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Strategies of Enlightenment and Pleasure: Competing in Media Consumption

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An original concept of educational content consumption is presented, which was implemented in a study aimed at identifying Russian consumers' preferences regarding educational products in the era of infotainment. It was assumed that there are two consumer segments: those oriented towards education (followers of "Mr. First") and those oriented towards entertainment (followers of "Mr. Second"). To test this hypothesis, a nationwide online survey was conducted using the Anketolog online platform (693 respondents, of whom 48.3% were men and 51.7% were women, with an average age of 34.49 years, $SD = 12.83$), along with the original questionnaire "Enlightenment in the Era of Infotainment." Additionally, the following methods were used: G. Hofstede's questionnaire for assessing value differences, the brief Big-Five personality questionnaire, and a question evaluating the level of personal agency (based on the concept of I.N. Emelyanova). The results showed that followers of "Mr. Second" exhibit low openness to new experiences, high anxiety, low organization, and low self-discipline. In contrast, followers of "Mr. First" are more curious, creative, and responsible. Differences in values were also identified: individuals inclined towards entertainment tend to be more individualistic and sensitive to uncertainty, whereas those committed to education are more oriented towards collective values and experience lower stress levels. In the groups with a high level of personal agency (those with intellectual-creative and pragmatic positions), the number of respondents oriented towards education (followers of "Mr. First") exceeds the number of entertainment-oriented individuals. Conversely, in the group with an imitative position (the lowest level of personal agency), entertainment-oriented individuals predominate in quantitative terms. The findings confirm the hypothesis of two consumer segments with distinct personality traits and value orientations, which can be used both for adapting educational programs and for providing recommendations to various media outlets.

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Supplementary materials: The data used in this study is available in the dataset “Analysis of educational preferences of “Mr. First” and “Mr. Second”, created by the authors, and posted at: <https://disk.yandex.ru/d/HlJe6QjZHjYnYQ>

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Стратегии просвещения или удовольствия: противостояние в медиапотреблении

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Представлена авторская концепция потребления просветительского контента, которая была реализована в проведенном исследовании, направленном на выявление потребительских предпочтений россиян в отношении просветительских продуктов в эпоху инфотейнмента. Предполагалось, что существует два сегмента потребителей: ориентированных на просвещение (последователи «мистера Фёста») и на развлечение (последователи «мистера Секонда»). Для проверки гипотезы был проведен всероссийский онлайн-опрос с использованием онлайн-платформы Anketolog (693 респондента, из них 48,3% — мужчины, 51,7% — женщины, средний возраст опрошенных — 34,49 года, SD=12,83) и авторского опросника «Просветительство в эпоху инфотейнмента». Также были использованы следующие методики: опросник Г. Хофстеде, позволяющий оценить и выявить различия в ценностях, краткий пятифакторный опрос-

ник личности (Big-Five) и вопрос, оценивающий уровень субъектности личности (в соответствии с концепцией И.Н. Емельяновой). Результаты показали, что последователи «мистера Секонда» проявляют низкую открытость новому опыту, высокую тревожность, низкую организованность и самодисциплину. Последователи «мистера Фёста», напротив, более любознательны, креативны и ответственны. Также выявлены различия в ценностях: люди, склонные к развлечению, более индивидуалистичны и чувствительны к неопределенности, тогда как приверженцы просвещения больше ориентированы на коллективные ценности и менее подвержены стрессу. В выделенных группах высокого уровня субъектности личности (с интеллектуально-творческой и прагматической позицией) количество респондентов, ориентированных на просвещение (последователей «мистера Фёста»), преобладает над последователями «мистера Секонда». Напротив, в группе с имитационной позицией (с самым низким уровнем субъектности) в количественном отношении преобладают люди, ориентированные на развлечение. Полученные результаты подтверждают гипотезу о существовании двух сегментов потребителей с различными личностными и ценностными ориентациями, что может быть использовано как для адаптации просветительских программ, так и для составления рекомендаций для различных медиа.

Ключевые слова: просветительство; инфотейнмент; потребители просветительского контента; ценности потребителей просветительского контента; Большая пятерка; мистер Фёст; мистер Секонд.

Дополнительные материалы: Данные, использованные в исследовании, доступны в датасете «Анализ просветительских предпочтений “Мистера Фёста” и “Мистера Секонда”», созданном авторами, и размещены по адресу: <https://disk.yandex.ru/d/HlJe6QjZHуYnYQ>

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Relevance of the problem

In recent decades, the nature of information consumption by Russians has significantly transformed [12]. Digitalization, the growing popularity of social networks and Internet resources have changed the ways of obtaining knowledge [13]. The analysis of Russians' preferences in choosing enlightenment products [6] helps to adapt the content to modern needs and expectations. Cultural and scientific institutions such as museums, libraries, universities, and educational centers need data on their audience's attitudes in order to create more attractive and in-demand enlighten-

ment programs that help raise the level of public awareness [4]. Such programs develop the critical thinking of the audience, increase their general awareness and the need for active participation in public life.

In the era of digital technologies and social media, when information is becoming more accessible and fragmented, consumers can choose enlightenment content that suits their interests and level of perception [5]. In this situation, it is necessary to understand the impact of different approaches (enlightenment vs entertainment) on the perception and assimilation of new knowledge. Some foreign studies show that rec-

reational content may be more interesting, but less effective for deep learning [28]. Other researchers had shown long before that, without an entertainment format, the audience would ignore news or enlightenment content [21], which may seem complicated or boring if it is not supported by elements of showmanship [8].

Thus, the study of differences in the perception and effectiveness of enlightenment and entertainment strategies is relevant for the development of optimal educational and cultural programs that will take into account current trends and audience preferences.

Mr. First and Mr. Second as typical consumers of enlightenment content

The names of the characters from the iconic Soviet film “A Man from the Boulevard des Capucines” (directed by A. Surikova, premiered in the USSR in 1987), borrowed and included in the title of this part, reflect the strategies of the enlightenment’s influence on society. Mr. First is a noble and devoted cinematographer who came to a small town in the Wild West in order to show the locals the advantages and beauty of the surrounding world through enlightenment methods. Mr. First brings civilization and culture with him, striving to correct the morales of a cruel and rude society through the cinema format. His mission is to prove that enlightenment can transform people and make the world a better place. Mr. Second—the opposite of Mr. First, offers citizens films of a different nature: vulgar, cruel, demonstrating negative aspects of human nature and capable of awakening only the basic instincts in people. Thus, we emphasize with the help of these contrasting characters, the importance of enlightener’s responsibility for

a particular enlightenment product, which carries a certain moral and ethical burden. In our study, we will designate adherents of one of these strategies for the educational products consumption as followers of “Mr. First” and “Mr. Second”, respectively.

Enlightenment in the age of infotainment

Infotainment [29] as a communication media strategy, an integral part of modern media culture [9] and a product of postmodernism [15] is a synthesis of information and entertainment that allows to convey complex or serious topics to the audience in an easier and more attractive form. E.L. Vartanova understands infotainment as a news stream presented in the most entertaining form [1], and B.N. Lozovsky postulates the most comprehensive definition of infotainment as entertaining by information [11]. Active competition for the audience’s attention in conditions of high switchability [35] forces many authors of enlightenment content to resort to an entertaining communication format¹. According to L.S. Yakovlev and E.V. Potekhina, the spontaneous activity of bloggers and other participants in network projects (including enlightenment ones — Author’s note) is not an analogue of the media activity, but a form of self-identity [16]. A study conducted in 2023 [6] identified several major players among the Russian enlighteners. Among the first five, Russians were able to identify (knowledge with a hint) educational projects of the *Culture TV channel*, the *Knowledge Russian Society*, *Arzamas*, *PostNauka*, *Schrodinger’s Cat* platforms. At the same time, the willingness to recommend the educational content of these projects does not exceed 10% (*Culture TV channel* — 22.9%).

¹ Only 20% of Russians watch educational programs to the end [6].

In our opinion, the most important predictors of infotainment are: 1) media convergence, which is a fusion of various types of media (television, the Internet, print media), which contributed to the creation of new content formats where information and entertainment elements are closely intertwined [24]; 2) technological progress, which implies the development of digital technologies, the Internet and social networks, which made it possible to create interactive and visually attractive forms content that is easily perceived by the audience [26; 31]; 3) changing audience needs, which lies in the fact that modern content consumers (especially young people [27]) prefer to receive information in a convenient and easy-to-understand form, often combining news viewing with entertainment [32]; 4) media competition, which encourages media companies to create unique and attention-grabbing content capable of retaining and expanding the audience; 5) psychological factors influencing the choice of information content that causes an emotional reaction [3]. In this regard, infotainment appeals to emotions, making information more memorable; 6) economic factors related to the fact that entertainment content attracts a much larger volume of advertising, which makes infotainment financially profitable for media content producers [22; 33]; 7) modern cultural trends such as “entertainment culture” and “request for accessibility”, stimulate the development of infotainment, which becomes a way of mass communication [30].

Enlightenment in the age of infotainment is the process of spreading knowledge and raising awareness of the audience through formats that combine information and entertainment elements. This phenomenon is characterized by the following key features:

1. Enlightenment content in the era of infotainment often goes beyond tradi-

tional formats and adapts to the formats of shows, podcasts, video blogs and memes, which makes it possible to convey the source material in a form attractive to the mass consumer [18; 19].

2. Infotainment makes enlightenment ideas accessible to a wide audience. Even complex concepts can be presented in a simple and engaging way, which attracts people who might not normally be interested in these topics [34].

3. In the age of infotainment, enlightenment content often includes elements of emotional engagement, such as dramatization, humor, or personal stories. This helps to immerse the audience deeper into the topic, making them more receptive to information [20].

4. Modern infotainment formats, such as videos on social networks or short articles, require the presentation of information in a concise and maximally precise form, which leads to the creation of short, succinct phrases or ideas that are easy to remember.

5. In the age of infotainment, there is a risk of superficial perception of information. In an attempt to make the content more engaging, complex topics can be simplified to the point where their depth and significance are lost. In addition, a significant part of the audience may not trust scientific information provided in the infotainment format [25]. This is because entertainment elements can be perceived as reducing the seriousness or credibility of the content. This is especially true for those who are accustomed to receiving information from traditional academic or official sources, where information is presented strictly and formally [17].

6. Infotainment has a strong influence on the formation of public opinion and the perception of various topics. This can both help broaden the horizons of the audience and

manipulate its perception through simplification and emotional coloring of information.

Thus, enlightenment in the age of infotainment is a complex and multilevel process that allows the dissemination of knowledge and educational ideas to a wide audience, but requires a careful approach to maintaining the quality and reliability of information.

The purpose of this study was to identify the consumer preferences of Russians in relation to enlightenment products in the era of infotainment.

During the analysis of the source base and the results of our previous research [4; 5; 6], it was assumed that there are two segments of consumers of enlightenment products (with a focus on enlightenment or entertainment). In this regard, the objective of this study was to verify the hypothesis of the existence of two segments of consumers, their portrayal and description of value orientations. As a consequence hypothesis, it was assumed that the identified types of consumers have different life positions due to the level of agency and different value orientations.

To achieve this goal, the questionnaire “Enlightenment in the age of Infotainment” was developed, consisting of seven statements with which respondents had to express their degree of agreement on a 5-point scale by R. Likert. Using such a questionnaire, it was planned to determine how much respondents are inclined to enlightenment (search for educational, cognitive content) or to entertainment (search for leisure and entertainment content), that is, to what extent the respondent would prefer to engage in self-development instead of an entertaining hobby. The statements in the questionnaire were related to specific situations and clearly indicated a choice between two strategies (enlightenment or entertainment). An example of a statement: “In general, I prefer watching the *Culture TV channel* to watching *Comedy Club* videos.

Features of the research sample and the methods used

The All-Russian online survey was conducted on April 29, 2024 through the “Anketolog” service and by collecting respondents’ responses through the service Toloka.ai. During the study, 693 people were interviewed (48.3% were men, 51.7% were women), the average age of the respondents was 34.49 years ($SD=12.83$). In addition, the place of residence (the level of urbanization), the level of education and the subjective income level of the respondents were taken into account. 20.1% of respondents live in Moscow; in St. Petersburg and other megacities — 20.6%; in large cities with population fewer than 1 million people — 31.7% and 27.6% — in regional centers. The level of subjective income of 10.4% respondents is high or very high, 58.3% is average, 23.2% consider their incomes low and 8.1% just make ends meet.

The research tools included the author’s 7-point questionnaire “Enlightenment in the age of Infotainment”, a questionnaire by G. Hofstede, which allows assessing and identifying differences in the respondents’ value orientations. We also used a short five-factor personality questionnaire (Big-Five) [21], translated and adapted by A.S. Sergeeva, B.A. Kirillov and A.F. Dzhumagulova (2016) [14], and a four-choice questionnaire that determines the level of personality agency (intellectual, creative, pragmatic, contemplative and imitative) in accordance with the concept of agency by I.N. Yemelyanova [7].

The research method includes a social passport that characterizes the respondent (level of education, gender, age, level of urbanization, marital status, degree of religiosity, income level).

The data was processed using the SPSS 19.0 program. Data analysis methods used: frequency analysis, average val-

ue analysis, nonparametric Mann—Whitney difference criterion, factor analysis.

The results of the study

The exploratory factor analysis using the maximum likelihood method with Varimax rotation allowed us to identify two factors (Table. 1), that confirmed their validity based on the results of confirmatory factor analysis: CMIN=23,43; df=11; p=0,015; GFI=0,991; CFI=0,984; RMSEA=0,040, Pclose=0,073.

Based on the factor analysis data presented in Table 1, the following conclusions and interpretations of the two identified factors can be drawn. High loads on the “Entertainment orientation” factor have statements related to the preference for recreational activities: “for me, cultural recreation is entertainment, not enlightenment” (load factor: 0.674); “after work, I often prefer to watch entertainment programs rather than enlightenment ones” (0.607); “I would rather read a selection of jokes rather than tips and life hacks from scientists” (0.559); “it’s better to watch a sports competition for a couple of free hours than the *History channel*” (0.435). This factor can be interpreted as a propensity for entertaining, light, and perhaps more relaxing leisure activities. Respondents who get high

scores according to this factor are more likely to choose activities that allow them to distract themselves and relax without thinking about gaining new knowledge or self-development. Their interests are centered around pleasure and entertainment, which may reflect a need for relaxation and stress relief.

Statements related to the preference for educational and cognitive activities have high loads on the “orientation towards enlightenment” factor: “I’d rather learn something new in the field of science than watch entertainment shows” (0.704); “I’d rather listen to a science journalist than a parodist performance” (0.635); “ In general, I’d prefer watching the *Culture TV channel* to *Comedy Club* videos” (0.585). The second factor characterizes the propensity to search for knowledge, the desire for self-improvement, and an interest in cognitive and educational materials. Respondents with high scores on this factor are more likely to choose a meaningful pastime related to learning new topics, cultural development and broadening their horizons than simple entertainment.

The two factors highlighted reflect two opposing orientations in the choice of leisure: entertainment versus enlightenment. They illustrate how different people can ap-

Table 1

The results of the exploratory factor analysis

Statements	Factors	
	1	2
2. For me, cultural recreation is entertainment, not enlightenment.	0,674	
1. After work, I often prefer to watch entertainment programs rather than enlightenment ones.	0,607	
5. I'd rather read a collection of jokes than tips and life hacks from scientists.	0,559	
6. It's better to watch a sports competition for a couple of free hours than the <i>History channel</i> .	0,435	
4. I'd rather learn something new in the field of science than watch entertainment shows.		0,704
7. I'd rather listen to a science journalist than a parodist performance.		0,635
3. In general, I'd prefer watching the <i>Culture TV channel</i> to <i>Comedy Club</i> videos.		0,585
Proportion of explicable variance, %	22,26	15,15

proach the use of their free time in different ways: some seek relaxation and pleasure, others seek development and learning [10].

The reliability of internal consistency for the subscales was not very high, but acceptable: for the scale of “Entertainment orientation” =0.665, for the scale of “Enlightenment orientation” =0.673.

Since the phenomenon under study involves a dichotomy of the trait (enlightenment or entertainment), the entire sample was divided into three groups based on the results of descriptive statistics (average, standard deviation). 20.3% of respondents are strongly focused on entertainment, 25% on enlightenment (Table 2). Most of the sample representatives occupy an intermediate position — they choose entertainment and enlightenment content (infotainment) equally.

Next, the assumption was tested that the followers of “Mr. First” (focused on enlightenment) differ in personal charac-

teristics from the followers of “Mr. Second” (focused on entertainment). To this end, we compared two “polar” groups in terms of personality traits (Table 3).

The results of the comparative analysis revealed differences in such indicators as openness to experience, neuroticism and conscientiousness. Entertainment-oriented respondents are less curious, less prone to fantasy and creativity, and their range of interests is narrower. On the contrary, respondents who are oriented towards enlightenment are more likely to show non-standard thinking, are more inclined to creativity and fantasy, are more curious and have a wider range of interests.

Followers of “Mr. Second” are more anxious and prone to depression, more hostile towards others, shyer and more unsure of themselves. This can be explained by the fact that the content of an infotainment often produces doubt and inconsistency of a scientific fact [2]. On the contrary, followers

Table 2

Distribution of respondents in the sample based on their orientation towards enlightenment or entertainment

Orientation	Frequency	%
Enlightenment	173	25,0
Infotainment	379	54,7
Entertainment	141	20,3
Total	693	100,0

Table 3

Differences in personality traits among people focused on entertainment and enlightenment

Personality traits	Average rank		U	P
	Enlightenment	Entertainment		
Extraversion/Introversion	163,34	150,34	11187,0	0,202
Agreeableness/Antagonism	152,16	164,05	11273,5	0,238
Conscientiousness/Problems	167,50	145,23	10466,5	0,028
Neuroticism/Emotional stability	146,27	171,28	10253,5	0,014
Openness/Closeness to experience	173,55	137,81	9420,5	0,000

of “Mr. First” are less prone to anxiety and depression, have a lower level of aggression towards others, they are more confident and less shy.

In addition, the entertainment-oriented respondents are less organized and responsible, they have less self-discipline, they strive less for achievements, and they are less reasonable. On the contrary, respondents who demonstrate an enlightenment orientation are more organized, responsible and disciplined, they are more eager for achievements, more inclined to be reasonable and more effective.

At the same time, there were no differences in the parameters of extraversion and agreeableness. The lack of differences can be explained by the fact that both of these parameters are less related to motivation and cognitive styles that determine the choice of strategy — enlightenment or entertainment. Extroversion reflects sociability, energy, and a desire to interact with others. Both followers of “Mr. First” and “Mr. Second” can be extroverts and lead an active social life, regardless of whether these activities are aimed at enlightenment or entertainment. Agreeableness characterizes the degree of benevolence, empathy, and willingness to cooperate. Regardless of their orientation towards enlightenment or entertainment, people can be equally agreeable. Entertainment-oriented people can show agreeableness through socializing in an informal setting, participating in

collective games and activities, and caring for others in the context of entertainment. Enlightenment-oriented people can show agreeableness through a desire to share knowledge, help others with learning, and support constructive discussions. In both cases, regardless of motivation, people can strive to maintain harmonious relationships and display altruism.

At the next stage of the analysis of the results obtained, the assumption was tested that the values of Russians focused on enlightenment and entertainment are different. To this end, we compared two “polar” groups in terms of values (Table 4).

The results of the comparative analysis show the differences between the two groups in terms of parameters: Individualism, Masculinity and Uncertainty Avoidance. Followers of “Mr. Second” are more likely to declare the value of personal time, comfortable working conditions are more important to them, and they are more inclined to “adventurism.” Followers of “Mr. First” are less prone to taking risks, have fewer demands on working conditions in terms of comfort, and are less sensitive to spending personal time. They are probably more focused on collective values such as passing on knowledge, helping others, and contributing to the public good. This may explain their less sensitivity to spending personal time, as they are willing to sacrifice their personal interests in order to achieve higher goals.

Table 4

Differences in values among people focused on entertainment and enlightenment

Values	Average rank		U	P
	Enlightenment	Entertainment		
Individualism	140,13	178,81	9191,5	0,000
Power distance	161,86	152,16	11443,0	0,220
Masculinity	175,69	135,18	9049,5	0,000
Uncertainty Avoidance	187,27	120,98	7047,0	0,000
Long-term Orientation	160,55	153,76	11669,0	0,475

Entertainment-oriented respondents are less willing to cooperate at work, are more pessimistic about promotion opportunities, and have less interpersonal trust and personal responsibility for failures in life. On the contrary, enlightenment-oriented respondents are more willing to take responsibility for failures, are more likely to trust other people and cooperate, and are more optimistic about job opportunities.

Followers of “Mr. Second” are more likely to experience anxiety (nervousness) at work, they are more sensitive to uncertainty in management, and they are more likely to agree to work strictly according to the rules. On the contrary, followers of “Mr. First” are less sensitive to a situation of uncertainty, are more willing to act in it, are less likely to worry at work, and are willing to work with no clear rules. Thus, we can make a cautious assumption that the search for entertainment is a kind of stress management strategy for people who are less stable and more anxious.

Next, we carried out an analysis of the relationship of enlightenment orientations with different levels of a agency of personality (according to I.N. Yemelyanova [7]) (Table 5).

The results show that there is a relation between the level of agency and orientation towards enlightenment/entertainment (Pearson Chi square=32.22 at p=0.000). In groups with a high level of agency (intellectual and creative, pragmatic), the number of respondents focused on enlightenment prevails over those focused on entertainment. On the contrary, in the fourth group with the weakest level of agency (imitative), the number of followers of “Mr. Second” prevails compared to followers of “Mr. First”.

The results indicate that there is a connection between the level of agency (that is, the degree of awareness and active participation of a person in their own life and decision — making) and preference for the types of activity — enlightenment or entertainment. Thus, respondents with a higher level of agency tend to show interest in activities aimed at expanding knowledge, developing thinking and improving their skills. This is because such people are likely to be more motivated to develop themselves and achieve long-term goals. Their choice in favor of enlightenment reflects their desire for active and conscious management of their lives. Among the followers of “Mr. Second” there are more respondents with imitative behavior (low level

Table 5

Differences in the level of agency among people focused on entertainment and enlightenment

Levels of Personality agency		Entertainment — Enlightenment			Total
		enlightenment	infotainment	entertainment	
Intellectual and creative	Quantity	56	120	24	200
	%	28,0%	60,0%	12,0%	
Pragmatic	Quantity	73	134	60	267
	%	27,3%	50,2%	22,5%	
Contemplative	Quantity	29	88	24	141
	%	20,6%	62,4%	17,0%	
Imitative	Quantity	15	37	33	85
	%	17,6%	43,5%	38,8%	
Total	Quantity	173	379	141	693
	%	25,0%	54,7%	20,3%	

of agency), focused on entertainment, which may indicate that respondents with a lower level of agency tend to choose activities that require less involvement and awareness, perhaps due to a lack of motivation for self-improvement or a sense of control over their own life. Entertainment can be perceived by them as a way to avoid difficulties or stress, offering temporary relief and pleasure, but not contributing to long-term development. Thus, it can be concluded that a high level of agency is associated with a more conscious approach to life and a preference for activities aimed at self-improvement (the audience of “Mr. First”), while a low level of agency correlates with a preference for passive, entertaining forms of activity (the audience of “Mr. Second”).

Further, the groups were compared by socio-demographic characteristics: gender, age, level of education, income, and religiosity (Table 6).

As can be seen from Table 6, among people focused on enlightenment, there are more older people who are more educated and have higher income level (at the trend level). Perhaps enlightenment orientations are a dynamic characteristic of a personality that “builds up” with life experience.

Conclusions

The conducted research confirmed the hypothesis put forward and made it possible to achieve the goal set — to establish the specifics of Russians’ preferences regard-

ing enlightenment products in the context of infotainment. The solution of the research tasks made it possible to identify audience segments, their characteristics and the relationship between the orientation towards enlightenment or entertainment and key personal and value orientations.

The results of factor analysis and comparative analysis of the respondents’ personality traits and values revealed two clear orientations: entertainment and enlightenment. These orientations differ in both personal characteristics and values.

Followers of “Mr. Second” show a lower level of openness to experience, they are less inclined to creativity and curiosity, which indicates a narrow range of interests. These respondents also exhibit high levels of neuroticism, which is expressed in anxiety, shyness, and self-doubt. They are less organized and responsible, have little self-discipline, and are less prone to achievement.

On the contrary, Mr. First’s followers demonstrate a high level of openness to experience, which manifests itself in out-of-the-box thinking, a penchant for creativity, and a wide range of interests. They are less prone to anxiety and depressive moods, are more confident and tend to interact constructively with others. These people are also more organized, responsible, and disciplined.

Entertainment-oriented respondents value individualism and comfort more, show a propensity for risk and adventurous-

Table 6

Differences in socio-demographic characteristics among people focused on entertainment and enlightenment

Socio-demographic characteristics	Average rank		U	P
	Enlightenment	Entertainment		
Age	175,95	134,87	9005,0	0,000
Education	166,07	146,99	10714,5	0,055
Religiosity	152,96	163,07	11411,0	0,299
Income	164,99	148,31	10901,0	0,060

and experience more anxiety at work. They are less likely to cooperate and show less trust in other people. In contrast, enlightenment-oriented respondents demonstrate a propensity for collective values, are less focused on comfortable working conditions, and are less sensitive to spending personal time. They are more cooperative, more optimistic about their career prospects, and show a high level of trust in others.

Among the followers of “Mr. First” there are more representatives of the older age, with a higher level of education and income. These results confirm that the choice of leisure strategy is closely related to the level of personal development, life experience and social status.

Thus, our results suggest that the choice between entertainment and enlightenment is determined by differences in personality traits, values, and socio-demographic characteristics. In particular, followers of “Mr. Second” are more likely to seek pleasure and stress relief through simple and accessible forms of leisure, while followers of “Mr. First” prefer activities that promote their personal and professional development.

In addition to the conclusions we have drawn, the data we have obtained makes it possible to offer a number of recommendations for media representatives, enlighteners and bloggers:

1. The majority of respondents are in the intermediate group (infotainment), preferring a balance between entertainment and education, which means that enlighteners and media representatives should develop hybrid formats that effectively combine educational elements with entertainment in order to meet the needs of this significant part of the audience.

2. Enlightenment programs aimed at followers of “Mr. Second” may include elements for improving emotional well-being, developing self-organization skills and personal responsibility.

3. For an audience of older and more educated Russians, it is recommended to pay attention to the depth and content of the materials, as well as use channels that are popular among this socio-demographic group.

4. To increase the level of agency of the audience, it is necessary to introduce interactive elements such as surveys, quizzes, online discussions and assignments. These tools will help the audience not only consume content, but also actively participate in its creation and discussion, which contributes to the development of critical thinking and independence.

5. In addition, it is necessary to include elements in entertainment content that can stimulate awareness of personal values, goals and opportunities, and contribute to increasing the level of agency among the audience. For example, enlightenment content may include stories or examples that demonstrate the importance of personal responsibility and self-development.

6. The implementation of gamification elements in enlightenment materials can make such products more attractive to followers of “Mr. Second”. This may include a motivation system, such as a list of awards, levels, contests, and assignments that encourage continued learning.

7. It is necessary to include in enlightenment content plots that will encourage the audience to self-reflection, as well as help to increase the level of agency. This can be achieved through asking questions, giving examples for reflection, and inviting a discussion about personal experiences.

Such recommendations, in our opinion, will help media representatives, enlighteners and bloggers to more precisely customize their enlightenment products to the needs of the groups we have identified, contributing to both their entertainment and educational involvement.

Limitations and prospects of the study

The limitations of this study include the format of the survey conducted among subscribers of the service *Toloka*.

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