them to the cultural life of the city, particularly into its cultural institutions.
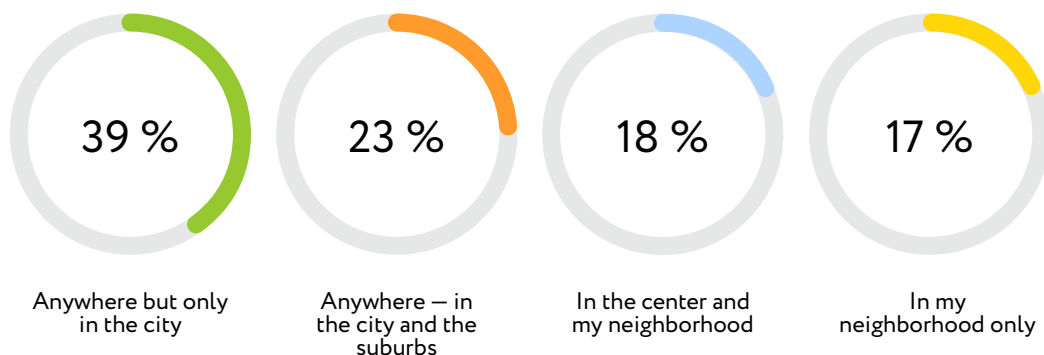
Mobility

The most common age when people begin to travel independently around the city is 12-14 years. By 14, 67 % of teenagers use the metro by themselves. At the same time approximately half of them are allowed to travel by themselves and freely around the city by whatever means they choose. In theory then, teenagers are highly mobile individuals — although that doesn't mean that they all eagerly take advantage of it in practice.

25 % of teenagers go to the center very rarely (11 % — almost never, 14 % — less than once a month); 30 % go several times a month. A third of teenagers go to the city center regularly (a minimum of once a week). This figure excludes teens who live or go to school in the central administrative area.

Diagram 4

Where are Moscow teenagers allowed to hang out by themselves (one answer)

39 %	23 %	18 %	17 %
Anywhere but only in the city	Anywhere — in the city and the suburbs	In the center and my neighborhood	In my neighborhood only

Interviews and focus groups with teenagers showed that most of them have a so-called map of 'their own' Moscow — an established series of familiar routes, similar to that of older

citizens[1]. The difference between the adult audience and teenagers is that cultural and leisure institutions get on the map only when they are connected with extracurricular activities. This means that 'their own' routes are the ones that take them to school, and to the houses of friends and relatives:

> *"Home, Rijskaya metro where my art school is, then Medvedkovo metro where my grandma lives, Gorky Park where I see my uncle sometimes. And that's it. Also, if I attend an exhibition or something, but nowhere other than that."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 14 years.*

However, even if they do make it on to the 'routine maps' of some teenagers, cultural institutions don't generally play the role of a 'gateway' into city life. As we see from focus groups, 13 to 18 year olds don't get information from cultural institutions about the cultural life of the city, even when it comes to the most high-profile cultural offerings.

Leisure amenities that often appear on the map are cinemas and shopping malls:

> *"This is my house. This is my school that I go to, back and forth. This is Katia's house where we hang out sometimes. This is my boyfriend's house. This is a park that I walk my dog in. Here is where I go to art school every Thursday. This is Kuznentzkiy Most — where my Architecture courses for Uni are. This is the GUM mall, I sometimes go there. "Oblaka" shopping mall — I also go there sometimes. This is where we eat, McDonalds and such. We go to the "Gallery" [shopping mall]. And I visit my aunt every Tuesday."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 15 years.*

Teenagers aren't well aware of the city, even its central area. On most occasions they don't connect physical places and their names to one place:

Respondent 1: [Describing the map of "his own" Moscow] "This is where we go in the center and walk around. Gorky Park is there and the embankment, I forgot the name (…) If I tell you what's on it, you'll know. There's a fountain there but not like a big one with like a bowl of water, it's mounted right into the ground and you can run through it."

Moderator: "That's in Muzeon."

Respondent 2: "Ah, right. And also they had like a table and a crescent moon and installations of some sort too."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 13-15 years.

In addition, thanks to the transport provision in Moscow, teenagers can travel around town without being unduly concerned about distance. If they are interested in getting to an event, they are highly likely to do so, even if it's at a remote distance from all of their familiar routes. For instance, at focus groups many teenagers have mentioned Gorky Park as a place where they go to spend their free time, regardless of where they live.
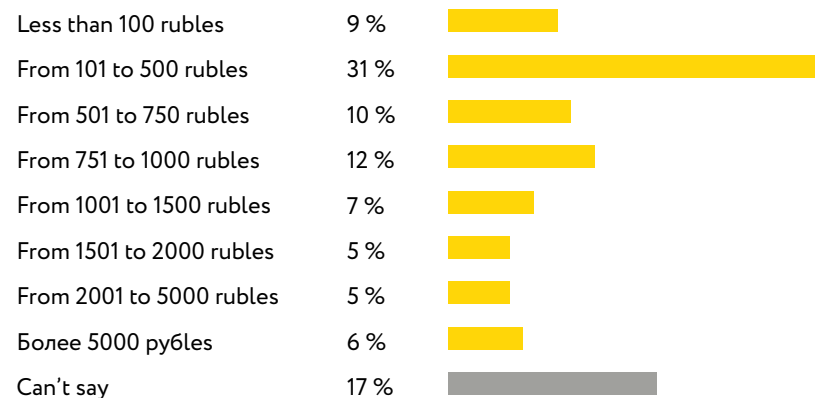
Financial Obstacles

Money greatly limits teenagers' options for leisure activities. The source of income for most of them is pocket money they receive from their parents. At the same time, only a third of teens get their pocket money regularly (every week or month); more than half ask for money when they need it and 4 % don't get any at all.

Only a fifth of teens have more than 1000 rubles a week. The most pervasive answer regarding their weekly budget was 100-500 rubles.

Diagram 5

Weekly budget of Moscow teens (one answer)

Less than 100 rubles	9 %
From 101 to 500 rubles	31 %
From 501 to 750 rubles	10 %
From 751 to 1000 rubles	12 %
From 1001 to 1500 rubles	7 %
From 1501 to 2000 rubles	5 %
From 2001 to 5000 rubles	5 %
Более 5000 рублes	6 %
Can't say	17 %

The results of the survey as well as interviews and focus groups revealed that the cost of an activity is an important factor when choosing one. A low cost can become the motivation: for instance a trip to the cinema during working hours mid week when the ticket costs 100 rubles (the "Luxor" cinema was mentioned particularly often as the one that has discounts midweek):

"I try to go to places that are free or give student discounts and free entrance. But if it's the movies I want to go to, I have to ask my parents for money. They are sometimes not happy, but on the whole there aren't any problems, because there are lots of places that are free."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 16 years.

"I spend a lot of time there [in the Ostankino district] but if we are going to the cinema then we go to the Altufevskiy shopping mall, mainly when the tickets are 100 rubles."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 15 years.

As far as the top limit of price, 1000 rubles was named as the 'ceiling' amongst teens with a higher pocket money income, as well as amongst teens with a lower income. However, the general consensus is that it has to be a very special event to justify that price. 500 rubles is generally seen as the preferred cost of an activity in terms of value for money. On the whole, Moscow teens don't see the city's cultural life as cheap.

Having an additional income source is seen as a problem. Most of the teens in grades 8 — 11 don't have part time or summer jobs. The main problem for those who want to find some part time work is the absence of opportunities for this age group. Teenagers often talk about the difficulty of finding even work that, from the point of view of an adult, has a low entry threshold in terms of skills:

> *"Even the flyers. I got in and distributed them and got my pay. But even that was problematic — just finding that job and getting it in the first place."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 16 years.*

Cultural institutions can help in solving this problem by giving teenagers a chance to be tour guides (for their peers, for instance), or coat check workers or watchers. In this way teenagers will be participating in the life of cultural institutions and solving their financial difficulties at the same time*.

* While planning vacancies for teens, it's necessary to take into account the different categories of teens — see chapter "The Teenage Audience: the Different Groups Features"

Diagram 6

The profile of part time job among Moscow teenagers (one answer)

7 %	21 %	72 %
Yes, have a regular part time job	Yes, have a part time job at half term and summer holidays	No, never had a part time job

Apart from actual employment, teenagers are also interested in comfortable working conditions — for instance work indoors rather then outside in the cold:

> *"The actual giving out of the flyers is annoying — they pay barely anything for a pretty messy job. I mean it would have been better if they paid for what you're doing, but it's a lousy 500 rubles for 3 hours in the freezing cold… that's not cool, as far as I'm concerned."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young man, 17 years.*

According to the Monitoring Research section of the Center of Applied Psychological and Educational Research at Moscow State University of Psychology and Education, there is a correlation between permanent part time work for teens (2-3 hours a week) and volunteering[2]. This might mean that working teenagers aren't just looking for additional income but also for new social experiences and an interesting way to spend their time. A combination of reasonable pay and an interesting activity will allow for a more active interaction with teen groups. So one of the strategies of attracting teenagers into the cultural life could

be the creation of work opportunities for this group in cultural institutions.

The information obstacle

One of the main obstacles for attracting teens into the cultural life of the city is the absence of a communication channel between them and most of the cultural institutions. To solve this problem, it's recommended that cultural institutions target the most popular teenage internet platforms. Let's look at the data that must be taken into account for an effective use of information channels.

The main gadgets that teens use to get information are smartphone (83 %) and tablets (44 %).

Among internet platforms — the following social media are particularly popular: "VKontakte" — 94 %, YouTube — 59 %, Skype — 52 %, Instagram — 51 %. Taking that into account, it's important that cultural institutions use mobile versions of their websites as well as Youtube videos, which are extremely popular with teens as a marketing tool*.

> *Respondent 7: "We look for what's new online. Sometimes I consult my sister or a friend. If there's something new in the cinema, then we go watch it. But if there's nothing fun — why bother going. We watch comedies with my sister. And I have common interests with my friend. We watch vloggers who give advice on good movies. So there's a lot of advice around."*
>
> *Moderator: "Do your friends choose differently?"*
>
> *Respondent 4: "In the same way, basically."*
>
> *Moderator: "What video blogs are out there?"*
>
> *Respondent 7: "Yulia Pushman, Kate Clapp, Maria Vaider are popular. I watch these. Sometimes they don't live in Moscow."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 14 years.*

A popular group "Youtuber" in the "VKontakte" social network has 900K followers and videos of popular vloggers get millions of views.

> The main communication channel for teenagers is social media. To attract teens, cultural institutions need to use the 'viral' potential of social networks.

As things stand, the main sources of information for teens about cultural events are their peers, parents and school. 54 % of respondents said they get their information from friends. And the main channel of communication (82 % of those surveyed) is social media. Group chats are the main place that teenagers find out about city events and make the decision to participate in cultural life. We were given numerous descriptions of the process by which this happens throughout the focus groups:

> *"Yeah, I've had that. I have a lot of friends and we chat on social media. And then say we're thinking of going to Gorky Park. Then someone says 'oh, I don't want to, let's go to a festival or museum or something'. So everybody suggests their own thing and then in the end we all decide to just hang out in a park somewhere."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 16 years.*

Communication with the participants in after school clubs can be an effective tool for keeping teenagers engaged in cultural activities and attracting more of their peers. For instance, the "Perspectiva" Center for Creative Initiatives, which ran hobby clubs until its closure in 2016, had a degree of success in maintaining a loyal team by encouraging their managers and employees to chat to their attendees online, discussing various questions about the club. This strengthened the teens' loyalty as social networks affirm the feeling of being part of a group and create a mutual communicative space (memes, jokes, etc). Furthermore, a group chat can be used to inform teens of the various themed activities around the city.

Teenagers can not only get information about cultural events directly from talking to friends on social media or specialist pages, but also via a 'viral' approach when their friends post pictures from an event or talk about it online. As is the case with adults, "word of mouth" often attracts more people than commercial advertising:

> *"There was an event just recently — "Circle of light". People on "VKontakte" and Instagram post pictures about it and you want to go."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 15 years.*

To attract teenagers' attention, culture institutions need to use the 'viral' potential of social media, creating new opportunities for taking pictures — for instance by having cut-out character stands for photographing on the premises or by creating bright and unusual spaces (during Yayoi Kusama's exhibition "Garage" in the Museum of Contemporary Art, Instagram almost crashed with the volume of photos posted), and also by promoting your own hashtag (for instance #vsevpark — #everybodytothepark — as was initiated by Mosgorpark, a local park supervision authority — translator's note).
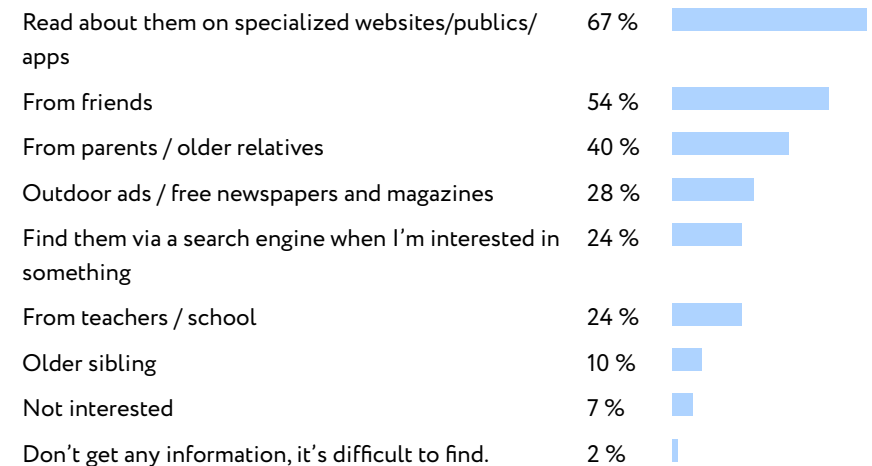
Outside of social media, teenagers get their information from parents and other older relatives. This was reported by 40 % of respondents. It's important to note the key role parents play when it comes to helping teenagers accustom themselves to cultural events. 46 % of teenagers that visit museums and exhibitions with their friends are taken there also by their parents. Regular attendance at theaters and museums with parents implies that teens are also likely to be attracted to other cultural activities such as city festivities and walks in parks. That's the leisure activity most preferred by teenagers that are education-orientated, who prefer to read books and enjoy school.

The absence of access to information is the most critical obstacle in the way of engaging teenagers in cultural life.

Supplying information via school is a fairly ineffective tool. As experts[2] have pointed out, it only works with informal recommendations. Official school announcements would most likely not interest the teenage audience (a fact which is indirectly reflected in the lack of a correlation between the number of times teens visit cultural institutions with friends, and with their schools). Only 24 % of teenagers find out about city events from teachers, while 28 % of teenagers learn about them from outdoor advertisements.

Diagram 7

Where do you usually find information about city events and cultural events (multiple answers possible)

Read about them on specialized websites/publics/apps	67 %
From friends	54 %
From parents / older relatives	40 %
Outdoor ads / free newspapers and magazines	28 %
Find them via a search engine when I'm interested in something	24 %
From teachers / school	24 %
Older sibling	10 %
Not interested	7 %
Don't get any information, it's difficult to find.	2 %

Finding information independently is a problem for teenagers, they aren't geared up to find it themselves, because they aren't always aware of where to look in the vast

cultural spaces, and as we have mentioned before, there's no existing link between them and cultural institutions. For instance, 'publics' on 'cultural life' are only actively searched for by 15 % of school kids. At the same time 67 % answered that they find this information accidentally on 'publics', specialized websites etc. The relationship between the number of teens who regularly read 'publics' on city life and the popularity of the answer about finding information particularly on 'publics' is evidence that the majority of the Moscow teenage population isn't notified of events in the city.

The ways of receiving information described by respondents at in-depth interviews and at focus groups show the lack of a systematic way of gathering information and the presence of archaic ways of getting that information:

> *Respondent 2: "We like to go to the cinema with my friends."*
>
> *Moderator: "How do you plan your trip?"*
>
> *Respondent 2: "When we go to the cinema, they show trailers of films before the movie starts. We remember what we like and then I go to the cinema that's next to my house and see what's on. If there's nothing interesting I call my friend and she checks the ones that are close to her house. If there's something that we like — great. That's a whole day planned."*
>
> *Teenage focus groups, young woman, 14 years.*

The absence of access to information is the most critical obstacle in the way of engaging teenagers in cultural life. While from the viewpoint of management that problem is solvable: it's necessary to set up and adapt channels for the provision of information to the teenage audience, which is something that's generally either not done at all or only done on a very small scale. Today a large proportion of teens don't receive any information about city events, with

schools and cultural institutions not providing a broad view of Moscow's whole cultural life. In that respect teenagers are ill-informed about the city's cultural life, including its free-of-charge possibilities, as they simply don't know where to get this information from.

1. Trubina E.G. A City in Theory: Ways of Understanding Space. Moscow: New Literary Review. 2011.

2. Round Table, titled: Organization of Moscow teenagers' free time to ensure safety and promote wellbeing. October 27th, 2015, Moscow State University of Psychology and Education.

Key Ideas

1. Sociological data shows that cultural institutions are often ineffective in working with the teenage audience, failing to take into account the main resources that this group has.

2. Teenagers have a large amount of free time, which is currently not being exploited successfully by cultural institutions to get teenagers involved.

3. Teenagers are a highly mobile group which makes them a very attractive audience for cultural institutions — especially those in more remote areas.

4   Teenagers are ready 'to pay' for their interests in the time they spend on getting there. Knowing this, cultural institutions in more remote areas can be confident in their attempts to attract more teens to their location by organizing interesting events and activities for this age group.

5   Cost is an important factor. 500 rubles is the generally accepted maximum that teenagers will pay for an event. 1000 rubles is considered too high and teenagers aren't ready to pay that amount.

6   Teens want to have the opportunity to work. However, the city has very few opportunities that are adapted to their needs. Cultural institutions can organize vacancies, thereby allowing teens to engage in the city's cultural life as well as helping to solve their financial problems.

7   A lack of information is the main obstacle to including more teenagers in the cultural life of the city, especially as this lack often stops them from finding out about free-of-charge activities in cultural institutions.

8   Cultural institutions aren't using the main channel of communication with teenagers — social media — to its full potential. Our research shows that the majority of the teen audience for cultural provision are in the dark when it comes to knowing what's on.

9   By giving social media more attention, cultural institutions can significantly expand their audience, for instance by engaging bloggers who are popular with teens and whose opinion matters to them as well as using "word of mouth".

How Teenagers See Culture Institutions: Expectations and Reality
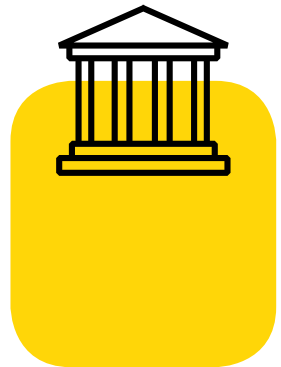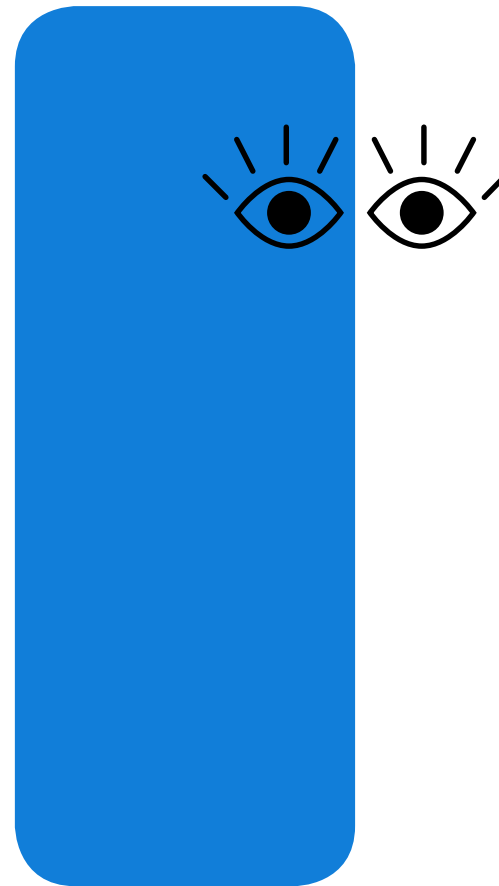
How do teenagers see various cultural institutions?

Why do they go to certain museums only once in a lifetime?

How can teens be encouraged to engage in the city's 'high' culture?

Our research revealed an interesting fact: many museums and theaters are only visited by teens once in their lives, and the teens themselves are happy that this one visit is enough. Activities in culture centers are only slightly more popular: they are being visited by no more than 3-4 % of respondents. In this section we will try to answer the following questions: why that's happening, how Moscow teenagers see cultural institutions, whether the latter are interesting for them and if not, what can cultural institutions do to change that?

We identified two types of relationships with cultural institutions that correspond with two different types of organization:

> **1. Cultural institutions as a storehouse of treasured knowledge, access to which is difficult** — not very popular but necessary for attending once in your life to get accustomed to "high" culture (usually this refers to the big museums).

> **2. Cultural institutions as places, which should be fun and interesting at the same time** — The 'Edutainment' format (local Culture centers or Libraries, specific exhibitions).

Cultural institutions as "storehouses of treasured knowledge"

In the constantly changing world of teenagers, cultural institutions (particularly the larger and grander museums etc.) are seen as enduring "Islands of Stability", and "Temples of High Culture", which is extremely important in developing the teens' hierarchy of cultural values. Teenagers perceive such institutions as places of impeccable discipline, which is justified in a teenager's worldview that's justified by the significance of exhibited pieces of art.

Innovations in such institutions can trigger a negative reaction. Here's an example of the Darwin museum's innovative approach to attracting teens:

> *"I don't see the point in creating this [open space] on the roof [of the museum]. It's a museum, not some sort of café where you can lie down with your Wi-Fi (...) I just can't understand why they did that? Pointless. If they were to do that in a restaurant or café where you have a big lunch and then relax on the roof — that's different. But it's a museum at the end of the day. You*

walk around and think about things — so going to the roof to again look at your phone? — I don't get it."

Teenage focus groups, young man, 18 years.

It's important to note that according to the teenagers themselves, visiting "serious" cultural institutions requires a sort of discipline and skill and some of the respondents feel that it's necessary to develop these skills in themselves:

"My friend and I decided to go to Tretyakov Gallery back in the summer. It was actually very spontaneous because we were just walking around the city and I said: 'Let's go to a museum, we need to get in touch with our artistic sides'."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 15 years.

This view of cultural institutions as spaces with their own rituals and disciplines — places where one goes to get closer to "high culture", means that for teens the rigidity and seriousness of these places makes them fairly unwelcoming. For this reason, they will visit these institutions once out of a sense of duty, but will see no reason to visit more than once — and once they've 'ticked it off the list', will be unlikely to return. Obviously, this factor presents a major obstacle to encouraging teens into the cultural life of the city, particularly through the "higher" cultural institutions.

So how is it possible to attract teenagers into cultural institutions, and create long lasting attachments to them?

One of the most common strategies that's used is the engagement of teenagers in the actual management of culture centers, via youth councils. That's what the Tate Museum (www.tate.org.uk) and the Manchester Museum, (www.museum.manchester.ac.uk) in the UK have done. A further interesting case took place in the small gallery in English city of Wolverhampton. An "ArtForum" was created at the Wolverhampton Art Gallery (www.wolverhamptonart.org.uk) — an art space to attract teenagers, with the aim of developing the teens' own work through informal contact with curators and artists, the point of which was to develop their own projects, connected to current exhibitions. The teenagers would pick their themes and media. With the help of "ArtForum" organizers were able to introduce Wolverhampton teens to a Gallery space that they would usually just pass by in the belief that they weren't educated enough or didn't have the right "social status" to be inside. Today the white couches in the chill-out zone of the Gallery are packed with young people at almost all times of day.

An important feature for attracting teenagers is the creation of open spaces for get-togethers and activities. We recommend the introduction of these spaces, as well as all the innovations above as part of the positive process of opening up the Moscow institutions that are considered to be the "storehouses of treasured knowledge".

A good example of the application of such a strategy in Russia, was the Young Art Researchers Club's project "I will show you the museum" at the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts. Teenagers took on the roles of museum staff: they greeted visitors and conducted guided tours. As a result, the museum was also visited by friends of the Club participants as visitors or volunteers. In this way, the museum, without losing its high cultural significance, became a more comfortable and familiar place for teenagers. Coincidentally, many of the 'art-researcher' teens' friends wanted to join the club — the number of members has grown significantly over the past year.

Who visits museums and theaters?

Although visits to cultural institutions aren't a regular activity for teenagers or something that they do frequently in their free time, some of them still go to theaters, museums and exhibitions fairly often. It would be useful to understand how this group is different to their peers and how they feel about this leisure activity.

Our research showed that for teenagers, visits to museums and exhibitions are part of an active city life — trips to cafes, walks in the center of town. Another important phenomenon is the popularity of themed festivals, which shows that this group of teenagers have very clear and precise interests that they are happy to spend their pocket money on. Based on our survey data, 40 % of Moscow teenagers visit museums and exhibitions with their friends. Cultural institutions should try to inform teenagers of the various events with flyers in cafes, outdoor advertising and other means of communication.

Regular trips to the theater imply a rich and varied leisure lifestyle — these teenagers also spend their time at the ice rink and cafés. 32 % of teenagers go to the theater with their friends. Interestingly enough, going to the theater is more popular among teenagers who are highly motivated educationally, so even their leisure time is spent on self-development. It's possible that for these young people, 'documentary theater' projects (where people create their own plays based on stories previously discussed by the group) would be of interest. Such theatrical projects can encourage the formation of a dialogue between adults and teenagers. Furthermore, they often have a therapeutic effect so can be of help for young people with complicated psychological or social situations.

A theatrical project by two schools in America — Richmond High School and Marin Academy — can offer an instructive example here. Richmond High is a state school with 1500 students, while Marin Academy is a private school with only 400 wealthy students attending. Almost all Richmond High School students get free lunches and come from Latin-American and African-American families that are less well off; the Marin Academy students pay $ 38,930 a year.

For years the two schools were located just over a bridge from each other but their students were never in contact. Everything changed when they began to do documentary theater

together: they had to interview each other and then 'embody' the other person on stage. They had to learn everything about each other, move in the same way, speak in the same way and even learn each other's slang.

This theater project in the end greatly contributed to tearing down the stereotypes that students had about each other and fostering communication between two groups of people who had previously been close in geographical proximity, but worlds apart in economic and social terms.
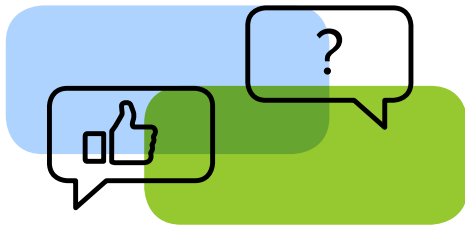
Cultural institutions as spaces for free, interactive communication

In contrast to the rigid, formal "temples of high culture" approach to cultural institutions, the newer approach of cultural institutions with an open and friendly atmosphere, relaxed and adapted to the needs and temperaments of teenagers, is one that is full of promise:

"I was at a "Bayer" exhibition, it's a cosmetic and medical company. And everything there was interactive, you could play with the molecules, all the information was on the boards and you could read it if you wanted to, or listen to it — whatever you want. Or you could touch it, so it's not like some lady is monotonously reading to you — this was much more interesting."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 16 years.

Extracurricular education is different from mandatory school education, so teenagers expect a different attitude than the rigid format of a school. A strict atmosphere can alienate teenagers from local cultural institutions.

Most frequently, teenagers describe their trips to cultural institutions with a lot of emotion. The ones that stay in their memory for longer are those with interactive and multimedia exhibits. It's important for them to interact with objects.

In institutions for extracurricular education, teenagers are missing the entertainment component. From their point of view, these places should not just educate but also give them a chance to chat and have a good time with their friends. Today, even though the majority of after school clubs in cultural institutions are part of a specialized school that's aimed at a diploma at graduation, the atmosphere and attitude of teachers isn't really about creating a sense of enjoyment in the learning process.

Respondent 3: "It's a club. It's a fun place. Why shut people up? ... I just say ... let's do this… and then they're like ... shut up!"

Respondent 4: "We're best friends. And we talk all the time. And we talk when we paint too and they yell at us. And I really don't like it when people are yelling."

Teenage focus groups, young woman, 13 years.

As the quote shows, teenagers need space and opportunity to express themselves, dialogue with teachers and simple respect. Perfectly understanding that extracurricular education is different from mandatory school education, teenagers demand a different kind of attitude to them from the typical format of their schools.

A very strict atmosphere can be one of the reasons why teenagers leave local cultural institutions. Especially, as they themselves point out, around the age of 14, which is the most popular age for quitting activities or clubs, as they begin to form their own characters and habits:

Moderator: "At what age do you usually quit these art and theater schools?"

Respondent 6: "Before 14."

Respondent 4: "Yeah, at 14, when you begin to hang out with friends and so instead of going to that place it's like "forget it, I don't need it, I'm going outside."

Teenage focus groups, young women, 14-16 years.

So how are suitable 'open communication spaces' for teens created in cultural institutions?

The "Perekrestok" Center for Teenager Support is a good example of a successful project which is about a 'soft' monitoring of teenagers by adults, guiding them into various leisure activities. The center works with teenagers from 11 to 17 years including those with behavioral problems. It organizes a variety of leisure activities — treasure hunts, camping trips and also, even more importantly — provides teens with spaces where they can

go and spend time freely with their peers. A space like that is ideal for those who have problems at home.

The staff at "Perekrestok" emphasize the fact that their club is a place where kids can come and talk freely and just spend time with no restrictions (aside from a ban on alcohol and an insistence on mutual respect). The creation of unity between these teenagers (who are usually strangers until they attend the club) is helped by an insistence on the collective creation of rules. The supervisor asks all the participants to write a list of all the rules that they can think of; then these rules are discussed and either accepted or declined. The confirmed rules are then hung on the wall and if someone breaks them, they are reminded that they were put together by the teens themselves. This practice, while leaving kids the freedom of choice, instills responsibility for their own decisions.

A local cultural institutions as a key to the big city

Like many schools, most local culture institutions often fail to provide teens with a broad enough introduction to the city's cultural opportunities. They teach various skills but don't encourage participation in the cultural life of the city, even if the teen already has a pre-existing interest in a particular cultural or artistic sphere professionally.

In the previous chapter, we said that 14 is the age when teenagers change their activities and form new interests. Bearing in mind that older school kids eventually leave their clubs, it's possible to assume that if the local cultural institutions supported their activities by attending themed events, that would elevate the value of clubs for the teenagers and their parents. Such activity would satisfy the parents' demand for instilling in their children the love of culture.

How can an approach like this be implemented in reality?

"Program A" — was a project for the professional development of teenagers which emerged from the "Perspektiva" Center for Creative Initiatives, which was set up as an open creative space for teenagers to develop their particular cultural/creative skills through group or individual projects. In the 2015/2016 school year, enrolment on this program focused on five specialties: architecture, IT and programming, humanitarian studies, film directing and photography. The participants on these courses met the best specialists in their fields, visited specialist companies and studios, had lectures and master classes and conducted their own research into their field. At the end of the course they had developed a very good idea of the profession. Depending on their interests, teenagers could attend several courses at the same time — the schedule was set out in such a way that the lessons didn't overlap. This is a good example of how a small culture center can be the key to the big city for teens and how clubs within culture centers can be connected with professional fields. Unfortunately, the "Perspektiva" Center itself was shut down in 2016.

Key Ideas

1. Large museums are seen by teenagers as "temples of high culture". They are happy to comply with their strict rules and will be suspicious of any innovations in them.

2. The "elite" image of cultural institutions can drive teens away. To get teenagers to come back into cultural institutions, it's important to create open spaces for them to meet each other and do various activities.

3. In institutions for extracurricular education, teenagers would prefer to see more leisure and entertainment opportunities. Too strict an atmosphere in a local cultural institution can discourage teens who are looking for a space where they can communicate.

4. Trips to museums and exhibitions are seen as part of an active city life so cultural institutions need to pay attention to the ways in which they inform teens of events and activities via flyers in cafes, outdoor advertising and other types of city media.

The Teenage Audience:
the Different Groups
Features
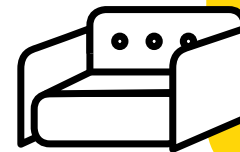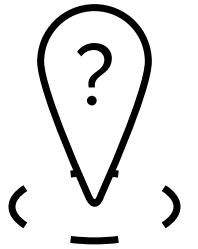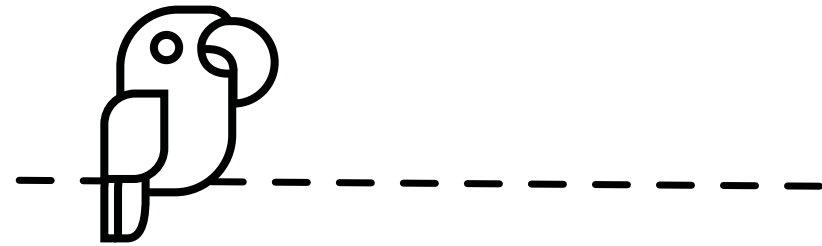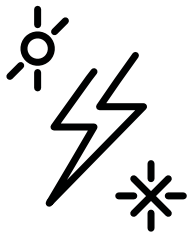
Who do teens spend their free time with?

What does their level of participation in cultural life depend on?

What events might interest teenagers?

It's important for cultural institutions to adapt their activities for teenage audiences. Aside from the increase in attendance this will bring, it will also allow culture centers to create new spaces for communication, include teenagers in the cultural life of the city and help form the leisure habits of young Moscovites. However, not all teens spend their free time in the same way, so when developing programs, projects and events for this audience, it's important to take into account the specific groups that are being targeted.

Based on the conducted interviews, focus groups and the answers to a questionnaire, we identified four groups based on the type of leisure activities preferred and their level of participation in the cultural life of the city. In this chapter we will talk about each group in detail, look at their leisure preferences, interests, and the means of acquiring knowledge and information that are particular to each group.

The interests of the groups can be identified based on the analysis of the 'publics' that are most popular among the respondents for finding information about their favorite celebrities and areas of extracurricular activities.

Aimless teens (44 %) prefer to spend unstructured time with their friends — walking in the city and visiting shopping malls. They choose leisure activities only on the basis of communication with friends; are interested in art, creativity, style, although these interests aren't focused and are usually expressed in an active but not very discriminating consumption.

Ultra Socialized teens (26 %) are oriented towards all-round self-development, feel very comfortable in a city atmosphere and are well established in the surrounding social institutions — they spend free time with their friends at after school clubs; at home they usually spend time with their parents.

Rebel teens (15 %) — are the ones who choose autonomous ways of spending their free time, away from the adult world. They prefer to be with their group of friends and come up with their own leisure activities (sporting activities, being in a shopping mall with friends, independent creative activities). They strive to build strong horizontal connections which can be the result of their weak standing in their wider social circle, which also leads to a lack of interest in the 'adult' world.

Stay-at-Home teens (15 %) — spend their free time at home, mostly on video games. They have only a very vague idea of city life and have very few social resources and little motivation to leave their house.

Diagram 8

Gender proportion in the teenage groups

43 % / 57 %
Aimless teens

50 % / 50 %
Ultra socialized teens

50 % / 50 %
Rebel teens

65 % / 35 %
Stay-at-Home teens
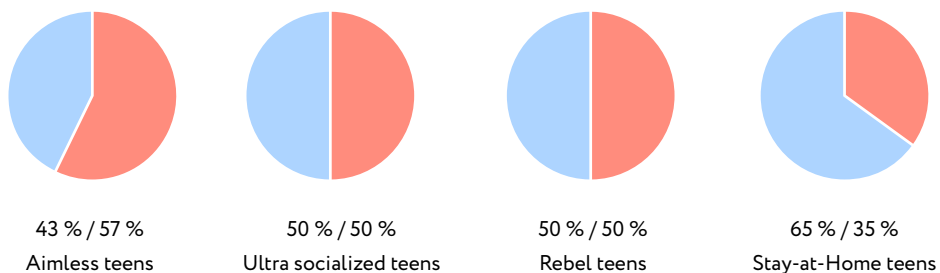
Aimless teens

The first identified group are the **Aimless teens**. **They experience a diverse but unstable and unfocused interest in the outside world and are constantly in search of leisure activities.** The **Aimless teens** are fairly spontaneous and are willing to attend commercial entertainment events as well as cultural institutions. They don't have a constant

interest in culture and see it merely as a source of occasional pleasure and a generator of interesting emotions.

> *"Well, as far as the lectures go, it was a bit boring and sad because I couldn't understand all the information. And also they talked about the historical period which I am least interested in — the earliest art forms (...) I want to do something that'll give me emotions, something with adrenalin."*

> *Focus-groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

The **Aimless** teenagers are **very mobile and active travellers around the city, they attend culture events but can't really navigate within the flow of information.** At the same time they have a very active consumerist approach — they follow the latest fashion trends, go to shopping malls, cafes, and the cinema. Usually, they have problems during adulthood with choosing a profession as they don't concentrate on a specific area. They have no clear strategy for involvement in adult life which can cause some concern among the teenagers themselves:

> *"Before I wanted to go to the Higher School of Economics and major in economics, but since I have enrolled at the Lycee, I'm having doubts about that — the score you need to get is just crazily high. Now I don't know what to do and where to go, in what direction. I used to do a lot of creative stuff — used to do dance for a couple of years, went to a theater studio and to modeling school and I used to like it a lot. Still do. But lately, I don't do anything and don't know what to do and it's really difficult because I only do homework and try to figure out which university to apply to."*

> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

The **Aimless** teens don't have a constant interest in culture and see it merely as a source of occasional pleasure and a generator of interesting emotions.

Despite their unfocused energy and activity, this group of teens are generally left in the dark when it comes to understanding the possibilities offered by the cultural life of the city, with only fragmentary information on what's available. Their parents do try to instill a love of culture in them, often investing lots of money in the process of getting them to attend lectures and courses at cultural institutions, but **Aimless** teens aren't interested in the 'classical' format of cultural education and don't participate in those activities much:

> *"I discussed this with my mom, she wanted me to learn about art and signed me up for these courses. But I didn't like them. They just didn't interest me. Parents teach you from a very young age about that, but people like me… I just went there and couldn't get into it."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

A longer-lasting engagement of the **Aimless** teens into the cultural life of the city would require the creation of an atmosphere that takes into account these teens' preferences for interactive formats and consumer culture (more details on that in the "Recommendations" chapter).

Leisure time preferences

The **Aimless** teens prefer to spend their free time with friends. That's reflected in the higher than average percentage of teens who are involved in various activities — including activities not traditionally seen as 'teenage'
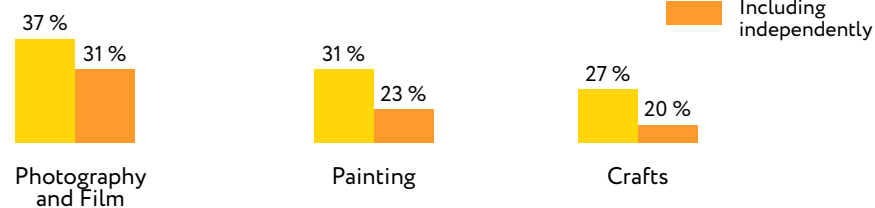
activities — with their friends. For instance, teens in this group are twice as likely as those in other groups to take a trip to the theater with friends (47 %, as opposed to an average of 23 %).

In their free time they usually go to the movies (92 %), or spend time outside in their local neighborhood (91 %), in the city center (89 %), at a park (85 %) or cafe (80 %). This group is 12 % more likely to visit the city center more than once a week, than the other groups of teenagers.

In addition to the intensive extracurricular activities, that are common amongst all the teenage groups — learning foreign languages (64 %) and sport (69 %) — the **Aimless** teens are also keen on creative arts, which they often do by themselves (see Diagram 9). Dance and playing musical instruments are also a big part of their repertoire (25 % and 24 %); and these activities are also undertaken independently.

Diagram 9

The most common types of creative activities among the Aimless teenagers

Legend:
- In total
- Including independently

	In total	Including independently
Photography and Film	37 %	31 %
Painting	31 %	23 %
Crafts	27 %	20 %

Articulated interests

This group of teenagers doesn't have distinct focused interests, aside from active consumerism and attention to the world of popular youth culture, hence the eager reading of 'publics' on fashion and style (33 % of this group,

as opposed to 22 % on average). They also read political 'publics' (22 %, as opposed to 17 % on average), but that's where their interest in politics ends.

Here's an example of how teenagers of this type characterize their typical leisure activities and interests:

> *"In my school teenagers aren't into anything really, hanging out at someone's house maybe, drinking etc. But I have friends who like going to museums and exhibitions and don't sit around at home, but travel around Moscow all the time, to Gorky Park, and so on. I always see creative people there who ride snowboards and BMXs and that's what's interesting to me."*
>
> *In-depth interview with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

Usually the **Aimless** teenagers spend their money on food (74 %), entertainment (63 %), clothes and shoes (54 %).

Ways of acquiring knowledge and information

The **Aimless** teenagers are open to everything new. This is suggested by the fact that 44 % of them have participated in a flashmob at least once. In this respect, it's safe to say that they would be interested in various non-standard educational formats, especially if they are interactive and provoke strong emotions.

As well as from school, representatives of this group prefer to get their knowledge in the following ways: reading (43 %) and movies (43 %), lectures (33 %), spending time with adults (32 %). They willingly take in visual information — more than any other teenager groups, they are keen users of Instagram (65 %), and read 'publics' with interesting or attractive pictures (37 %).

Participation in the cultural life of the city

62 % of the **Aimless** teenagers have participated in city events, which demonstrates their general potential interest in the city's cultural life. Only the **Ultra Socialized** group outperform them on this measure. The most interest was shown towards the various cultural street events on Victory Day, the 9th of May. The next most popular events were "Night at the Museum" and "City Day". They were attended by 1/5 of teenagers in this group. It is also this group that is most likely to go to city events with friends (85 %) and their family (69 %).

In their everyday life these teenagers willingly go to the theater with friends (47 % as opposed to 23 % on average for the other groups). They are also active theater and exhibition-goers with their parents (50 %). Based on the focus group data, it's safe to say that for this group it's mostly the parents who are their guides into the cultural life of the city:

> *"Well, I personally know some of the museums. I look them up to see what kind of program they have on. Or when my mom comes home in her car and tells me what museum it is."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

> *"Or just my mom suggests ideas, she always knows what's on and where and tells me about book fairs and festivals too."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

Teenagers in this group would like to meet a famous musician or performer (53 %), a famous theater or movie actor (51 %), or athlete (42 %). Next in the list, a significant way behind, is meeting a famous writer (22 %).
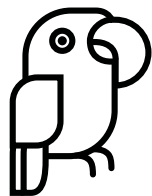
Ultra Socialized teens

Ultra Socialized teenagers are focused on all-round self development, which they expect to help them in the life ahead. Out of all the teenage groups these seem to be the most oriented towards adulthood; and equipped for it, easily finding common ground with grown-ups. They are also the most active in finding information about the cultural life in Moscow. Their lives mostly take place in their already-established social institutions: schools, centers of extracurricular activities, family, museums, theaters etc. The **Ultra Socialized** teenagers are well integrated into these social institutions and clearly understand the reason they are there and their place in them. They are very selective in their choice of cultural activity, while having very little free time to actually spend on it.

The **Ultra Socialized** teenagers like to spend their time with adults. They demonstrate much less objection to communicating with adults than their peers in the other groups (8 %, as opposed to 13 % on average). At school they are willing to spend time with friends as well as by themselves, with teachers sometimes included in the friendship circle (there was no reference to this in the questionnaire, but this fact did emerge in focus groups):

> *"I'm very lucky, I think. Our teachers are very understanding and it's not like you come to class and they just teach you something and that's it. We go to theaters together and do internships and that's great."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years..*

This group of teenagers usually has a system of hobbies and interests, and a clear idea of what their future profession will be, which they spend a lot of their free time preparing for.

Leisure time preferences

Ultra Socialized teens are orientated towards gaining the knowledge and skills that will increase their chances of success in life. In comparison with the other groups, this one demonstrates the highest preference for "useful" extracurricular activities — sports (83 %) and foreign languages (70 %). They are set up for all-round development; in addition to sports and foreign languages, they are also very active in creative activities, and not just on their own.

This group of teenagers are more likely than any other group to attend extracurricular courses in specialized schools (art, theater, sports), which shows their ability to take on long-lasting responsibilities, and commit to fully mastering a discipline.

Interestingly enough, in this group, the answer to the question "Who influenced your choice of extracurricular education" was twice as likely to be "friends", than it was in almost all other groups. This is possibly due to the fact that the social networks of the **Ultra Socialized** teens are generally formed in places connected with education, and also with the fact that this group has clear goals and is capable of making independent decisions about extracurricular activities. It's also important that parents trust their children's choices, thus supporting their status as equal partners in a dialogue with adults.

It's interesting that at home **Ultra Socialized** teens are much more likely than the average to play board games (22 % as opposed to 14 %). This confirms their high level of integration into the family and their good relationship

with adults. In addition, they like to self educate (37 % as opposed to 32 % on average), to do creative activities (43 % as opposed to 39 % on average), and read (63 % as opposed to 58 %).

The **Ultra Socialized** teenagers are less likely than the other groups to be interested in education outside the existing system. They are fully engaged in existing social institutions and don't seek independence.

The example below shows that **Ultra Socialized** teenagers are very conscious about their activities at home, and try to independently regulate them and fill their time with useful activities:

> *"I come home late and I'm so tired at that point mentally, that for an hour or something, I try to eat, chat with my family, watch the news. I don't really spend any time with homework because we don't have much of it. Then I can read a book or watch a movie. If I have lots of free time, then I try to do something useful like make myself do some studying, read something beneficial for an "Olimpiada" or the EGE test for instance." ("Olimpiadas" are a nationwide or city-wide educational contest, the winners of which can be automatically enrolled in the country's best Universities. The EGE test is the test that school students take at the end of year 11, which determines their enrolment in Universities. It's an equivalent to SATs in America and A levels in the UK — translator's note)."*

> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

The contrast with the behavior of the **Aimless** teens is obvious:

> *"When I get home I'm straight away on my phone… and that's it. But when I'm out somewhere, at least I am not damaging my eyes as much."*

> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 14 years.*

Articulated interests

The teenagers in this group are interested in self development and are prepared to plan it independently. They have an interest not only in education but also in physically active pastimes, sports and creative activities which demonstrates that these teens are oriented towards wider interests and an all-round development of their personality, which in turn contributes to a successful engagement in adult life:

> *"Everything starts in September — it's a new school year, you want lots of new things, so I give myself targets: this year I'm going to attend medical nursing courses and prep for service, do this and this and this. (…) I got back into sport-ballet dancing the last year. So every night after all the extracurricular stuff, I have training at 9pm, which ends at 10:30 pm and then I go home. Dancing, choreography — all that stuff. But it's not as great as it seems, I'm very tired after it all, so I tend to only go sometimes, but then I constantly get at myself to go more, because I know that if I don't, I'll regret it later."*

> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

As well as humorous and news 'publics' this group of teenagers also reads 'publics' on sport, travel and various themes from the cultural sphere. They are also more likely than teenagers on the whole to read 'publics' about travelling

(39 % as opposed to 30 % on average) and sports (47 % as opposed to 37 %). The reading of 'publics' about the life of the city shows that this group, more than the others, is engaged in the cultural life of the city and able to navigate around in it:

> *"There's an app 'Afisha' — they have many lectures that they advertise on it and they're good and we would like to go, but they're expensive. We try to choose free ones or ones that aren't that expensive."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

This group uses Facebook (22 %) on a daily basis, more than other groups. Their internet use in general isn't that different to typical teenage online behavior, however, the **Ultra Socialized** teens are almost twice as likely as the other groups to write blogs. At the same time, they repost things, post pictures and have 'publics' of their own slightly less often than the other groups.

This group knows how to choose their leisure time activity, organize it and control their time:

> *"In the circle that I'm in, a 16-17-year-old teenager is a person who is fully swamped with his studies and basically only thinks about that. In most cases he doesn't have a lot of free time to spend on any culture, leisure and hobbies…yeah, that's the general case."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young woman, 16 years.*

It's interesting that compared to other groups, the percentage of teens in this group who spend their money on hobbies is the highest at 35 %.

Ways of acquiring knowledge and information

The **Ultra Socialized** teenagers are much less likely than other groups to leave the boundaries of their existing educational institutions — only 22 % choose an independent format of learning. This may be connected with the fact that these teenagers are actively integrated into the existing education system, and feel emotionally comfortable in this environment and in communicating with adults, and so aren't seeking autonomy. There were no other statistically significant data on their methods of acquiring knowledge and information found.

Participation in the cultural life of the city

Only 29 % of the **Ultra Socialized** teenagers have never attended large city cultural events. That's the lowest figure out of all the groups, which confirms our thesis about the high level of engagement of these teens in the cultural life of the city. Furthermore, the number of **Ultra Socialized** teenagers who have attended 'adult' events like "Afisha's Picnic" is higher than the average across all groups, although still relatively low at only 5 %. The events that evoked the biggest interest were still the three 'big ones': "Night at the museum" (34 %), the 9th of May Victory Day events (28 %), and City Day (22 %).

73 % of teenagers in this group attend events with family and relatives which is more than in other groups. A relatively high number of these teens are also comfortable going to city events by themselves (17 % — the highest proportion out of all four groups).

48 % like to meet a famous athlete, 43 % would like to meet a theater or film actor, 42 % would like to meet a musician/performer and a long way behind are those who would like to meet a famous scientist, politician, or businessman — each one at 18 %.
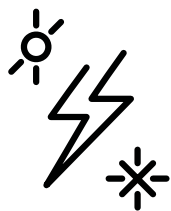
Rebel Teens

Rebel teens are those who create zones of relative autonomy from grown-ups for themselves, which are not based on adult activities (in contrast to the **Aimless** teens for instance, who adopt grown ups' activities of going to a café or cinema), but are based on a sense of subcultural exclusion. It's important for them to determine their own rules. At the same time, they are capable of managing their own leisure time: organizing their own sports, forming music groups, organizing festivals and extracurricular education etc. These 'self-organized' events can be relatively harmless sub-culture gatherings, as well as more aggressive ones with an extreme political tone.

For instance, during group interviews with teenagers in this group from peripheral neighborhoods of Moscow, we met the lead singer of a relatively popular rap band of the national-patriotic persuasion, who was constantly accompanied by his own 'crew' of other teenagers; at a different interview we met a group of teens who had independently formed a group to do sports in the park, led by their friend, a Candidate Master of Sports in boxing who is also a member of the "Occupy Paedofiliy" movement*.

For teens in this group, it's incredibly important to set their own rules and not to follow the general requirements of the adults:

* This movement was created by a right-wing Russian public figure, Maxim Marzenkevich aka Tesak. The aim of his movement was to fight pedophiles. In 2014 Marzenkevich was sentenced to 2 years and 10 months in prison for extremist activity.

Respondent 3: "I want to spend time in a sportier way, in a more interesting way."

Respondent 1: "Yeah, it's not great. I have boxing gloves at home and they're just shoved in a drawer somewhere. And then there's these boys on the street…"

Moderator: "Do you like to fight?"

Respondent 1: "Depends who with."

Respondent 2: "This kid is very friendly, but he probably gets beaten up. Hahaha."

Moderator: "And what if you changed this to something athletic, like a club of some sort?"

Respondent 3: "They'll have rules there, and here there are no rules, you might say."

A group interview with teenagers, young men, 14-15 years.

As Sociology PhD and director of the Center for Youth Studies at the National Research University of the Higher School of Economics Elena Omelchenko puts it — the tendency for this type of aggression and extreme behavior is connected with feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness, which provokes concentration on specific types of solidarity (physical and close emotional connection). The spectrum of aggressive convictions, as the researcher points out, is most likely to be the result of ambiguous government policies on migrants, families and LGBT communities etc[1].

Consequently, rather than conceptualizing the above as "bad" character traits of these teens — they should instead be viewed as a result of their lack of social capital and extremely limited opportunities within existing social institutions (school, family).

16 % of respondents in this group don't like to spend any time with grown ups at all. It's interesting that in comparison with other groups **Rebels** state much

less frequently that they like to spend time with their grandparents or other older relatives (only 23 % and 18 % respectively). This may reflect the fact that they are less integrated into family life than the teens in other groups, or from families with generally weaker emotional connections. They are also 12 % less likely to want to spend time with their fathers (47 %) than their mothers (59 %), which may be the result of a higher frequency of single parent families in this group.

At the same time, there is a high level of antagonism between the teens in this group and their schools: 99 % of them don't spend time in school after their lessons have finished.

Rebel teens find horizontal and independent relationships important: they prefer to spend time with their friends (in a shopping mall, doing physical activities, going on walks and visiting friends' houses). This is understandable as the choice of "with friends" is much more frequent than the choice of "with parents" in their answers.

These teenagers are in search of spaces with strong horizontal connections which is illustrated in the high percentage of teens in this group who have taken part in flashmobs: 36 % have done it at least once (the average is 29 %).

Articulated interests

It's notable that the teenagers in this group read less 'publics' than the other groups, which is seen in the lower scores given on all answers relating to 'publics', as well as the fact that 9 % don't read 'publics' at all. The least popular 'publics' are those on the problems of 'the wider world': political publics (only 11 % read them) and those on city life (14 %).

It's incredibly important for **Rebel** teens to set their own rules.

As with the other groups, the most popular 'publics' are the 'humorous' ones (58 %) and those on interests in the cultural sphere — favorite music groups, TV series etc. (47 %). 'Publics' on the cultural sphere are particularly popular with this group, and are read 9 % more than in other groups. At home, teenagers in this group prefer to watch movies more often than any of the other groups — 87 % of them listing it as their preferred option.

Among celebrities that are interesting to the **Rebel** teens, musicians and actors are a long way ahead (51 % and 49 % respectively), which also hints at their tendency to prefer exclusive subcultures.

This same tendency is also noted in the ways they spend their money. The teens in this group more frequently spend their money on cultural events (tickets to exhibitions, concerts) — 30 %. Taking into account their low level of engagement in cultural life on the whole, it appears safe to assume that most of this money is being spent on concerts.

Leisure time preferences

The teenagers in this group aren't actively engaged in doing extracurricular learning in specialized schools, culture centers or paid courses, however they often do various activities independently, such as playing a musical instrument (11 %), painting (24 %), creative activities and craftwork (21 %), sports (21 %) and photography (24 %).

Teenagers in this group are more interested than others in meeting a famous writer (31 %) or scientist (24 %) — which can be interpreted as showing that this group is more

interested in being self-educated and looking at things from a critical standpoint. The options "interested in meeting a businessman" and "politician" were less popular — they were chosen by only 9 % and 7 % of respondents respectively, which is much lower than in other groups (for instance 18 % among the **Ultra Socialized**). In our opinion this again reflects the absence of interest among this group for a career in the 'adult' world.

Interestingly enough this group prefers to watch TV at home to a lesser extent (43 % as opposed to 48 % on average than other groups), and also has a larger share of those who prefer to read (66 % as opposed to 52 % on average). This group also has the highest number of those who have never had a part time job — 76 %.

Ways of acquiring knowledge and information

As mentioned previously, the preferred activities for the **Rebel** teens are those they do independently. The same attitude is seen with regard to methods of knowledge acquisition. The most popular and interesting educational formats among this group are watching movies (47 %), reading (47 %) and lectures (37 %), as well as independent research (33 %), which is higher than in other teenage groups. And although the most popular answer across all the groups was "lessons in school" it was chosen by less respondents in this group than in any of the others (54 % as opposed to 62 % of the **Aimless** teens and 58 % of the **Ultra Socialized**).

Participation in the cultural life of the city

This group of teens is clearly less interested in the city's cultural life than the other groups — 55 % of respondents have never been to any of Moscow's large-scale cultural events. Even "Night at the Museum", the most popular event among teenagers in general was attended by just 13 % of

the **Rebel** teens (as opposed to 34 % of the **Ultra Socialized** and 20 % of the **Aimless** teen groups), 27 % of this group do not attend museums and exhibitions and 48 % don't go to the theatre — only the **Stay-at-Home teens** demonstrate less enthusiasm for the cultural life.
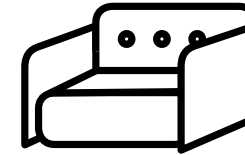
Stay-at-Home teens

The representatives of this group prefer to spend time at home; as they have a general absence of interest in anything happening in the outside world. This is not a result of their cultural needs being too specific for the city to fulfil — it's more a result of the fact that they essentially don't appear to have any cultural needs. When asked to report an interesting experience they have had outside their homes, respondents gave somewhat confused and fragmentary answers, featuring lots of abstract terms such as: 'epic' and 'beautiful explosions'. Despite their general lack of interest, one event that was at least pointed out as theoretically interesting for this group was the "Igromir" festival.

Stay-at-Home teens don't typically have many friends (their circle of friends is generally limited to school friends), their connection with parents is also weak and their main leisure activity is video games.

> Respondent 1: "If only there were more places like "Igromir" where you could go and see stuff and play and if there were more places like that around the city with more people where you can have a fun time."

Respondent 2: "Not to talk to people so much but to see what's new and what's coming out. Places like that."

Respondent 4: "I mean, "Igromir" but more frequently and everywhere."

Respondent 1: "And something close to home — 10 meters and you're there."

Respondent 4: "And free — that would be ideal."

Respondent 1: "Games provide things that you can't do to other people in real life."

Respondent 6: "Yeah, like a terrorist attack."

Respondent 1: "Yeah, or fly into outer space and research something. Games give you a chance to do something that you can't do in reality."

> *Focus groups with teenagers, young men, 15-16 years.*

Video games in this case are a substitute for the genuine strongly emotional experiences in reality that the respondents would be happy to experience, if only they knew how or where to find them.

This group can also be subdivided into two smaller groups, with one of these subgroups featuring teens with a strong tendency to prefer their own company when it comes to leisure time, rather than creating strong connections with others. This subgroup is reflected in the 19 % of Stay-at-Home respondents who said that they don't like to spend a lot of time with adults — which is 8 percentage points higher than on average.

> The main leisure activity for **Stay-at-Home** teens is video gaming.

However, our second subgroup of **Stay-at-Home** teens are significantly more pro-social in that they actually state that they would prefer to spend more time with parents, grandparents or older siblings, than the teens in the other groups. This desire probably indicates a dissatisfaction with current levels of inter-familial communication, rather than the presence of strong existing bonds. This is how those who would like to spend time with their parents voiced their position at focus groups:

> *Moderator: "You talk to them every day? Do you enjoy talking to them?"*
>
> *Respondent 3: "I do enjoy it, but they are usually at work all the time. Mom works for days at a time and Dad for 12 hours at a time, so yeah, I like to talk to them when I can."*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young man, 15 years.*

The circle of friends in this group is also very small, and despite the many hours they spend at home, they are less likely than other groups to spend time on social media which again illustrates their less intense need for communication with peers — their communication is realized in the world of video games.

> *Moderator: "Do you play with friends?"*
>
> *Respondent 1: "Yeah, with friends."*
>
> *Moderator: "Online?"*
>
> *Respondent 1: "Yes."*
>
> *Moderator: "Do you meet friends in real life too?"*
>
> *Respondent 1: "Yes, they're my school mates, surprising, right?"*
>
> *Focus groups with teenagers, young man, 15 years.*

Leisure time preferences

Stay-at-Home teens prefer to spend their free time at home: 27 % don't spend time walking outside (as opposed

to 5 % on average), 44 % don't walk in parks (as opposed to 9 % on average), 68 % don't spend time in shopping malls (as opposed to 16 % on average). They are locked into their own world and aren't looking to expand it. They aren't interested in new acquaintances, or even in keeping up their existing connections: only 13 % look for new friends on social media (as opposed to 26 % on average) and 66 % of respondents like to spend time on social media (as opposed to 77 % on average across all groups).

The choice of video games as their main activity can also occur as a result of a feeling of 'overwhelm' when it comes to accessing the broader cultural world — a lack of knowledge and understanding of alternative ways their free time can be filled. Financial limitations can also play a role in constraining their sense of possibility. It's important to note that 31 % of **Stay-at-Home** teens try not to spend money, which is 9 percentage points higher than the average across all groups.

Paradoxically, despite their generally passive attitude, all of the respondents in this group have had a part time job at least once. Money is clearly one of the few valid reasons for this group to leave the house.

Articulated interests

The prevailing interest among this group is video games. 41 % of respondents read 'publics' about them which is 10 percentage points higher than on average. It's important to note that at the same time they aren't seeking to develop their interest in video games into a professional activity, preferring to remain as simple consumers — only 7 % of **Stay-at-Home** teens take on extracurricular science-technical education.

In addition to video games, although to a lesser extent than other teenagers, this group reads 'publics' on various aspect

of the cultural sphere (music, TV series) — 34 %, as well as sports — 33 %.

Ways of acquiring knowledge and information

The most common answer on the preferred type of education is "lessons at school" (59 %). It's interesting that the large amount of time that these kids spend online doesn't extend to any interest in online courses: only 11 % are interested in them. On the other hand, 30 % mentioned that the format of an educational video game would interest them. For cultural institutions working with this group of teens then, adopting various gaming techniques would be a promising start.

Participation in the cultural life of the city

Stay-at-Home teens are not actively engaged in the cultural life of the city — 58 % haven't attended any cultural events in the last year. However, if they do go out to such an event it's more likely to be with their parents than with friends, unlike the teenagers in all the other groups. 70 % of this group never visit museums and exhibitions which is higher than in any other teenage groups by at least 33 percentage points.

It's important to note that among the teens in this group — 28 % of respondents (more than in the other groups) go to summer camps (15 % in Russia and 13 % abroad). This may be the result of their parents' strongly felt desire to improve their children's sociability.

1.Omelchenko E. Antifa against Fa // Polit.ru. 24.05.2010

Key ideas

1. The most important thing to consider when working with a teenage audience is their heterogeneity.

2. **Aimless** teenagers prefer to spend time with friends and are active travellers around the city.

3. **Aimless** teenagers do attend cultural events but struggle to navigate in the stream of information.

4. **Ultra Socialized** teenagers feel confident in a city environment and the surrounding social institutions — school, extracurricular education centers, family, museums, theaters etc.

5. **Rebel** teenagers are those who prefer to have autonomy from adults in their free time activities.

6. **Rebel** teenagers prefer the company of their friends and their own formats of leisure (physical activities with friends, visiting shopping malls with friends and independent creative activities).

7. The **Stay-at-Home** teenagers choose to spend their free time at home, in most cases on playing video games.

8. **Stay-at-Home** teens have very vague and limited ideas about city life and don't have enough resources (especially financial resources) or motivation for leaving the house.

Recommendations
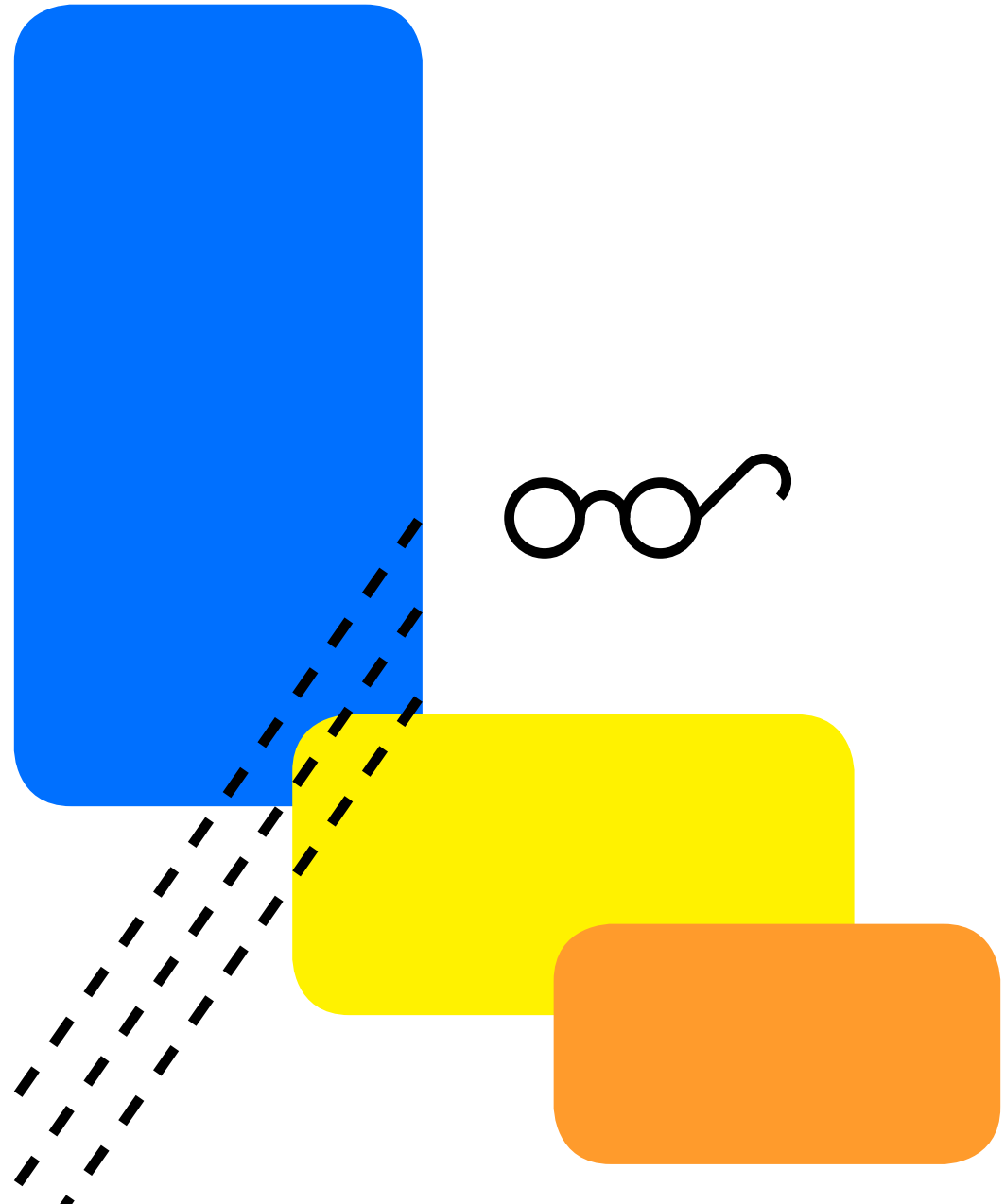
Teenage engagement in the cultural life of the city can play a key role in the development of cultural institutions. It represents an opportunity to significantly expand their audience and help create positive cultural habits in a new generation of citizens, who, in turn will instill these habits in their own children.

Our research demonstrates that teenagers are currently a hard to reach potential audience for cultural institutions. To adapt these institutions for effective work with teenagers, it's important to take into account that this category of citizens isn't a monolithic group. It's essential to understand that to engage teenagers different strategies must be applied in accordance with the needs and features of each group.

Aimless teens: The main problem for this group is their low awareness of, and inability to navigate in the cultural sphere. One solution could be illustrative advertising that explains the significance of a given event. In addition, an effective way to reach this group could be advertising or cultural product placement via role models or idols, such as favorite vloggers. When working with these teenagers, cultural institutions need to create offerings of the same style and quality level as commercial products and events.

Ultra socialized teens: Today, most of the projects that are focused on attracting teenagers into the city's cultural life are aimed at this group of teenagers. In that respect, cultural institutions can use the Ultra socialized teens as 1) a resource, that generates formats interesting to other teenagers, 2) a go-between for the groups of teens and cultural institutions, 3) a channel for obtaining information about other teenage interests. This group is probably the most likely to share information on current teen problems and interests. At the same time, the information that they will give will not reflect the interests of all teenagers, but it can provide adults with a general overview of their lives.

Rebel teens: The biggest obstacle for engaging this group in the cultural life of Moscow is the existence of rigid rules and boundaries in cultural institutions, as **Rebel teens** always seek to create their own rules. A project aimed at this group has to involve their participation and underline their significance in the process, allowing sufficient freedom in the choice of format and rules. It's important to understand that the teenagers in this group have a very distinct idea about their interests in the cultural sphere, but at the same time they don't think about their future and are on the whole very critical of the world around them, which is why in working with them it's important to attend to their interests rather than the pragmatics of the activity.

Stay-at-Home teens: The non-involvement of this group in Moscow's cultural life is predominantly due to their inability to formulate an interest in culture, which in turn is due to an absence of resources (informational and financial). The motivation to make money is one of the few valid reasons that **Stay-at-Home** teens recognize to leave their homes. For this reason, it would be a good idea to attract them to work in the preparation of exhibitions, as ticket sellers and coat check staff, to broaden their idea of the life of the city.

Glossary
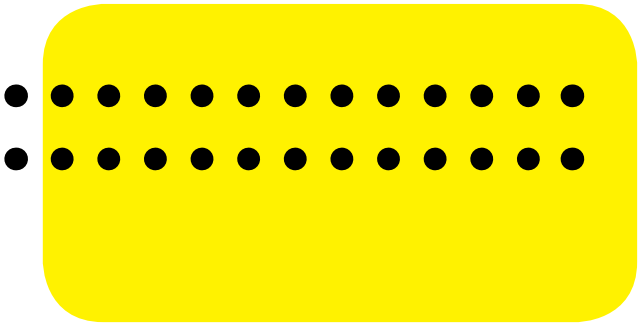
A 'Public' — a themed group on social media.

Reposts — a repeated publication of information within one resource, for instance a repost from one group's page onto the personal page of a social network user.

**Trolling** — an online behavior involving conscious provocation of other users.

Focus Group — a method of sociological research, used in psychology, linguistics, politics, marketing and other human sciences. A focus group is a group discussion, which is conducted in accordance with certain rules.

Hashtag — a symbol that's used by social media to unite news. By clicking on the hashtag, a user can then see all the messages and posts under the same hashtag. A hashtag is formed out of a word or a phrase with the hash symbol before it, such as #bestcityintheworld.

Edutainment — a playful form of education.

Appendix 1.

Research Methodology
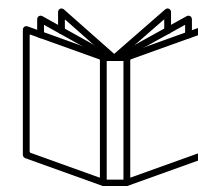
This research is built on data which includes a survey, focus groups, and group and individual interviews. The survey took place in schools among the students in grades 8-11 and included 1000 teenagers. 17 different schools were surveyed during the research, located in a variety of Administrative Areas of Moscow. The sample is representative, i.e. is built on opinions given by both students from the "better-off" neighborhoods and schools, and those from neighborhoods with a lower socio-economic profile.

Descriptive statistics

The survey includes 1000 students, 63 % of whom attend a public school, 13 % attend a school with a specialist focus, 11 % attend a gymnasium, 10 % — a college, 4 % — a technical school. The gender balance is 50 % — young men, 50 % — young women.

Most of the data was collected about 8th graders (30 %), 10th graders (20 %) and 9th graders (28 %), the smallest amount of data was collected about 11th graders (13 %), due to the fact that most of our survey took place in the spring, when access to senior students was limited.

Most of the surveyed teens have parents with a higher educational qualification (mother — 59 %, father —52 %). 27 % of teenagers live without a father or a stepfather. 30 % have an older sibling, 76 % — aren't an only child.

Cluster Analysis

Identification of clusters based on the Ward method with binary variables was conducted in two stages.

Based on the qualitative data, the first stage was used to put forward hypotheses on exactly which variables would be significant for the clustering of groups.

At the second stage the qualitative data was used to conduct a cluster analysis. It allowed us to single out relatively homogenous groups of respondents depending on the commonality of their activities in the city environment and 'social' formats of involvement (i.e.: who the respondents are involved in cultural activities with).

Cluster analysis is conducted according to Ward's method with binary variables. The Euclidean squared distance metric was used to measure the distance between the clusters.

Decision Trees

The description of strategies for engaging teenagers in the city's cultural life were discovered via the CHAID method of decision trees. To answer the main question about cultural activities, the following options were accepted: "to the theater with friends", "to a museum/exhibition with friends" and "to a museum/exhibition _with parents" to the question Q_17 — about how respondents like to spend their free time.

For the description of nuclear groups (those who attended and didn't attend) a decision tree model was created (CHAID) which included all the relevant variables for teenagers.

The result was the obtaining of the characteristics of "typical" respondents. This refers to the personalities who make up the core of the group, rather than an aggregation of the mass of respondents. The nuclear groups were identified in the following way. Let's say that a sampling has 'x' number of people of the type that we're interested in: by building decision trees we find out which qualities are common in groups where the people we're interested in are most concentrated.
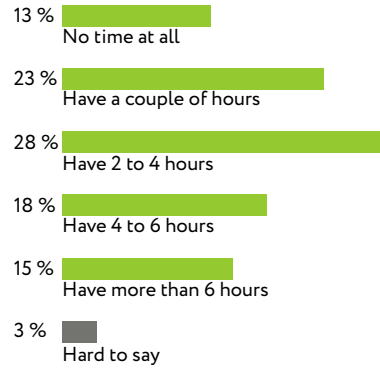
Available Resources Categorized by Teenage Groups
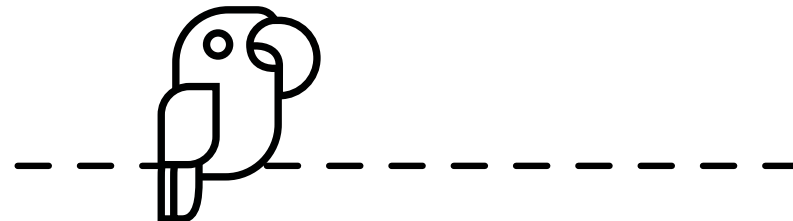
How much time do you have left over on weekdays after school and extracurricular education? (One answer)
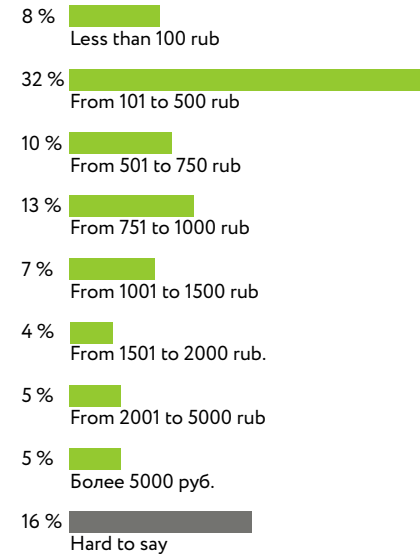
Aimless teens

13 % No time at all

23 % Have a couple of hours

28 % Have 2 to 4 hours

18 % Have 4 to 6 hours

15 % Have more than 6 hours

3 % Hard to say

Ultra Socialized teens

15 % No time at all

24 % Have a couple of hours

27 % Have 2 to 4 hours

19 % Have 4 to 6 hours

11 % Have more than 6 hours

5 % Hard to say

Rebel teens

11 % Вообще не остается

22 % Have a couple of hours

29 % Have 2 to 4 hours

23 % Have 4 to 6 hours

9 % Have more than 6 hours

7 % Hard to say

Stay-at-Home teens

13 % No time at all

29 % Have a couple of hours

18 % Have 2 to 4 hours

20 % Have 4 to 6 hours

17 % Have more than 6 hours

3 % Hard to say

What's your weekly budget (one answer)

Aimless teens

8 % Less than 100 rub

32 % From 101 to 500 rub

10 % From 501 to 750 rub

13 % From 751 to 1000 rub

7 % From 1001 to 1500 rub

4 % From 1501 to 2000 rub.

5 % From 2001 to 5000 rub

5 % Более 5000 руб.

16 % Hard to say

Ultra Socialized teens

8 % Less than 100 rub

30 % From 101 to 500 rub

13 % From 501 to 750 rub

12 % From 751 to 1000 rub

9 % From 1001 to 1500 rub

5 % From 1501 to 2000 rub.

3 % From 2001 to 5000 rub

5 % Более 5000 руб.

15 % Hard to say

Rebel teens

6 % Less than 100 rub

29 % From 101 to 500 rub

12 % From 501 to 750 rub

13 % From 751 to 1000 rub

7 % From 1001 to 1500 rub

4 % From 1501 to 2000 rub.

5 % From 2001 to 5000 rub

5 % Более 5000 руб.

16 % Hard to say

Stay-at-Home teens

15 % Less than 100 rub

36 % From 101 to 500 rub

7 % From 501 to 750 rub

9 % From 751 to 1000 rub

6 % From 1001 to 1500 rub

3 % From 1501 to 2000 rub.

3 % From 2001 to 5000 rub

5 % Более 5000 руб.

17 % Hard to say

Acknowledgements

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