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Lomonosov Moscow State University

World of Media

Yearbook of Russian Media and Journalism Studies

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Edited by Elena L. Vartanova

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World of Media

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Editorial Scope

Yearbook *World of Media* is affiliated with National Association of Mass Media Researchers (NAMMI).

The Yearbook *World of Media* has been published since 2009. It represents an annual review of original research in the field of media and journalism studies conducted by Russian authors from diverse cities and institutions.

World of Media is published in the English language.

Editorial Policy

World of Media is aimed at promoting the development of Russian media and journalism studies in both national and global contexts, and stimulating a wider public interest in the journalism theories, methods, findings and applications generated by research in communication and allied fields. Only those articles that are deemed to be of the highest standard and present original research conducted in one of the aforementioned fields are accepted for publication. Articles must not be under consideration by another publication at the time of submission.

This journal seeks to publish original research articles of the highest standard in the **fields** of:

- Media and journalism studies
- Communication theories
- Intercultural communication
- International communication
- New media
- Media regulation
- Media sociology
- Media psychology
- Regional studies
- PR and advertising
- History of journalism
- Media stylistics
- TV and radio journalism
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While the manuscript is open to all methodological approaches, all submissions are expected to be theoretically grounded.

Submission Information

The editors of *World of Media* are now inviting submissions.

Submitted papers should be no longer than 5 000 words, accompanied by a short abstract, up to 200 words, and contain normally 5-7 key words. The title

page should include the title of the paper, the name of the author(s), full title and the affiliation of the author(s) (full name of the institution and department, city, country, e-mail address). Abstract, key words, title and information about the author should be written in English and Russian. The text of the article should be written in English.

List of references should include only publications cited in the article. Citations in the text should be accompanied by round brackets containing last name(s) of the author(s), year of publication and page(s). Example: (Johnes, 2008: 115).

The manuscript should be typed in 1,5-spacing on one side of the paper only, using Times New Roman 14 font. Margins are 2 cm on all sides. Tables and figures (illustrations) should be embedded into the text.

After the article is accepted for publication, the author receives an editor's confirmation, and then page proofs. The author reads page proofs to correct errors and answer the editor's questions.

The publication is free of charge.

All authors should submit their papers electronically. The papers (.doc) should be sent to the e-mail address **worldofmedia@mail.ru**

The submission deadline for *World of Media-2014* is **September 15, 2014**.

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- **Articles in English:** Zinchenko, Yu. P., Pervichko, E. I. (2012). The Methodology of Syndrome Analysis within the Paradigm of "Qualitative Research in Clinical Psychology". *Psychology in Russia: State of the Art*, 5, 157–184.
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Peer Review

World of Media supports a strict policy of publishing only peer-reviewed articles. Each article will be subject to anonymous refereeing by at least two referees. The review period usually takes 1-2 months. Reviews are sent to authors by email.

If you have any queries, please, contact the editors at **worldofmedia@mail.ru**

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Part 1

**MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH:
RUSSIAN APPROACHES**

**MEDIA GLOBALIZATION AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON NATIONAL COMMUNITIES:
EVALUATING M. McLuhan's CONCEPT TODAY**

**ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЯ СМИ И ЕЁ ВЛИЯНИЕ
НА НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ СООБЩЕСТВА:
К СОВРЕМЕННОМУ ВОСПРИЯТИЮ
КОНЦЕПЦИИ М. МАКЛЮЭНА**

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It was Canadian sociologist Marshall McLuhan who seems to have been first in introducing the frameworks of the theory of media globalization. However, since then (the early 1960s) there have been many discussions about the effects of this process, which continue to this day due to numerous contractions that arise in the course of modern information transformation. Following the agenda of the international conference "Media Readings 2013" held at the MGU's Faculty of Journalism, the author tends to carefully discover the pros and cons of different approaches to the theory of media globalization and its consequences for modern national societies. The analysis is based on numerous scientific investigations concerning the current situation. Diverse scholarly approaches confirm that technological breakthroughs currently taking place, which seem to be productive for

fruitful national developments, are likely to increase confrontations between countries because of the great imbalances that have already appeared in these relationships. Therefore, the McLuhan's concept still provokes discursiveness and can be applicable to different trends in the humanities.

Key words: *communication process; media audience; post-industrial society; information market; technologically advanced countries.*

Канадский социолог Маршалл Маклюэн был, пожалуй, первым исследователем, попытавшимся основательно очертить параметры современной медиаглобализации. И хотя с момента зарождения его концепции (в начале 1960-х гг.) прошло немало времени, сам процесс глобализации и сегодня продолжает динамично развиваться, что активизирует современные дискуссии об его влиянии на состояние СМИ. Следуя повестке дня, предложенной в рамках международной конференции Media Readings 2013, проведенной на факультете журналистики МГУ, автор стремится исследовать различные научные подходы применительно к теории медиаглобализации и ее воздействию на современное общество. Изучение «теории вопроса» базируется на большом числе научных источников, по-разному рассматривающих влияние медиаглобализации на современный мир. Очевидно, однако, что этот процесс не изжил противоречий и духовного дисбаланса между различными странами, имеющих место в ходе нынешней информационной трансформации. Поэтому научная концепция М. Маклюэна по-прежнему стимулирует дискуссии по отношению к различным сферам гуманитарного знания.

Ключевые слова: *коммуникационный процесс; аудитория СМИ; постиндустриальное общество; информационный рынок; технологически развитые страны.*

Introduction

This article concerns the process of evolution for media globalization in the modern world during the last few decades and stimulates the analysis of critical approaches relating to this matter. It was a Canadian sociologist, Marshal McLuhan, who in the early 1960s was likely first in trying to introduce a scientific context for this notion, which was initially coined by him as information globalization. Listing the works by McLuhan (McLuhan, 1962, 1964), one would hardly notice any criticism for his part in evaluating this occurrence, which started to impetuously develop at that time. This scholar considered media globalization and the global information village as a benefit to mankind through new technologies, thereby providing universal social progress to all communities. More accessible information, following McLuhan, was aimed to enlighten and educate people in the hopes that it would allow them to overcome the growing contradictions in the world.

Nowadays, half a century after the invention of McLuhan's theory (being admitted by him as not a pure theory but, to that extent, as mostly a set of scientific perceptions), some of his predictions have yet to come to fruition. With certain technological achievements, mankind came across new challenges, witnessing that media globalization can, at least, be questionable on the most pivotal issues such as equal access of all nations to information and the social benefits taken from this process. Consequently, scholars continue to debate how to perceive media globalization and what extent the latter seems to be fruitful for peripheral countries. This discourse has been amplified lately due to political problems inevitably appearing in different countries in the form of stark confrontation. The anti-globalist movement that has become extremely active in the world is one more confirmation of the disagreements between the political elite and the citizens who consider the current situation in the world as being far from positive for the interests of all nations. Thus, globalization generates certain social and political problems, which seem to question McLuhan's initial upbeat assessments.

The main goal of this article is to prove that despite McLuhan's rose-tinted reflections, media globalization does not seem to be a politically neutral phenomenon; on the contrary, it is based on pure ideological priorities of different political actors. It provokes discussion of the question concerning the *substantial essence* of media globalization and the possibilities of its influence on national societies, which seems to be of interest in the different fields of the humanities.

Information society: following theoretical frameworks

Scientific and technical backgrounds influence the dissemination of information throughout the world and shape the current media environment. This process is stimulated by more than just a seemingly unstoppable increase in the general number of print media and broadcasting companies that facilitate a more active penetration of mass information into the social consciousness. The dynamic progress of computer technologies and, in particular, of the Internet as well as an occurrence of various data programs operating within its frameworks (such as Skype, ISQ, etc.) and an active transaction of print mass media in electronic formats, attract the attention of the younger audience to media texts – all of which shape new ways and forms of information development, making information itself extremely influential. The availability and efficiency of media information today becomes immeasurably more absorbant compared to the information in traditional mass media.

Information, therefore, can be visualized as a specific phenomenon of our reality due to the penetration of information into all “pores” of society, which predetermines the everyday behavior of all actors of the social reality. This situation, being truly unique against the background of a preceding evolution of mankind, determines the core essence of the society of information. The concept of this uniqueness began developing in human investigations as early as the 1970s, which was basically related to the impetuous development of information technologies including personal computers as a pure reflection of this situation.

Some authors (Bell, 1973; Boyd-Barrett, 1977) referred to the state of the international community at the time as *post-industrial*, meaning that the new stage of development of the universe turned out to be entirely different in relation to the traditional industrial priorities that had dominated previously. The appearance of information, in this context, does not seem to be a usual form of industrial activity but is characterized as a new phenomenon of production and consumerism. Quite close to this was the comprehension of such American researchers pursuing world socio-economic transformations as Peter Drucker (Drucker, 1973) and Nico Stehr (Stehr, 1994). They named the penetration of computer technologies as a clear reflection of post-capitalist society or the *society of knowledge* by implying that having grasped new information, people immutably become more sophisticated. Remarkably, Stehr referred to knowledge as being a 'black box' by highlighting its continuous changing social nature and the human inability to fix this nature in a consistent way. Yet he admitted that the society of knowledge as a 'decisive phenomenon' was born on the principles of modern technologies (Stehr, 1994: 92).

Leaving apart reflections to the degree that these words may be considered as being universal for all countries, it is obvious that the scientific world from the beginning tended to brand the existing changes, behind which were pivotal transformations in the field of production and development of information. These algorithms predetermined the creation and evolution of a new information environment being named the information society.

According to the author's understanding and definition, this society must be understood as a system of socio-political relations, the development of which depends entirely on searching for and processing information as well as the creation of technological opportunities for its rapid dissemination. These frameworks appear essential in taking managerial and administrative decisions, providing the system with opportunities to function effectively.

Over the last few decades, the priorities of the information society were given attention by a large number of academic observations. This

can be explained, partly at least, by fashionable research trends, which were generated within this context and focused on what were initially unusual definitions. Simultaneously, one would not deny the sincere commitment of the scientific community to understand the nature of the information society, being closely associated with many areas of human cognition and affecting various phenomena of contemporary life.

In the early 1980s, Robert Kling, an American professor in social informatics, even initiated at Indiana University the emergence of the journal *The Information Society (TIS)*, a key critical forum for leading edge analysis of the impacts, policies, system concepts, and methodologies related to information technologies in addition to changes in society and culture. The publication still continues today. For over 30 years it has been observing the interactivity between the social and technological worlds, as well as future prospects from this convergence. The magazine's focus on both the technological and social elements of the information society is clearly demonstrated in its first issue, where an article by William Colby appeared, the then Director of the American CIA. Shortly thereafter the journal became an intellectual anchor for researchers from many Western countries by publishing articles on a range of issues relating to intercultural exchange in the information sphere. In assessing nowadays the overall content of *Information Society*, it is possible to claim that its editorial staff seem to be confident that most disagreements in the political, economic and social spheres can be overcome, one way or another. Although many publications highlight the problems of the information space, the latter is treated as being imperfect towards mostly computer technologies rather than to the "human factor," which seems to be much more pivotal in overcoming current problems.

One more deficiency concerning the information society is determined by the modern reality of illustrating the point as mankind seems to be incapable of processing the existing quantities of information and gets "suffocated" from its abundance. In addition, an increasing flow of information did not make people more humane and successful in dealing with current issues of the day in many pivotal fields such as

ecology, war and peace, poverty, terrorism, etc. Despite the increased informative awareness, the international community is not efficient in formulating rational and truly effective ways leading away from crisis situations.

In connection with this, several pivotal questions can be put on the agenda:

1) Whether the expansion of technical capacity, including the area of mass communication, is a good incentive for the world community, or if it threatens public security as a whole and of certain countries in particular.

2) Does (or shall) the current situation lead to the dominance of technologically advanced countries over others which, in turn, creates unequal opportunities for information development between people in the world?

The above questions raise the issue of information responsibility, which affects many countries. This makes the existence of progress itself perceptible, as being dependent on information flow makes it possible, to some extent, to predict the future of mankind. Meanwhile, if the answers on the above questions are affirmative (“yes, it does” and “yes, it is leading”), then it is assuming that the current situation seems to be potentially dangerous for human development as such, creating problems for the survival of peripheral nations.

Technical progress in communication, which became very observable over the last two decades, originated from the globalization process. Despite its apparent simplicity (stemming from the word “global”), the term of globalization looks complicated. It is frequently used but less often properly explained (at least, in Russian academic sources), and therefore, the definition itself still seems to be vague and devoid of rigorous reasoning (Vartanova, 2005: 9). It is worth saying that globalization itself is understood as a specific environment within which geographical limitations of social and cultural activities are supposed to be overcome, and business activity as such begins to be multidimensional and multifunctional. It is obvious that globalization opens new horizons for

receiving and distributing information and thereby significantly changes the communication landscape as Yassen Zassoursky stressed more than a decade ago (Zassoursky, 1999). At the same time, globalization makes more clear the deepest contradictions occurring in human beings while penetrating the modern social reality (Savrutskaya, 2004). Consequently, this process can be regarded as the integration and unification of cultural, as political and economic dominants being reflective in the entire transformation of society. One of the most influential in this regard is the unification of information flows. Messages created by diverse sources of information being linked with each other become more unified and, to the very much extent, standardized (Yershov, 2010: 81). Media globalization is therefore greatly determined by the increasing volume of information (which looks even more evident in modern conditions due to the unification of media sources) and new technological possibilities for its creation and distribution.

All this, in turn, creates new symbols affecting the behavior of individuals. Thanks to advancing computer technologies and wireless communication, every individual becomes not only a part of a greater society, but is also able to independently influence minds and emotions of other people (numerous cases of hacking against information systems of high profile banks leading to fluctuations in the world financial market provide a good example). Simultaneously, under the influence of a renewed information environment, the international community has been confronted with a number of new specific cultural and ethical phenomena changing the spirit and mentality of society.

Among these phenomena is, for example, the narrowing of the consciousness of the mass audience, which significantly changes its requirements and simplifies its perception of reality. This is commonly seen in the example of Russia. Thanks particularly to the efforts on the part of television, providing the audience with similar programming (soap operas, talk shows, and so on), the Russian population absorbs almost the same samples of behavior, which are not always of the best quality. Thus, the mass audience is still firmly implemented with the

idea that a successful individual is, first of all, someone who has money and power. The way in which this money is earned does not seem to be the issue. Substantive unification of Russian TV channels disseminating information spots produced on the basis of foreign priorities brings both the blurring of moral and ethical norms of conduct in the minds of the audience and substantial aggression. The author is not prone to agree with Russian scholar Yevgeniy Tavokin who considers a modern man absorbed by global information as the one cutting out sensitive perceptions of the real world and losing his ability to self-critically analyze current events (Tavokin, 2005: 135). In the meantime, to ignore the impact of this information on the minds of the individual means to simplify the phenomenon of media globalization. It is worth admitting that the media content being suggested now is the most diverse it has ever been in the history of mankind. For instance, instead of a few TV-channels being accessible about a quarter century ago viewers can now switch on hundreds of them (Bakulev, 2005: 148-149).

All of this clearly confirms that media globalization cannot, at least, be treated with a one-sided (positive/negative) position. This is a multidimensional phenomenon, which is still waiting for further thorough examination in the academic environment. However, it is clear that the phenomenon of globalization stems not only from the development of scientific and technological progress, but also from specific social and political backgrounds. This is worthy of sorting out due to the underestimation of this factor in modern humanity research on media globalization, which is mostly focused on technical innovations rather than on the investigation of the social evolution.

Media globalization: the contours of the evolution

It would be incorrect to consider media globalization as being initiated only by modern history. This process was predetermined by the entire historic evolution of the press. Referring to the processes during

the time of information globalization, especially *electronic colonialism*, Thomas McPhail (McPhail, 2010: 18), following his predecessors (Reis, Trout, 2001; Napier, 2004), believes that it was preceded by a few purely global periods of shaping social progress, which later generated the information space. The first period, he says, carrying on until the end of the first Millennium A.D., can be envisaged as military colonialism due to the subjugation of new territories. This was then replaced by Christian colonialism (up to the 1600) following the spread of the Roman Catholic Church as far as it could reach which, in turn, gave way to mercantile colonialism that continued for three and a half centuries: from the 1600s until the 1950s. And only in the mid-20th century was the world absorbed by the above-mentioned electronic colonialism, characterized by the presence of principally new sources of processing and disseminating information. Repeating for each era the word of colonialism, McPhail claims that all of these lengthy periods witnessed the physical and spiritual expansion of one force over another. The time of electronic colonialism, being completely different, is characterized by a powerful penetration of information, which is much more devastating than conventional forces (ibid).

Leaving behind the discussion as to what extent the word “colonialism” seems to be appropriate, it can be argued that media globalization has to be understood only within the overall development of social and economic relations. These relations gradually strengthened the power of those who were seeking new markets. Therefore, globalization itself from the outset was marked by the eagerness of media owners to capture new territories and to expand zones of their influence, which dates back as early as the 17th century. The process itself started, as we see, long before computer innovations and was defined by the industrial revolution in Europe (that took place in 18-early 19th centuries). French philosopher Henri Saint-Simon, followed by British philosopher Herbert Spencer, argued that the industrial society resulting from this revolution, for the first time in human history, has become a type of unified, cohesive system, in which individual parts of it were entirely aligned with each

other. Within the industrial society, all of its elements were compounded together by communication (Thussu, 2006: 40).

When referring to communications, one would mostly mean facilities (such as roads, bridges, overpasses, etc.). However, scientific and technological progress has also led to the development of media communications, making them not only as a material product but also as a specific cultural product of society. The active concentration of media initiated by European and American owners in the mid 19th century reflected the overall dynamics of financial shifts. The evolution of information was moving towards its appearance as a specific type of good within the system of economic activity. An information product was gradually becoming more pivotal for unifying participants in the market (Mattelart, Mattelart, 1998: 8–10).

The press in the second half of the 19th century and later actively published financial advertising information, which helped adopt various business decisions. It is also important to emphasize that this time was initiated by the active development of social, cross-cultural and spiritual ideas. It was the media who were enlarging the market for themselves, becoming an intellectual engine for different social groups. No other socio-political institution such as political parties, the church or the army were able to become a similar source of motivation for these groups.

Information was not only contributing to more intensive competition between manufacturers, but it was also gradually becoming a commodity with a definite purchasing cost. Consequently, mass media, while remaining the same in structure in a formal way (it was still far from the appearance of media holdings), rendered an increasing influence on the development of society.

More real steps towards the globalization of media were made during the formation and evolution of the first news agencies that emerged in the 18th century. News agencies from the very beginning processed messages from the foreign press, following the sale of this information to the print media. Later, the agencies started gathering news from abroad (through the network of their correspondents). Those successfully operating in

the 19th century were the French agency *Havas News*, the German *Wolff* and others. Soon after, working with information became exposed to the influence of commerce, and news agencies began to increase their domination. For example, in the early 20th century Reuters had exclusive coverage of events in Canada, India, in most of the Far East as well as in Australia, New Zealand and in their African dominions (Boyd-Barrett, Rantanen, 2005: 71). The same can be said about other information agencies such as the *United Press International* (UPI) and the *Associated Press* (AP). In parallel with this process was the concentration of media ownership through which the owners were able to monopolize the right to collect and disseminate public information.

These trends became particularly noticeable in Britain in the late 19th century. Essentially the entire national press (which at that time consisted of about a dozen newspapers being distributed throughout the country) was concentrated in the hands of only three owners, Lords Northcliffe, Rothermire and Beaverbrook. These tycoons also largely controlled the provincial media. After the death of Northcliffe, Beaverbrook annexed his media empire of almost fifteen newspapers circulating in various counties. In the meantime, the media arena was penetrated by other owners (for example, the Barry brothers in the early 20th century purchased several national newspapers). However, the changed mediascape did not radically alter the national media market, being limited with only a small number of proprietors.

It restrained the diversity of opinion on public matters and formed a picture of the world not on the basis of its objective development but according to the political and economic interests of a few masters. The dawn of the process for the concentration and monopolization of media ownership already confirmed a pivotal trait of media globalization, i.e. *strong dependence by the information market on tough political and economic trends that seem to have been presented in the form of real social needs* (for example, attachment of society to scandals and its unrestrained interest in the lives of celebrities, etc.). It cannot be denied that these needs did exist (otherwise it was unlikely to attract mass attention to the media).

Nevertheless, in the course of the globalization of media, they deliberately were reinforced by the owners to shape the consciousness of the audience, the so-called average values. The concentration and monopolization of the market were inevitably leading to another vivid expression: the commercialization of mass media as one more component of globalization. Noticeably, an increasing unification of media content resulted in more vivid diversity in design (which followed due to greater media competition) at a cost of reducing the analytical standard of the outlets.

Meanwhile, globalization in the media sphere as an independent phenomenon developed in the first half of the 20th century, when media ownership in several countries (especially the United States and the UK) had crossed national borders and had come to develop actively on an international scale. This process was leading to the disappearance of the so-called independent and liberally oriented media. The above trend was strengthened even more in the 1950s, when many newspapers or television channels started to exist within media holdings, which accumulated the individual media outlets. In fact, this tendency displayed the development of tough market competition, which was anticipated by some scholars as a natural way for national evolutions, the only way “to understand economic behavior and the only sure means to achieve efficiency” (Crouch, 2007: 261). It is only under this efficiency that the competitive sector could keep naturally evolving (Glyn, 2007: 38).

One way or another, this period was naturally marked with the merging of some media companies, which became a pivotal engine for all technological innovations and simultaneously for the intrusion of the media business into foreign markets. A striking example of this was the penetration into the world media market of the *International Publishing Corporation* established in London and headed by Cecil King. The word “international” in the company’s title clearly demonstrated King’s desire to reach global information industry. He indeed succeeded. By the end of the 1960s this corporation controlled four national British newspapers with a total daily circulation of 15 million copies, along with periodicals in Australia, West Africa, and Western Asia (Heren, 1992: 57).

Even more instructive was the empire *News Corporation*, which began its climb to the top of the international media business in the 1970s. The information interests of the corporation boss Rupert Murdoch have far gone beyond print media (even if his newspapers get released in many countries). Murdoch gradually acquired a movie company, *20th Century Fox*, a publishing concern, *HarperCollins Publisher*, in addition to his supervision of a number of print and publishing industries. In the late 1980s, *News Corporation* actively intervened in the cable TV market, creating it as a zone of its influence on five continents. Already at that time it became clear that Murdoch threatened political pluralism on different national media markets. A similar activity, perhaps only in slightly less volume, was promoted by Italian *Fininvest*, Japanese *Sony* and some others.

To date, there are not less than a dozen companies that have significant influence on the development of the international economy. Some of them are engaged in the creation and distribution of media products only. Ten media giants in the beginning of 21st century were listed among the 500 leading companies worldwide by an income level of 10-25 billion US dollars per year (Bykov, 2003: 78). Now this number has increased further. There are also companies such as *Time Warner*, *Disney*, *Sony* and some others, which, in addition to their media business, are actively integrated into different areas of the economy. For instance, *Lohnro International*, which runs about two-dozen provincial British newspapers, has business operations in the automotive, steel, mining, real estate and insurance markets, as well as others. The German corporation *Bertelsmann* also owns different brands and properties that are not directly related to media production. This multi-vector activity is developing around the world, and such examples are numerous. It is likely to assume that media owned by large industrial and financial structures are not the most profitable businesses. However, they serve their tycoons as a so-called “informational shield” by creating, one way or another, a favorable image of their holdings and interests. Thus, in the context of globalization, the media have become the promoters of not only their

interests, but also of the significantly more absorbing interests of their owners. They are integrated into the overall economic positions of their owners and thereby gravely affect the millions of people who consume this information. Consequently, globalization itself visualizes many important trends of modern consumerism. It is worth remembering such blockbusters as *Baywatch*, *Dallas*, *All in the Family* as well as many others, which one day brought this trend into existence. They became promoters of a particular fashion, behavior and interpersonal relationships to a huge audience around the globe.

Under these circumstances, the extension of the media space and its infiltration into other areas of activity, domestically and internationally, has clearly determined the *expansion of some cultural values into other cultures*. “We live in the era of new cultural conditions,” wrote Hong-Won Park in the late 1990s, “that are characterized by faster adoption and assimilation of foreign cultural products than never before” (Hong-Won Park, 1998: 79). As of late, this trend seems to be developing even more intensively than during those years, and it has become a logical consequence of information globalization in today’s world. On the one hand, this situation is fundamentally changing the traditional views surrounding media content and its impact on mass and individual consciousness, and on the other, it provokes new discussions on the pros and cons of media globalization in the contemporary world. In order to examine the concept of media globalization more thoroughly, it is worth critically sorting out the positions of both sides.

Envisaging global effects: the “leftists” vs. the “positivists”

It is worth stipulating that the division between the “Leftists” and the “Positivists” seems, to a large extent, conditional. However, their use in the present context appears to be justified as these definitions illustrate two global scientific trends regarding media globalization. We refer to the “leftists” as those who are directly or indirectly denied and

keep denying a positive role of globalization on the existence of media. In turn, the “Positivists”, as it follows from the term itself, have a more balanced attitude to the existing processes. Certainly, in a pure form these differences are unlikely to exist due to the inevitable mental and spiritual transformations that every researcher goes through during his or her scholarly career. However, the division between the so-called “Leftists” and the “Positivists” is illustrative for understanding the core of the discussion on media globalization and its outlines.

Investigations concerning the prospects and effects of the above-mentioned cultural intrusion through media globalization have not recently started. As early as 1920 there was already a suggestion that images created by and through the media led to the shaping of a new background. Some researchers even tended to prove that the picture of the universe created due to new business affiliations in the media sphere, had, in fact, little in common with real practice. The pioneers of this theory were American scholars Walter Lippmann (Lippmann, 1922) and Harold Lasswell (Lasswell, 1927), who, by means of sociological studies, were proving that the media can change people’s consciousness. They both stressed that the media were able to do it without visible pressure on the minds and feelings of the audience. This judgment, no doubt, has lost none of its relevance today. We see nowadays how quickly through the media that politicians manage to change political views and values of the electorate. Lasswell, talking about the information process, later referred the mass media to the term of enlightenment as an antipode of coercion (Lasswell, 1948: 3–10). He thereby meant that media could not forcefully impose thoughts and emotions upon individuals, which was similar to what McLuhan told later. However, even under the banner of enlightenment the media have successfully created specific images affecting society. Lasswell, perhaps, understood it much better than McLuhan who seems to have believed mostly in a positive future for society.

Lippmann and Lasswell were likely the first in seeing information as being closely connected with more global, cultural and political priorities affecting media content. This approach has been practically

evolved in the late 1940s, with the start of the Cold War and the division of the world into two rival camps: the “developed socialism” and the so-called bourgeois democracy. In these conditions, socialism was visualized by Western media as a political system that was hindered from the full development of freedoms due to rigid ideological constraints. The bourgeois democracy, in turn, was portrayed as a combination of qualitatively different values that are repeatedly alleged to have been directed at being “maximally complete” in informing the audience on all major issues of the day. It is indicative that after World War II the information theories in the West developed a scientific approach, figuring out that the process of media globalization is more likely to maintain the peaceful evolution of mankind.

Observations of media development in the West, especially the USA, in the 1940s were developing according to a “campaign for the truth”, initiated by the then American President Harry Truman. This campaign was carried out under the auspices of the Marshall Plan aimed at the recovery of Western Europe, which had been devastated during World War II. The proposed strategy was seen as a challenge to Soviet policy and its information strategy developing not only in the USSR but also in Eastern Europe (Thussu, 2006: 18–23).

Meanwhile, many overseas experts in communication at that time and later on were not supportive of this conservative political concept. Harold Innis (Innis, 1972), Armand Mattelart (Mattelart, 1979), Oliver Boyd-Barrett (Boyd-Barrett, 1977), Colin Hoskins and Rolf Mirus (Hoskins, Mirus, 1988) seem to have been adhering to the “leftist” position. What precisely were their arguments?

The supporters of the ‘leftist’ approach at all times believed that ideology defined the willingness of developed countries to “enslave” the rest of the world. They followed a purely materialistic approach regarding the history of evolution of world civilizations. According to this view, the transnational corporations, being mainly concentrated in the northern part of the world (in the Anglo-Saxon world), affected peripheral countries by establishing specific rules in the international

market and, consequently, by enhancing their political and economic domination in different regions of the globe. Indeed, the media became part and parcel of empires as early as some decades ago and played a crucial role in creating a form of pressure, which was coined as cultural imperialism (Guback, 1969; Conradi, 1971; McPhail, 2010). It was done by imposing certain human values on international society, which ignore or more often undermine the existing national cultures.

The effects of manipulation through the global media as a subordinate part of their industrial and economic interests continued to be investigated in the 1990s by a great number of Western academics, including James Curran (Curran, 1991), Michael Gurevitch (Gurevitch, 1991), Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Chris Newbold (Boyd-Barrett, Newbold, 1995), Andre Frank (Frank, 1998), Richard Haass (Haass, 1999), David Harvey (Harvey, 2003), and Ben Bagdikian (Bagdikian, 2004), etc. They all admitted the controversial and ideologically oriented nature of media globalization and saw it as a primary condition for the domination of some values over the others. As one of those academics, Graham Murdock, noted in the late 1980s, communications construe their own realities, “through particular expressive forms” and “through the practices of everyday life” (Murdock, 1989: 136). These words seem to be vital today.

Supporters of the leftist reflection remain active. This can be explained by the tradition of Western political science, promoting for many decades critical thinking in building human knowledge and by the current media landscape, which clearly reflects the process of universal globalization.

Being in accord with leftist researchers that such globalization does not seem to be politically neutral, it is worth stating that their statements turn out to be too simplistic. In fact, the media render influence on mass consciousness but do it in a more subtle form than claimed by the above academics. The media intrusion into people’s minds and feelings seems to be more specific under which the direct impact more often gives way to hidden media manipulation (Yermakov, 1995; Mel’nik, 1996). Manipulation does create a background for maintaining illusory reality but it would be unfair to consider it as only recently being personified.

This is the main reason why some Western scholars traditionally take a more tolerant position towards the effects of media globalization – by considering them as non-detrimental. Media have traditionally been observed as being non-independent, but also not fully undermined by political and economic pressures. According to these investigations, media, in general, seems to be progressive for human development due to their constant promotion of cultural priorities, making people more satisfied about information.

Among the ‘positivists’ actively promoting this idea since the early 1960s was Marshal McLuhan. He pioneered with his books *Gutenberg Galaxy* (McLuhan, 1962) and *Thinking about the Media* (McLuhan, 1964), the content of which was partly devoted to his observation of the global information village. This village, in McLuhan’s thoughts, seems to be purely a virtual notion, which could appear only on the basis of the development of the information society as a privilege of human development. According to him, it is the information society that has created a background for the global information village. Such a village is a clear benefit for the world community as it brings together remote territories, linking them mentally and spiritually. Following this, globalization becomes the backbone of social progress because it shapes new opportunities for different countries in obtaining comprehensive and trustworthy information. McLuhan made it clear that under these circumstances the political process becomes more democratic and beneficially affects the fate of human civilization.

McLuhan’s concept became widespread and found many supporters. The works published about the same time by Daniel Lerner (Lerner, 1958) and Wilbur Schramm (Schramm, 1964) clearly confirm that the idea of media globalization seems to have penetrated onto the pores of the international academic community.

In the late 1950s, Daniel Lerner published his book *Passing the Traditional Society* based on his study of the mass audiences in Turkey, Lebanon and other Arab countries. In his research, Lerner substantiated the existence of a direct relationship between the spirits of information and

the shaping of consciousness of the audience. Western society, he claimed, provided the most advanced model of social attributes such as power, health, skill and rationalism. It was the West that eroded foundations of traditional society and will continue to influence the development of the modern world. Thus, according to Lerner, the cultural diversity that is present in the world continues to play this role but only up to certain limits. The West has already become a hegemonic power bearing the responsibility for defining the information vector of human development (Lerner, 1958: 47-48). Essentially, Lerner has anticipated the further development of the information process, by noting as early as half a century ago a key problem of the modern socio-cultural development.

A second American researcher, Wilbur Schramm, in his book *Mass Media and National Development*, published in the mid-1960s, took the pattern of cohesion between ideas proclaimed by the media and the behavior of people. The mass media's main task, pointed Schramm, is to accelerate and facilitate the transformation of society, without which economic innovations cannot engage in development (Schramm, 1964: 27). Like Lerner, he indicated that the Western media can play first fiddle in developing countries. These media turn out to be responsible for social transformations due the fact that they bring democratic values. Liberal media as such, according to Schramm, are designated to free people from fatalism and fear of change. They seek to strengthen personal and national start-ups, which should lead to a "better life", as compared to the one that now exists in the developing world. In the meantime, the lack or reduced development of democracy makes the development for the free flow of information, which is unlikely to evolve on a mutually beneficial basis, more difficult (Schramm, 1964: 130-131). It is quite hard not to notice Schramm's neglectful attitude of "alien" cultures, which have to be changed thanks to liberal norms and the penetration of the global media into these "decrepit lands".

In fact, Lerner and Schramm expressed the position of the so-called happy post-modernist who sees, following Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, many kinds of cultural texts circulating internationally, and

people adopting them playfully (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1994: 134). It was questionable even then as to what extent this position was argumentative. However, a favorable attitude towards media globalization, perhaps in a slightly softer argumentation, was subsequently developed in the works by Johan Galtung (Galtung, 1971) and Alvin Toffler (Toffler, 1980).

According to Galtung, the world is becoming more “harmonious” due to the flow of information from the centre to the periphery. Information, while breaking the barriers owing to new technologies, equalizes the cultural opportunities of different nations. Recognizing the impact of the technologically advanced countries on the rest of humanity, Galtung perceived this process as being legitimate in the context of the unequal development of national territories (Galtung, 1971: 83–93).

In turn, Toffler described the breakthrough of information as a “third wave” of human civilization, which had replaced the preceding hunter-gathering and industrial stages of world evolution. Toffler named the modern development of mankind as the post-industrial period of unique *information interaction* between countries, standing at different levels of socio-political development. This interaction takes place primarily through the media, which combines intellectual pluralism and therefore makes information easily consumed (Toffler, 1980). Similar views were expressed by W. Russell Newman who also promoted an anthropological evolution of the world society (Newman, 1990). Meanwhile, these researchers have paid very little attention (whether it was consciously or unconsciously is unimportant) to the fact that information pluralism becomes possible only on the basis of equal opportunities between actors living in different parts of the world.

This was most likely due to the belief of the above researchers that the modern world cannot have equal information capacities among the economically developed countries and countries belonging to the ‘second’ and even more so to the “third” world. This statement was based on empirical research. As early as 1969 an American researcher Herbert Schiller published the book *Mass Communication and the American Empire*, where he noted that the dominance of the U.S. in the

field of popular culture, in particular the production and distribution of television products worldwide, seems to be unchallenged (Schiller, 1969). A similar conclusion was made at the same time by Finnish researchers Kaarle Nordenstreng and Tapio Varis, who investigated the presence of American television programs on foreign television. The survey conducted by them in 50 countries confirmed that these opportunities are undeniable, and no European country can compete with the U.S. in the development of entertainment media. A similar conclusion was made by the same researchers three years later. They wrote that the supremacy of the United States in this direction was made possible by the most dynamic (in comparison with other countries) development of market relations (Nordenstreng, Varis, 1974: 54). It is due to its strong economic development, noted Jeremy Tunstall, that the United States managed to develop its media industry and thereby affect the consciousness of people throughout the world (Tunstall, 1977: 263). These statements confirm that the media are a very powerful tool, which is able to promote certain cultural, ethical and other priorities. Although none of the above sociologists claimed that media globalization seems to be fruitful only for “second-rate” countries, their empirical base became very provable for so-called “positivists” considering this process as an opportunity to “promote civilization”.

In the meantime, it would be, nonetheless, incorrect to assess the flow of information from the West to the rest of the world as motivated only by the idea of “cultural imperialism” (Boyd-Barrett, 1977). Firstly, as John Tomlinson fairly stressed, “audiences are more active and critical, their responses more complex and reflective, and their cultural values more resistant to manipulation and ‘invasion’ than many media theorists have assumed” (Tomlinson, 1991: 49-50). Secondly, and not less important, the Western world, introducing certain spiritual values, did much to raise the general cultural level of local population in various regions of Africa and Asia. It is true that this level is based on global mass culture, which is dominated “by the image, imaginary, and styles of mass advertising” (Hall, 1991: 27). In the meantime, the opening of new

schools, universities and theatres as well as the emergence of new print and audiovisual media became the epitome of the overall humanitarian process aimed at raising awareness of the local population and its exposure to common civilization norms.

In this regard, Marshall McLuhan was probably right in predicting a more circulating world, which provides national communities with practices being closely attached to the fruits of civilization. At the same time, it would be wrong to dismiss the global interests of economically developed countries in different spheres, including mass media and the Internet as an impetuously developing source of mass information. Thanks to new forms of communication, standard images became even more global, and millions of children all over the world seem to know Disney heroes much better than the many others that originated from their countries. In this article the author leaves out the question as to what extent this situation can weaken the usual connections between generations living in the same country and the cultural values of the latter. The example of Russia, as well as many other states, shows that it has become a serious problem, being destructive for their habitual cultural spaces. In the meantime, it is worth saying that the aspirations of the most technologically advanced countries to penetrate with peaceful means into remote national communities are aimed to consolidate the basis of the neo-liberal position while providing these countries with the right to set the agenda for all other participants in the information process.

Today this is confirmed in particular by the penetration of media capital in less developed countries and by the decline in broadcasting of the local product instead airing foreign programs. This can be easily confirmed through the example of contemporary Russia. The commitment of Russian TV channels to media globalization is well perceived through various entertainment programs, most of which duplicate famous Western shows. It is worth referring to the reality show *The Last Hero*. For six years as a replica of the American entertainment program *Survivor*, it appeared regularly on Perviy Kanal (Channel 1). Another spectacular example is the daily show *Dom-2* (being broadcast by the TNT Channel, from May

2004 onwards), which originated from the program *Big Brother*. Although the main heroes of these shows are Russian, the shows themselves are subjected to Western “rules of the game” and therefore do not always relate to appropriate models of behavior historically conditioned in Russian society. During the development of these plots, habitual, moral and ethical attitudes become questionable.

Thus, media globalization seems to be an appealing phenomenon making mass consciousness more primitive – all of which destructively affects the journalistic process. In today’s Russia, under the influence of global transformation, other forms of media action are successively replacing journalism. Through the media, the essence of facts and events turn out to be elusive. Therefore, it is worth agreeing with Pamela Odih, who writes that the accentuation of the social and cultural exclusion, of vast segments of the world’s population from the power centers of global networks, has become a formidable obstacle to sustainable development (Odih, 2010: 16). In fact, Americanized Western culture continues to actively penetrate national borders. Huge money is invested in English language media products, including Internet websites, while the media appearing in local languages are unable to withstand this competition and therefore are forced to close down. Thus, the discursive background for the “Leftists” and the “Positivists” is still being maintained and has room for significant development. Meanwhile, the current situation evokes new provocative activities from anti-globalization groups. The rapid process of subduing local cultures to ‘more active’ cultures and, through it, the unification of national mass consciousness in different countries generates new contradictions, which have never been pondered by McLuhan.

Conclusion

Summing up the scientific conclusions towards media globalization, it is possible to say that the formation of two global concepts, which,

albeit, are conditional in their pure reflections, enable us to fix the main research trends established over many decades.

The *first concept* determines that media globalization serves the interests of only prosperous countries seeking to subjugate “weak” societies by controlling information creation and distribution. As a result, a new level of technologies involved in the media process seems to be devastating for the reality. This logic generated the left-wing academic argumentation, tending to prove that such a situation is leading to an unbalanced situation, destroying the spiritual fabric of “deprived societies” and their traditional values. There is a concern, concludes Thomas McPhail quite recently, that current information, mostly coming to elsewhere from advanced countries and preferably using the English language, “will cause displacement, rejection, alteration, or forgetting of native or indigenous customs, domestic messages, or cultural history” (McPhail, 2010: 18).

During the last few years the above position was also supported by scholars from non-Western countries. This was confirmed at two international research seminars initiated in 2007 and 2008 by the Mass Communications Departments of Mediterranean and Istanbul Universities in Turkey and the Faculty of Journalism at the Ural State (now Ural Federal) University. The panelists spoke much about the necessity for journalistic communities to remember the importance of media traditions in their countries so that their audiences could have better access to domestic information.

The *second concept*, on the contrary, defends the idea of a positive media role in the global cultural process. The adherents of this concept see media globalization as dealing successfully with all political, social and economic problems (Zhuranlistika v mire politiki: issledovatel'skie podkhodi i praktika uchastiya, 2004: 239). In the 2000s, Manuel Castells strengthened this idea. In his well-known study, *Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Castells pays attention to “information capitalism” (as he calls it). Through the permanent exchange of mass information, Castells stresses, technically backward countries become dependent on technologically developed ones, which facilitates mutual information activity (Castells, 2000, 2004).

Meanwhile, serious technological breakthroughs taking place nowadays which seem to be productive for national developments, are likely to increase confrontations between countries because of the great imbalances that have already appeared in these relationships. This problem, in fact, has been ignored by Castells and his followers, who have proved their wish to assess media globalization from a mostly determinist position rather than on the basis of human theory. Therefore, it is still arguable to what extent Marshall McLuhan's viewpoint about positive frameworks of media globalization for peripheral societies is sensible. McLuhan himself could predict neither the disappearance of the bipolar world in the 1990s, substituted with political monogamy, nor the modern political tendencies, filled up with corruption and egocentrism. Contemporary life demonstrates negligence to McLuhan's argument about the "healthy" enlightenment of mankind through technical facilities in favor of the countries that need it most.

The existing differences in evaluating media globalization illustrate a significant amount of controversies inherent in the contemporary world society. Everyday practice demonstrates that the modern environment is still unable to maintain equal opportunities for all countries in obtaining, consuming and distributing mass information. The global information village, as McLuhan's spiritual invention, has become real and perceptive, but it is still being left as some kind of idiom towards the notion of the village, where people indisputably respect each other. And without respect for each other, it is impossible to survive.

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MUSIC CONSUMPTION PRACTICES IN THE AGE OF THE CLOUD: LISTENING TO RUSSIA

ПРАКТИКИ СЛУШАТЕЛЕЙ В ЭПОХУ МУЗЫКИ В ОБЛАКЕ: ПРИСЛУШИВАЯСЬ К РОССИИ

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The article presents early insights from an ongoing study of the respective musical cultures of young audiences in Stockholm and Moscow. The 3-year research project "Music in the Digital Age" is conducted by a research group at Södertörn University, Sweden and financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. The cross-cultural study focuses on the impact of the Internet on music in everyday life. This article presents the first results from the Russian segment of the study: we look into how the growing Internet access affects the patterns of music-related practices in Russia.

Key words: music; the Internet; social media; media consumption; materiality; media economy.

В статье представлены предварительные результаты продолжающегося исследования музыкальных культур среди молодежной аудитории в Стокгольме и Москве. 3-летний исследовательский проект «Использование музыки в эпоху цифровых медиа» проводится исследовательской группой в Университете Сёдертёрн (Швеция) и финансируется Юбилейным фондом

Национального банка Швеции. В фокусе кросс-культурного исследования — влияние Интернета на использование музыки и значения музыки в повседневной жизни. Эта статья рассматривает первые результаты российского сегмента исследования: мы наблюдаем, как облегчение доступа влияет на практики, связанные с использованием музыкой, в России.

Ключевые слова: музыка; Интернет; социальные медиа; медианотребление; материальность; медиаэкономика.

Background and method

The global transformation of relations between the music creators, music industry and audiences is happening on the backdrop of technological and cultural change.

The ongoing transition of music into the virtual sphere is reflected in the metaphor of 'the Cloud,' a decentralized virtual space with a low level of control and a high level of connectivity, where the content and the medium are no longer inseparable (Wikström, 2009: 5–9). The image of an emancipated fan audience (Baym, Burnett, 2009) that enjoys the benefits of a participatory culture (Jenkins 2006) and a connectivity culture (van Dijk, 2013) on the Internet is favoured both by the industry and academic research.

Technological development and the facilitation of access to information affect music as valuable – and often understood as private – cultural material. “Intimate music practice, on the private or one-to-one forms of human-music interaction... offers an ideal vantage point for observing music... in the construction of the self as an aesthetic agent (DeNora, 2000: 46). The complex meaning of the Internet for music as a 'change agent' (ibid) is adopted to diverse national contexts. The national context is the meeting place for the global and local cultural flows, and to a significant extent, the national context still defines the practices of music creation and consumption (Österback, 2008; Regev, Seroussi, 2004; Goldenzwaig, 2005).

For the Russian national context, in particular, the problem of access has been crucial in media consumption research of the 2000s-early 2010s. Vartanova (Vartanova, 2013: 84–90) refers to the growth of the number of Internet users in Central Russia from 8.1 million in 2007–2008 to 17.7 million in 2012. The share of daily Internet users in Russia at the same period (2012) reached 40%. Vartanova also points out the outstandingly large amount of time that Russians spend on social media: 53 minutes per day on average. Her analysis of the dynamics of user interests on the Web shows that 47% of Russians use the Internet to download or listen to music, a figure that exceeds watching and downloading videocontent (43%) or playing videogames (25%).

Thus, the problem of access *per se* appears significantly ameliorated. However, access to any innovation in itself is not a panacea that that benefits everyone. Borrowing the metaphor from Negroponte [1995], 'being digital' does not yet narrow the gaps in cultural consumption. The question remains how the audiences make use of the access.

For Russian research in music and media, studies in audience practices have until recently remained a *tabula rasa*.

The research project "Music Use in the Digital Media Age" (led by Dr. Sofia Johansson, Södertörn University) was designed to analyze the impact of the Internet on music use and meanings of music in everyday life. Nationally determined peculiarities in music are observed *from the audience's perspective*. The purpose is to identify how technological, social, cultural development affects music listening, music-related practices and, in a broader perspective, the role of music in the lives of young audiences.

This article describes the practices of Russian music users. However, in some cases, whenever appropriate, I also address the Swedish practices with the purpose of contextualization.

Methodologically, the finalized qualitative part of the study was based on focus-group interviews. The method of focus-group interview was chosen as the most effective one to create a free, collective picture of audience preferences (Hansen, Cottle, 1998: 257-258).

The focus group research was held in 2012. The semi-structured interview guide was developed for the interview and used with all groups.

All participants (9 groups, 40 informants in mixed, male and female groups) were undergraduate students at The Faculty of Journalism of MSU aged 17-24. Some of the participants come from Moscow and live either with their parents or separately, on their own, while others share a room at the dormitory with other students.

In order to get a more precise picture of audiences' technical preferences, we collected information about individual music consumption via distributing questionnaires to informants upon each interview. This additional information allowed us to understand the intensity of Internet use for music-related practices, map the technical devices used for music listening, and identify major types of 'traditional' and 'new' music-related media. The questionnaires play complementary role in the research and help to map the music habits of our informants.

The data array we collected is sufficient to suppose that the majority of Russian informants listen to music:

- on a daily basis;
- primarily on the computer (at home), and to a lesser extent, on MP3 players and/or mobile phones (in urban environments);
- on the radio and CD-players (less frequently, but still noticeably);
- the national SNS Vkontakte¹ is the online-platform that is most frequently used in connection with music².

¹ **Vkontakte** (Russian: “In Touch”) (since 2006) is the biggest SNS on the Russian-language Internet. According to VK, the daily audience of this private resource in February 2013 reached 43 million users. The possibility for users to upload and search for audiovisual content makes VK one of the main online media archives in Russia. Users are encouraged to create their own collections of music records of all the records available on VK. Until the adaption of the new copyright law in Russia in 2013, VKontakte has not directly followed the copyright principle. From a music user perspective, VKontakte combines the features of SNS and music service.

² Less frequently but regularly mentioned websites, services and platforms include (in descending order): YouTube, Last.FM, SoundCloud, RuTracker, Zaycev.net., Moskva.FM, Yandex.Muzyka, Twitter, Tumbler, Vimeo, Prostopleer, Soundhound, Stereomood, Kroogi, Shazam, Spotify, Soundclick, Beatport, etc. Media players such (primarily, iTunes) were also mentioned among the platforms. Wikipedia and Facebook were present in several discussions.

Habits and navigation

Music is deeply incorporated in daily life because of ubiquitous listening, which detracts from focus. Music in itself, as a collection of parts and bits swirling together, becomes ubiquitous (Kassabian, 2013). It appears in the narratives as a necessary stimulant and mood reflector, even on the bodily level. Reaffirming DeNora's concept of music as a technology of self (2000), young listeners speak about their music as a tool of mental concentration, self-programming, self-regulation; a simulacrum for behavioral impulses. Compensatory and regulatory functions of music present themselves most transparently in the urban context, which fits the fabric of, e.g., Bull's research of 'sound moves' in urban experience (Bull, 2007).

ANZHELA: For me it's all very impulsive, that is to say, well, I listen to what I want to at a certain point. That is always different, but now I can say that in the subway I like to listen to energetic music, because it somehow protects me, yeah. You move with the flow of people, you go in a more energetic manner. With people that is important. Well, just make it fast, all the escalators, underpasses. [FG 15-1]

KONSTANTIN: So, for me, music creates the situation. Well, I turn music on when I work, when I write anything that is not necessary to think about that much. So, music changes the situation rather than vice versa, because, for example, if I'm walking, I will start to walk faster or slower. Well. Plus, I have spent ten years dancing, so I, well, very often try to walk to the beat. Sometimes it can be very difficult. And accordingly, I can completely change the mood when I listen to music. [FG 17-1].

In a number of cases, VKontakte is mentioned directly as *the* platform at which one finds music (Andrey³: "Music is the link on my VKontakte page that you can find on the left": FG 17-2).

Furthermore, informants' approach to presenting their music tastes vary significantly. Categories of genre, time, gender, country of origin are used in a mix, complementing each other. As the music

³ All names of the informants in the quotes are changed.

taste is directly related to identity, as a device for the reflexive process of remembering/reconstructing who one is (DeNora, 2000: 63) the national peculiarities of identity construction in this sphere appear especially noteworthy.

The audiences demonstrate a clear tendency for dividing all music into ‘Russian’ or ‘our’ and ‘foreign,’ which follows the organization patterns found in the previous audience research in Russia (Pilkington, Omelchenko, 2002). The connotation of these opposing categories is peculiar. Russian music is often depicted as shameful, bad, low-quality. This is especially relevant for Russian pop music or ”pops” (dismissive for ”pop”). Participants deliberately choose to demonstrate their disregard for it, or alternatively, they admit listening to it in the manner of coming out. Pop music becomes ”pops”, an object of stigmatization on the only condition: if this is pop music made in Russia.

Negation is especially typical for the narratives where Russian informants tell about their music preferences.

BORIS: I may not be patriotic, because I can't listen to anything Russian.

M: Why can't you listen to anything Russian?

BORIS: Well, of course, I have listened to all the classics, I'm not talking about those, I'm referring to the modern pop sounds, this stuff [FG 15-1].

TATYANA: I don't know, I guess, my favourite bands from our artists [=Russian] are Spleen, Zemfira, Bi-2. And from abroad... well, different music. Sigur Ros, Arctic Monkeys. Very different genres. (...)

SVETLANA: I graduated from a music school and even attended a music college for a while, so for an a 18-year old I have some kind of an abnormal love for classical music. And it's a completely different part of my love for music, because the other part of me loves, well, what you can call rock. This is generally a mixture of several pop songs, even several Russian pops songs! [laughter]. (...)

XENIA: Well, I guess, I have it pretty much the same way. Excluding rap and Russian pop, that good old Russian pop [laughter] [FG 16-2].

The national origin of music appears more important than genre: foreign pop, rap, dance music are not unattractive to the informants. Obviously, the audience perceives Russian pop as a negative social marker, and distances itself from it.

Numerous examples demonstrate the importance of national labels for the audiences: many listeners use the national origin of music for navigation and inspiration.

ANTON: Well, it's mostly foreign music and not local artists. And I mean, not only British or American – from other countries, too. There is also European [music] or even jazz, soul.

VICTORIA: Can I add? Turkish rock. (Laughter). I'm just a fan of Turkish rock. (Laughter). Discovered it for myself. Anton mentioned 'other countries'. This is very useful when you learn the language, and we did listen a lot to French songs. In general, through songs you can discover a language and fall in love with it. And so I discovered the Turkish language, only through songs [FG 15-2].

The practices of self-identification via negation and resistance, opposing 'Russian' to 'foreign' that immediately stigmatize national mainstream genres as lowbrow appear only in Russian narratives. None of the above-mentioned findings are equally relevant for Sweden.

Furthermore, classical music and jazz are nearly non-existent in Swedish narratives. In Russia, on the contrary, these genres are frequently mentioned with respect and passion. The amplitude of classical/jazz music use stretches from pure utilitarianism, particularly in the 'urban chill' of a megapolis (Bull, 2007: 9) (Xenia: "Classical music is a must, it alleviates Moscow stress" FG 16-2) – to deep dedication.

ALBERT: As for the genre specifics, it is probably classical music, preferably Leonard Bernstein. New York Symphony Orchestra. It's jazz... then probably American pop of the 50s and 60s. The kind that is not directly jazz, you know, like doo-wop, and so on, these styles [FG 18-2].

As the boundaries of artificial scarcity disappear, the return of classical music may be a side effect of simplified access to music on the

Internet. The musical palette is functional and mood/emotion-related, and the access to music is broader than ever. Perhaps, this can explain the return of classical music on to the map of music preferences. It is worth mentioning that the last large-scale qualitative study of music listening in regard to Russian audiences, led by Pilkington in the late 1990s (Pilkington, Omelchenko, 2002), did not record encounters with classical music.

Apart from denying certain genres of Russian music, music choices are presented in a stunningly non-conflicting manner. Favourite music is neither associated with protest, nor opposed to the music of the others (cf. with the tensions between 'normals' and 'progressives', alias 'neformaly' yet in the 1990s) [ibid: 165–200].

Very few informants follow certain artists. The cases of fan-following are nearly non-present. Within the social aspects of music-related practices, the typical uniting feature for the 'lazy' and 'omnivorous' (Johansson, 2012) audience is the lack of interest in the private life of artists. [Eduard: "That's not so interesting to me. Have you made your music? Good, thanks!" FG 17-2]. Music is often seen as a depersonified product.

Music choice, music listening, music collecting appear as highly individualized, private practices, which makes them stunningly distant from the image of generative music cultures (Tham, 2009) and, especially, fan cultures. The individualisation does not exclude practices of joint listening, but, aside from at concerts and 'dropping' certain tracks to friends *vis-a-vis* on the Internet, listening to music remains a private activity, and privacy in music is much appreciated.

References to music as a centripetal force for community-building appear mainly in historical contexts. Our informants acknowledge that music can bring people together, however, such references are always routed in the past.

TATYANA: If you take the previous generation as an example – our parents. There was no such access and, therefore, it [=music] was twice as precious for them. It's just that they treated these vinyls as something holy

and listened to them together not just because they had them, but because “it’s amazing, I managed to get it” [FG 16-2].

ROMAN: They say that you can now listen to the radio all over the world, online. Same with music. You will have free access. Yes, while my father would be running after AC/DC’ or Deep Purple’s records...

KONSTANTIN: ...that were illegally brought into the country.

ROMAN: Yes, that were illegally imported into Russia, into the country. That was cool, yes. Damn many stories to tell.

KONSTANTIN: There is some particular romantic touch in it.

ROMAN: Yes!

KONSTANTIN: And I just heard the story about how people in the middle of nowhere, in the fields... were exchanging vinyls [FG 17-1].

Before we take a closer look at the factor of materiality, it is worth mentioning that the music of previous generations (‘dad’s records’, ‘classic rock’, AC/DC, Pink Floyd, Queen and, especially, The Beatles, quoted with a particular respect) is fully appreciated and widely enjoyed.

Audiences freely combine music from different epochs which is also the result of less scarcity and simplified access.

What is more peculiar, the image of father (as a catalyst for choosing music for developing music taste, for learning about music devices or just as a common reference) is recurrent for both female and male, supposed savants’ and laggards’⁴ narratives.

ALINA: My dad buys music, I personally have never bought a thing, because it is much easier to listen online. And he, basically, he is not on Vkontakte or any social network, so it is much easier for him to go to the Apple store, download a few albums, and he likes to listen to them on the road, or, I do not know, when he’s not busy with other things [FG 15-1].

⁴ Savant – a trend-sensitive user with expert capacity who actively spreads the knowledge. Laggard – a user who relies on traditional channels and forms of information, reluctant to change.

*TIMOFEY: I can't say I prefer some particular style.
GEORGY: As for me, it can be divided into two parts. This [the first part] is the music that my father introduced me to - it's jazz, it's George Benson, Norman Brown (jazz-rock), Earth Wind and Fire, Kool & The Gang, Funkadelic. To this day we listen to jazz on vinyls. Actually, these are stunning bands - and the bands that I discovered myself are different [FG 18-2].*

It would be insufficient to explain the role of a father purely from the gender perspective. Neither brothers nor boyfriends, nor any other male relatives or close friends, not to mention women, appear as frequently in the narratives. To a certain extent, the precedent of father's authority can be interpreted as an outcome of a more pronounced interest in technical gadgets among men, as well as a higher level of income, which enables investment in a hobby. Further on, this hobby becomes a channel of communication with the child. In any case, we need separate focused research to elaborate on this phenomenon.

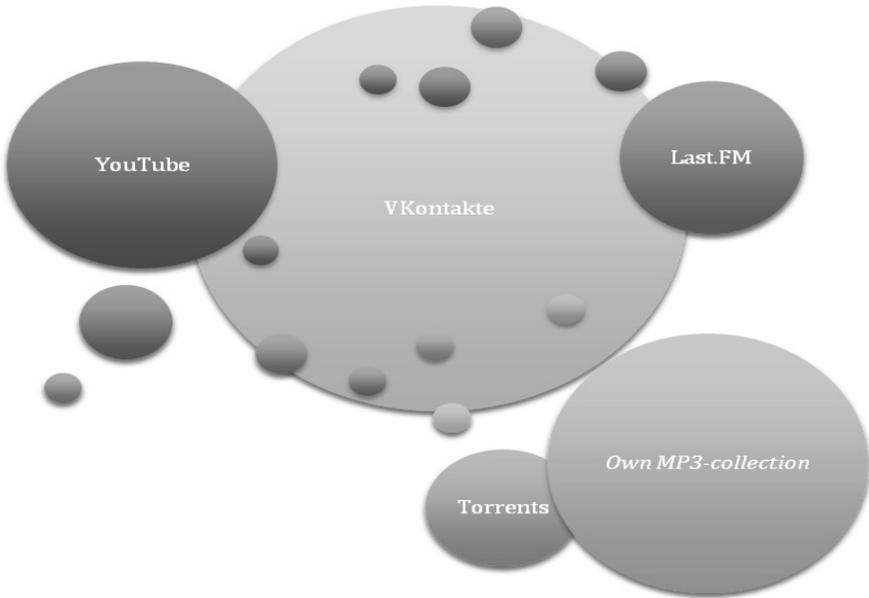
Platforms, materiality and a/sociality

All informants listen to music on the Internet, or download it from the Internet. Their listening patterns are considerably more complex than in most Swedish focus groups, where the music service Spotify prevails⁵. Besides, quite a few Russians describe themselves as devoted collectors.

⁵ Among the Swedish Internet users aged 16 to 25 years, 9 out of 10 are on Spotify [Findahl, 2011] Recently, Spotify announced it will launch in Russia in 2014.

Figure 1

**Leading platforms associated with music.
Russian focus groups, according to the narratives.**



The Russian listeners demonstrate a strong affiliation with music that can be privately stored on a computer hard-drive, an mp3-player, CD and even vinyl. Both those who present themselves as avid music collectors, and those who appear rather indifferent to music, appreciate the **materiality** of music.

The CD, seen in its young age as *enfant terrible* of the industry, the killer of the vinyl that deprived music of physical emotionality (Rothenbuhler, 1997) nowadays gives listeners a sense of nostalgia of materiality. The level of abstraction associated with the digital recording on a CD does not become an obstacle for nostalgia. Even mp3-files on a hard-drive are interpreted by informants as a material possession (is that a sign of a new materiality of the digital object? (Roy, 2013)).

Collecting music is inseparable from passion (Marshall, 2013; Shuker, 2010). As Marshall (2013) explains it, "ownership, personal possession is a central element of collecting. Some possessions can be understood as a constitutive part of an 'extended self". For Marshall, the process of planning, desiring, "hunting" is a central, meaningful element of collecting that is threatened by the decay of artificial scarcity. And the listeners are well aware of the cause-and-effect relationship: in the eyes of our informants, materiality of music is directly interconnected with its value.

ANTON: Well, I can tell you where I see drawbacks of online listening and quick access to music. I think, it's like with everything else. With books, films... I mean, it's a temptation, just to type some name or simply, browse through people's pages. And it takes you a lot of time and you don't get anything out of it because you listen to something you do not need. And if, say, we're talking about gifts, CDs, then you think twice before you go and buy it. You buy what is really necessary. Then it's not just something superflous, it has some sense, it's not only music. It's, like, you come to a friend, and there is always music playing and the music becomes, well, such an organic environment. And then it's no longer music, in fact, I think.

ANZHELA: I also miss the materiality. The fact that the disks are fading away. Well, I like to keep something in my hands. A thing. Well, again, the design of a disk. Now you upload the cover, of course, along with the album, the discography, but I still miss the booklet, all these things, it's a pity that they are disappearing.

VICTORIA: Yes, I totally agree with the guys. When you can touch something, you know that it's yours, and you're a part of someone's creativity. And, even, for example, when I bought a record, I knew that I paid my favorite musicians, it's like their income. And when you have the ability to download from torrents infinitely, then you can download and never listen to the music, or listen to it just by the way. While I could listen to CDs a lot, I could only do it several times a day, for me it was something special. And now this feeling is gone, completely. And I'm sad about it [FG 1510-2].

The informants elaborate for storing their music – either as a compensation to the cloud-based services or *instead of* the cloud-based services. The physical carriers are emotionally important to the majority of the listeners, and they speak about them with warmth and passion. Traditional music shops appear in the conversation frequently, labeled both as a place of habit and as an anachronism. The passionate attitude toward the physical, toward storing and owning, goes beyond nostalgia.

The omnipresence of music is mentioned in all groups, while they interpreted the phenomenon differently. The informants appreciate easy access to free "music on tap". At the same time, they describe their frustration over the uncontrolled music flow, and point out the necessity of guidance, gatekeeping or even control over music. In some cases, participants point out that music has lost its collective nature due to over-accessibility, and refer to the *live* segment as the last bastion of valuable music. Interest in artists arises from concerts and shows [cf. with Nordström, 2013]. In this context, VKontakte events, Twitter posts, and YouTube reports are widely used to facilitate music distribution and discussions about music, both before and after live performances.

Some informants occasionally mention torrents as a tool for quick and wide access to music (as in the quote above). Some of the most avid music listeners still perceive them as a necessary format, inseparable from other music sources, while others refer to torrents as phenomena of the past.

As it was outlined above, the folksonomies of the Internet platforms used for different purposes (downloading, streaming, obtaining information, discussing, following artists) vary significantly from one participant to another.

The only overwhelmingly uniting feature for the informants is their use of VKontakte. (The most frequently named complementing platforms are YouTube and Last.FM.) However, even VKontakte is used in different ways, from downloading to streaming. It also receives mixed comments ranging from positive to scornful. Unlike Spotify, VKontakte is a metamedia that unites a broad spectrum of functions within

information and communication. Like MySpace in 2000s, VKontakte was never designed as a hub for music; it took on this role due to the national peculiarities of the music/media landscape, and due to loopholes in copyright legislation. Finally, VKontakte has inherited a crucial nationally determined media consumption pattern. It accrues cultural content as a free public resource that exists outside of restrictive copyright practices. Every user can enjoy the gigantic array of music uploaded onto VKontakte – for free. This approach to the content follows the tradition of Soviet *'samizdat'* directly, and is not unique to developing countries [cf. with Perullo, 2013].

Unlike Spotify in the Swedish groups, VKontakte is described in a controversial way. Even more irritating than "shame music" (mainly pop tracks, which listeners prefer to listen to in a secret) is the wide presence of incorrectly named tracks. This complicates the search and disorients the listener (e.g., soundtrack from "Requiem for a Dream" labeled as Mozart's "Requiem"). The overwhelmingly positive feature of VKontakte is its flexibility, both in terms of access to any kind of music and in terms of listening modes. The SNS is appreciated as a ready-made integrated service for communication, networking and entertainment.

Unlike Pilkington (2002) in her Russian music study, we do not introduce a division of the informants (e.g., into 'normals' and 'progressives'): the profile of our informants, media students is rather homogenous. Naturally, as it appears in the narratives, they do represent different audience groups, by the speed they demonstrate in adopting innovations (Rogers, 2003): we meet innovators, early adapters, the general majority, and laggards. Illustrating the frequency of representation within different audience groups, Jennings (2007) wisely classifies listeners by the pyramid principle, with savants (7%) on top, followed by enthusiasts (21%), casuals (32%) and indifferent (40%). The pyramid metaphor warns against overly optimistic expectations for engaging creativity.

Nevertheless, even the presence of music savants in the focus groups, the expressed appreciation of the possibility of direct contact with artist, and the well-understood and accepted convenience of the flow of

information – all of that does not lead to an increase in the users' online creativity. The informants do not see themselves as fans or online activists. The acknowledged *connectivity* does not lead to *creativity*. The findings from Russian focus groups are quite opposite to the popular concepts of a prosumer, or a social and creative music fan (Wikström, 2009). *Passive consumption*, simplified by the fast free access, is seldom complemented by *online-participation*.

Most of the discussions about music (unless about live segments) happens offline. Music, once again, is observed not as a common creative field, but rather as a private sphere, which is approached with great tact and discretion. In the narratives, references to a romantic encounter are particularly common. [Anna: “My friend once refused to go to the cinema with a guy who listened to Selena Gomez... she saw it on VKontakte”: FG 16-3].

Payment practices

The informants demonstrate fairly deep knowledge of the principles of the music industry, and, especially, the nationally determined principles in the Russian context. In the Russian music industry, the *live* segment has historically dominated the *record* segment (Goldenzwaig, 2005). Within the course of the discussion, the artist and the music industry are frequently opposed to each other, whereas the artist is seen as a hard-working creator, while the industry stands for mammon. The known cases when artists deliver their product directly to the audience (e.g., Radiohead, Trent Reznor) are presented in the discussions with respect.

M: Do you buy music on the internet? Does anyone?

DENIS: That's a bad habit!

ILONA: Depends on the artist. When Radiohead released an album that you could download for free or pay for, I paid, I don't remember how much... 300... 400 rubles, just because that was respecting the artist. But generally speaking, very rarely [FG 1705-1].

The discussion about payment was the emotional peak for all groups. Young Russian listeners generally enjoy the *status quo* of easily accessible music online, but at the same time, they understand the gap between *de-jure* and *de-facto*. Moral tensions are not uncommon. Seeking a consensus is a challenge.

M: Do we have to pay for music? Or should it be free?

ANNA: Pay where? On the Internet? Or... for concerts – for sure. If you listen to live music, if you come to the concert, it is natural that it should be paid for. How would bands and artists blossom, otherwise? And on the Internet, I don't think you have to pay.

VERA: For us, of course, it would be nice if it remained free.

ANNA: Remained free, yes.

[...]

VERA: I think, only a small percentage of people in Russia have a credit or e card that can be tied to payment systems. Yes, first of all, payment systems steal a lot, second, just in order to adapt to Internet payments, you must first order a regular credit card, and then register it at the payment system. It's such a bore.

[...]

DARYA: For example, in the West, people buy music. Because there's no open access to it. And, in order to download a song you have to pay a few pennies. That's it.

GALINA: Well, it's just a question of payment, that it is easy enough.

DARYA: Well, yes... it's organized in a more convenient way for the consumer, not as here with us, where it's impossible.... [laughter and approval] We're not used to it yet.

GALINA: Yeah. So it turns out that music will then be available only to people who are able to cope not only with the technology, but also with payment... [FG 1610-3].

Awareness of the contradictions between the Russian and international practice once again leads to the emergence of national markers in the narratives: “in Russia,” “we,” “here,” and “in the world,” “the West,” “they,” “there,” etc: the audiences, by Pilkington

[2002] are "reconfiguring the West" and "living with the West," and it does not happen without friction. The emotional tension of the debates shows that the payment question is sensitive: it does lie within the scope of cultural identification. Informants refer to the lack of national legislation in the music sphere or in creative industries in general. At the same time, they demonstrate appreciation of the non-limited availability and access to music. The well-understood moral obligation to pay is constantly clashing with the convenience of the *status quo*.

Attempts to find an appropriate, convenient payment mode during the discussion do not lead to sound conclusions. However, we may outline the spheres where the participants are most and least willing to pay for their music. The absolute majority rejects the idea of paying for something immaterial, including music on the Internet. The materiality factor presents itself vividly, as the informants often state that they would eagerly buy a CD or a vinyl. Nevertheless, we lack evidence to claim that this really is a frequent, mainstream form of consumption. And the only sphere where the participants unanimously expressed willingness to pay is, once again, *live* music: concerts and music-related events.

Where next?

The Internet and new mobile technologies have significantly broadened access to music. Music is ubiquitous in the everyday life of young people. It is strongly incorporated in the daily routine, and it is primarily associated with mood regulation and adaptation to urban environments.

Predictably, the effects of broad access to music result in the integration of online and offline-activities related to music. However, we also observe a contrast of the utilitarian effects of wide access, and the growing demand for materiality, privacy and expertise in music (cf. with Anderson's imperatives for The Long Tail businesses [217, 2007]: 1. Make everything available 2. Help me find it!"). While music creators

seek to reach maximum exposure [Goldenzwaig, 2011], music users are confronted with a choice of numerous music listening strategies.

In spite of affordable Internet access, young people demonstrate a strong appreciation of physical music carriers, own private music collections in a physical or digital form, and encounters with live music. Many listeners associate the ubiquity of music with a decrease of the emotional investment into it, and furthermore, with a decrease in the value of music.

The challenge of interpreting the value of music is encapsulated in the discussion about payment for music. In the discussion, national patterns of media consumption conflict with morality, and questioning the authority of the music industry is combined with the respect for the artists and their work.

National differences present themselves transparently in patterns of music consumption. In Russia in particular, music is frequently interpreted as a means of identification with the nation. Many of young Russians, in line with the national *samizdat* tradition, tend to approach all cultural content on the Internet as free.

The study reveals that in 2012, music related activities in Russia were very concentrated in the social networking platform, VKontakte.

Even though it was not initially created as a music hub, VKontakte serves as the main website for streaming, downloading/uploading, sharing, seeking and providing information about music. VKontakte is followed, at a noticeable distance, by the complementary platforms YouTube and Last.FM. Patterns and processes related to VKontakte form complex folksonomies of online and offline listening, intertwined with experiences of live music.

It is important to note that the expected launch of Spotify in Russia in 2014, announced at the time of editing this article, may significantly influence national patterns of music consumption.

The transnational character of the challenge that the Internet creates for music listeners goes beyond the geocultural specifics. In both national contexts music is transforming from an object of fandom, from

a community-building platform, to a highly private, utilitarian practice, with a sense of nostalgia for value and social meaning. Open Internet access, the availability of mobile devices, the new possibilities of social media, have yet to turn the music listener into an active enthusiast. Once again, we have to be weary of a utopian interpretation of the audiences' engagement with musical practices on the Internet. The analysis of the effects of technological development on cultural practices should continue in order to explain what modern audiences *really* expect from music in the age of the Cloud.

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SETTING THE AGENDA: A VIEW OF WESTERN COMMUNICATION SCHOLARS

УСТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ПОВЕСТКИ ДНЯ: ВЗГЛЯД ЗАПАДНЫХ КОММУНИКАТИВИСТОВ

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The term, “agenda”, quite common in modern political communication studies, was coined in the United States. Nowadays, different aspects of agenda setting attract the attention of scholars from all over the world, including Russia. Paying tribute to those Russian researchers who contributed to the exploration of this phenomenon, we deem it necessary to place emphasis on the way agenda is analyzed in Western (mostly Anglo-Saxon) communication studies. Main trends and tendencies of agenda studies by European and American scholars are considered in this article. Similarities and differences between agenda setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, are analyzed. Special attention is accorded to the patterns of different types of agenda-setting, i.e. political, media, and public, as well as to the correlation between “agenda setting” and “agenda building”. The media agendas effects on international relations, which are attracting attention abroad, are also addressed. Twenty-five of the most cited articles about various aspects of an agenda from the database Web of Science contributed to the empirical basis of this paper.

Key words: *media agenda; agenda setting; agenda building; framing; priming; evaluative tone.*

Достаточно хорошо распространенный в современной политической коммуникативистике термин «повестка дня» был впервые введен в научный оборот в Соединенных Штатах. Сегодня сюжеты, связанные с установлением повестки дня, волнуют ученых во всем мире, в том числе — и в России. Отдавая должное российским исследователям этого феномена, считаем необходимым внимательно относиться и к опыту изучения повестки дня в западной науке. В настоящей статье рассматриваются основные направления и тенденции анализа категории «повестка дня» европейскими и американскими учеными. Выделяются сходства и различия установления повестки дня, с одной стороны, и фрейминга и прайминга — с другой. Отдельное внимание уделяется принципам взаимодействия между собой различных видов повесток: политической, медийной и публичной, а также соотношению понятий «установление» и «строительство» повестки дня. Затрагивается также набирающий все большую популярность в зарубежной коммуникативистике вопрос о роли медийной повестки дня применительно к международным отношениям. Эмпирической базой настоящего исследования стали 25 самых цитируемых журнальных статей базы данных Web of Science, посвященных различным аспектам повестки дня.

Ключевые слова: *информационная повестка дня; установление повестки дня; строительство повестки дня; фрейминг; прайминг; оценочный тон.*

It is argued here that the constantly increasing technological diversity of modern mass media makes them more attractive and accessible for various segments of society. As a result, even those who have never been interested in politics, often begin to discuss different social and political

issues with their friends, colleagues, or relatives. Due to the Internet (primarily – social networks) people can, to a large extent, be involved in political communication spontaneously and involuntarily. Even when someone joins a social network just for communicating with his or her friends, there are ample opportunities to stumble upon political news (e.g. among his or her friends' updates). Sometimes such issues attract users' attention, and even change their attitude toward them. In this context, the kind of information that various mass media bring to their audiences' attention is particularly important. Issues highlighted by the media have an indirect impact on the way people think about events and processes they cannot deal with personally.

In the social sciences, the mass media's focus on certain "topics" is commonly referred to as agenda-setting. It should be noted that for the last few decades the term of an agenda has been firmly entrenched in the discourse of scholars working in the field of mass communication. Today, there are more and more articles and monographs, in which numerous aspects of this phenomenon are directly or indirectly analyzed. In our country, practical and theoretical sides of agenda-setting were considered in more detail by the tandem of E. Dyakova and A. Trahtenberg. In addition to those two scholars, Y. and I. Zassoursky, M. Mamonov, E. Vartanova, T. Frolova, M. Shkondin, G. Vychub, G. Kovalev, E. Prokhorov, and other authors also explored various aspects of agendas. Paying tribute to them, it is noteworthy that their joint efforts allowed for the formation a holistic view of the essence, mechanisms, and national features of agenda setting in Russia.

Meanwhile, it seems quite interesting to analyze the aspects of agenda-setting that are studied by foreign scholars, and to the extent that their findings are applicable to the Russian media industry. We deem it possible not to pay much attention to the classic ideas of communication science (i.e. W. Lippmann, P. Lazarsfeld, R. Merton, D. McQuial, B. Berelson, J. Horkheimer, E. Katz, J. Klapper, etc.). Instead, we address the research of Western (predominantly Anglo-Saxon) scholars, who are engaged in the current development of the field.

The main hypothesis of this paper is that approaches to studying agenda-setting, which are widespread among foreign scholars, may be applicable to Russia. This is despite the fact that Russian and Western media function within different social, economic, and political conditions. The agenda-setting theory applies to our country as well.

As for the empirical basis of this research, it should be noted that among an infinite variety of publications devoted to agendas, we have sorted out the twenty-five most quoted articles from the database “Web of Science” (selection of papers was carried out by a keyword search of “agenda” in a category “communication”). Arguably, articles we chose with this method dominate Western communication science (most of these articles’ authors are Americans, but some of them are Europeans).

Agenda-setting, framing, and priming

First of all, it is worth noting that in foreign science, agenda-setting is often considered in *conjunction* with or parallel to the processes of framing and priming. Bearing in mind that agenda-setting has diverse connotations in different academic fields, it is necessary to focus more precisely on the definition of agenda-setting. Within the field of mass communication, agenda-setting usually means that mass media emphasize certain issues in their coverage of politics by devoting a greater proportion of the news to them, or by placing them more prominently in the newspaper or newscast. In other words, news selection is at the heart of the agenda-setting process, since the issues that fail to pass through the gatekeepers of media also fail to provide salience cues, relative to other issues, to the audience. This emphasis on specific issues, in turn, influences the salience of these issues among the audience (see, e.g., Kim, Scheufele, Shanahan, 2002).

In addition to making issues more salient, the media also seek to reduce the complexity of issues for the audience by presenting news in simple interpretive packages or frames. Besides reducing complexity, such

frames also serve as interpretive shortcuts, leading audience members to assess responsibility or pass other judgments, based on different frames or interpretations offered by mass media for the same content (see, e.g., Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). In other words, unlike agenda-setting, framing assumes that mass media affect the audience not due to increasing frequency of addressing exact issues, but as a result of putting some terminological or semantic spin on these issues.

As for priming, this process usually implies that agenda-setting leads to the perceived salience of certain issues that directly influences the public's evaluation of political actors (see, e.g., Iyengar, Kinder, 1987). It is argued here that relationships between concepts of agenda-setting, framing, and priming are some of the pivotal themes of Western communication studies.

Some interesting data on the proportion of studies devoted to the phenomena mentioned above can be found in D. Weaver's work. Having counted the overall number of these concepts as keywords in all studies published from 1971 to 2005, this American scholar found a pattern of dramatic growth in framing studies from the first half of the 1990s to the present. There was some modest growth in priming studies, and a leveling off of agenda-setting studies. In 2005, the number of framing studies was four times that of the number of agenda-setting studies. In this sense we see no reason not to agree with Weaver who writes.

“It is not clear why framing has become so much more popular with communication scholars than either agenda-setting or priming in the past 10 years, but it may have something to do with the ambiguity or the comprehensive nature of the term. ‘Frame’ can be applied to many different aspects of messages and to many different types of messages. It can also be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretive textual analysis alone” (Weaver, 2007).

We notice here that the balance between agenda-setting, framing, and priming studies in Russian communication science is completely different from that of European and American communication science. Without conducting specific research on this matter, we can assume that

there is a slow increase in the number of agenda-setting studies and few to no framing and priming studies in Russia today.

Framing vs. second-level agenda-setting

Turning back to the content of the categories discussed in this paper, it should be noted that there are two main points of view on this issue. According to the first, framing, priming, and agenda-setting are interrelated, but different and independent phenomena. The second approach implies that framing is a natural extension of agenda-setting, in other words, second-level agenda-setting.

Proponents of the first point of view are convinced that agenda-setting comprises content selection as a determinant of public perception of an issue's importance, and indirectly through priming, leads to the evaluation of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but, instead, on the particular ways those issues are presented (Gamson, 1992; Price, Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 2000).

Their opponents believe that the most important thing in terms of mass medias' influence on their audience is selection of an object's attributes. McCombs has suggested that in the language of second level of agenda-setting, "framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed" (McCombs, 1997). He argues that there are many other agendas that convey attributes besides traits of political candidates, and that a good theoretical map is needed to bring some order to the vast amount of diverse frames discussed in various studies. To put it another way, the media coverage of a political candidate may include attributes such as the candidate's positions and qualifications. Media emphasis on such attributes is expected to affect the saliency of the attributes in the public's mind and leads to certain judgments (see, e.g., McCombs, 2004; Weaver, McCombs, Shaw, 2004).

Reconciling these two approaches is possible with the help of an analytical device offered by T. Sheafer. The Israeli scholar supposes that the public's evaluation of issue importance, which is the dependent variable in most agenda-setting studies, is influenced by the issue's saliency in the news, and by the evaluative tone of media coverage (positive, negative, or neutral). This evaluative tone, or affective attribute, attached to the issue is a part of second-level agenda-setting (Sheafer, 2007). In our opinion, the notion of an evaluative tone is therefore a good means of combining the two points of view mentioned above. It does not contradict either the idea of framing as self-sufficient phenomenon, or the theory of second-level agenda-setting.

Moreover, we believe that both framing and second-level agenda-setting theory may well be useful in different cases. Let's imagine a situation in which Russian and American media cover a G8 summit, for example. It is easy to assume that Russian media will stress some aspects within this issue (e.g. discontent of states' leaders with the US surveillance programs), while American media will emphasize other aspects (e.g. negotiations between presidents of the United States and France) within the same issue. In our opinion, this case may be explored with the help of the second-level agenda-setting approach. If we analyze an aspect that is covered by Russian and American media (a dialogue between Presidents Putin and Obama, for example), we would definitely need framing-analysis. American and Russian media would likely spin this issue differently.

Above all, the primary difference on the psychological level between agenda setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, is thus the difference between whether we think about an issue, and how we think about it. We suppose that framing implies a predominantly "qualitative" influence on audiences, as a result of using certain linguistic techniques. On the contrary, an agenda is set mostly due to a "quantitative" impact on people, i.e. regular coverage of specific issues. Priming may be seen as an outcome of framing and agenda-setting, when events, processes, and persons covered by mass media set specific images in people's minds.

Political, media, and public agendas

In articles selected for analysis much emphasis is also laid on the principles of interaction between different types of agendas, i.e. political, media and public (the latter, in turn, is usually subdivided into personal, interpersonal, and perceived community agendas). There are two kinds of political agendas. The first one – a so-called symbolic agenda – consists of the issues that are attractive to the audience, but at the same time do not have much of a chance for causing political change. Such issues are mentioned by politicians with the express goal of getting into the media. In Russia, the political discourse on democracy, liberal values, and the necessity of fighting corruption may be an example of this kind of political agenda. As a rule, such public talks attract attention, but government action rarely follows. On the contrary, the second kind – a substantial agenda – denotes a number of problems that result in political action, e.g. legislation, resource allocation, and so on (once the President of Russia has said something important, it may well lead to a decree or law). Much of the time the media influence the symbolic agenda, but systematically fail to impact the substantial agenda (Pritchard, Berkowitz, 1993; Walgrave, Van Aelst, 2006).

Special attention is also accorded to the way different types of mass media (i.e. TV, press, radio and the internet) affect each other in the process of setting the agenda. In Western communication science, such interactions are referred to as intermedia agenda-setting (see, e.g., Butler, 1998; Roberts, McCombs, 1994).

An attempt to sketch the broad outline of a preliminary theory of agenda-setting is also worth mentioning. Its authors S. Walgrave and P. Van Aelst think that political agenda-setting is contingent on a number of conditions. The input variables of the model are the kind of issues covered (i.e. obtrusive and unobtrusive), the specific media outlet, and coverage type (i.e. positive, negative, or neutral). Political variables (i.e. elections, institutional rules, internal functions, political configuration, and personal traits) are at the heart of the model.

According to the approach of S. Walgrave and P. Van Aelst, there may be types of output: a fast, symbolic reaction is typical of parliamentary actors, a slow, substantial reaction exemplifies government's reaction to media coverage, and a fast, substantial reaction is confined to strong presidential systems (besides, there may be no reaction at all, or a reaction may be slow and symbolic (Walgrave, Van Aelst, 2006).

In light of such distinctions between political, media, and public agendas, it is noteworthy that there are some terminological subtleties. For instance, as opposed to the Russian tradition, Western scholars believe that agenda-setting means the formation of a strictly public agenda. They argue that the mass media set the public agenda (with regard to unobtrusive issues – i.e. those issues that members of the audience do not deal with in everyday life), and that personal experience also plays a major role in setting some public agendas (regarding intrusive issues – i.e. issues people know about without any information from the mass media) (see, e.g., Scheufele, 2000).

When discussing mass media's capacity to set a public agenda, Western scholars often take into consideration three models. The first one – the public arena model – means that the ability of the public focuses on a single issue for only a limited amount of time due to boredom (Hilgartner, Bosk, 1988; Kingdon, 1995). The second one – the issue-attention cycle model – predicts that public interest in a certain problem will decline as proposed solutions fail (Downs, 1972). Lastly, the third one – let us call it the “It leads when it bleeds” model – implies that graphic presentations of negative events capture the public's attention far more easily than positive developments (see, e.g., Marcus, Neuman, Makuen, 2000; Mutz, 1998).

Turning back to terminological intricacies connected with an agenda in its broadest sense, it should be noted that in the West, the process of forming a media (but not public) agenda is usually termed agenda-building (and not agenda-setting). Agenda-building may actually include all studies that offer an “explanation of why information about certain issues, and not other issues, is available to the public in a democracy”

(Dearing, Rogers, 1996). Empirical agenda-building studies usually concentrate on two major independent variables that affect the media agenda: real-world conditions and events, and the political actions. The first includes analyses of the correlation between changes in real-world indicators and events and the hierarchy of issues in the media agenda. As certain issues culminate, it is expected that the media will accord greater attention to those issues. The second includes the correlation between the agendas or strategies of certain political actors like parties or candidates, and the media agenda (Dearing, Rogers, 1996; Funkhouser, 1973; Behr, Iyengar, 1985).

Agenda-setting and the growing role of the Internet

As for agenda-setting studies, Western scholars place a great deal of importance on the question of the Internet's effects on users' perceptions of the importance of political issues. One of the first attempts to research the Internet's effects on the public's perceived importance of political issues was made in 2002. Having conducted a weeklong experiment in which subjects either read the print version of "The New York Times", the online version, or received no special exposure, S. L. Althaus and D. Tewksbury drew some very interesting conclusions. The American scholars argued that readers of printed newspapers are likely to be exposed to stories that they might not have actively sought out, particularly if those stories appear on the front page. In contrast, online newspapers tend to organize the news into topical categories that draw readers immediately to those stories that most likely to fit their preferences. This tendency limits the chance that online readers will be exposed to the particular stories that a newspaper editorial staff deems important. The reason is that most of the conventional story cues used in printed newspapers (e.g., the exact place an article the spin of a magazine or a newspaper, type size, page proofs, etc.) are not suitable for Web-based newspapers (Althaus, Tewksbury, 2002).

Thus, the Internet's agenda-setting is weaker than that of traditional media. Moreover, as more people consume Internet media, they may develop personal agendas that are different than those developed by print readers. As a result, in our opinion, there is the potential for new technologies to greatly increase the fragmentation of the news audience.

In 2005, the hypothesis stated by S. L. Althaus and D. Tewksbury was partly transformed by K. Schoenbach, E. de Waal, and E. Lauf. The Dutch scholars have carried out a representative survey of almost 1,000 respondents, and made inferences about the impact of online and print media on audiences. They pinpointed that, in fact, both channels contribute to widening the readers' agenda. Though, whereas online newspapers show this effect only in educated society, print versions are able to introduce less-educated readers to new issues (Schoenbach, de Waal, Lauf, 2005).

A possible explanation is that members of educated society may be experienced web users, and thus more familiar with navigating the Internet. They may not need much find information offered online. Instead, they seem to use their time to explore a greater diversity of topics. In addition, this group may be able to narrow its selection processes, and consciously look for a comprehensive overview of what is current events. In contrast, education is irrelevant regarding print media's effect on information selection. The subgroups that learn the most from print newspapers are frequent readers with a below average range of interests, and those with a medium range of interests, who spend more time on reading a print paper (*ibid*).

Speaking about the Internet, we deem it necessary to note, a gradual change in the roles played by traditional and new media (i.e. Internet news sites, social networks, blogs, podcasts, internet versions of newspapers, magazines, TV channels and radio stations) in influencing Russian public opinion. In practice, this tendency means that new mass media actively take part in public agenda-setting, and deeply affect their audiences (Kazakov, 2013). We think that a scholar should bear this in mind while investigating agenda-setting in Russia.

Last, but not least, is another quite popular aspect of agenda-setting studies, i.e. the role that this phenomenon plays in the field of

international relations, and world politics. In this regard, among twenty-five articles selected for analysis, we have singled out the work of W. Wanta, G. Golan, and C. Lee. Using data from a national poll, and conducting a content analysis of network newscasts, scholars proved that media coverage of foreign nations had also contributed to agenda-setting. Further than that, they drew a number of correlations. For example, the more media coverage a nation received, the more likely respondents were to think that the nation was vitally important to U.S. interests. The more negative coverage a nation received, the more likely respondents were to think negatively about the nation. Positive coverage of a nation had no influence on public perceptions. Neutral coverage led to neutral reactions from the public (Wanta, Golan, Lee, 2004). If it is so, we may conclude that the negative affective attributes showed clear signs of agenda-setting, but positive and neutral spins on the countries did not.

Conclusion

These were main aspects of agenda-setting theories common in American and European communication science. Western communication scholars still conduct the most in depth and diverse agenda-setting studies. Yet, these studies have their limits. First of all, we see no reason not to agree with E. Dyakova and A. Trahtenberg, who pinpointed a so-called “blind spot” of Western agenda-setting theory in its positivist interpretation, i.e. that there is no clear answer to the question of why mass media decide that some issues are worth covering while others are not (Dyakova, Trahtenberg, 2001).

Besides, it is evident that foreign authors often believe that mass media are conventionally functioning within a typically Western liberal-democratic social and cultural context (with its free enterprise, freedom of speech, press, and so on). That is why for some scholars, it is not clear if models, theories, and concepts mentioned in this paper are applicable to societies under different social, economic, and political circumstances, like Russia, for example.

We agree with that Russian and foreign media operate under different social conditions, but also believe that this does not prevent Russian scholars from appropriately using the Western approaches (taking national characteristics into account, to be sure). Arguably, the agenda-setting theory is a kind of prism, which allows scholars to analyze political aspects of interaction between media and society from a different angle.

The reason is that differences between the West and Russia, in our opinion, directly affect only the way mass media select issues. The difference is that the selection process is presumably more or less independent in the West, but under the influence of external circumstances (say, interests of paper's owner, political conjuncture, or acts of political regime) as it reputedly happens in Russia. However, all of this refers mostly to agenda-building, i.e. the process of forming the *media* agenda. As for agenda-setting (i.e. the process of forming the *public* agenda through the mass media's influence on its audiences), we are convinced that there are not many differences between the USA and Europe on the one hand, and Russia on the other hand. Media affect people's minds in more or less the same way. Thus, we may conclude that the approach to agenda-setting discussed in this paper is applicable to Russia too.

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Part 2

RUSSIAN MEDIA: ANALYZING CURRENT TRENDS

RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA: PROSPECTS FOR TRANSFORMATION

РОССИЙСКИЕ СМИ: ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ

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This article analyzes the communication matrices that determine the functioning of Russian mass media. It is shown that the prospects for Russian mass media transformation are determined by the contradictions of the Russian social system, and dependent on the chosen model of national development.

Key words: *public institution; mass communication; communication matrix; matrix media; mass media.*

В статье анализируются коммуникационные матрицы, которые определяют функционирование российских СМИ. Показано, что перспективы трансформации российских СМИ определяются не только технологическими и экономическими факторами, но и противоречиями российской социальной системы, и зависят от выбранной модели национального развития.

Ключевые слова: *социальные институты; массовые коммуникации; коммуникационные матрицы; медиаматрицы; СМИ.*

The debate about what is happening to Russian mass media, and in what direction national journalism develops, began with perestroika, involving journalists and scientists alike. The goal of the debate is to find answers to the following questions: why the media quality has declined, why tabloids and yellow journalism dominate the media, and why it is corrupt, incompetent, and servile; why we still cannot have a free, fair and objective press.

There are a variety of answers from the corrupting influence of the West, and a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy, to the iron hand of the Kremlin. The tones of the conclusions are also different, from restrained and balanced scientific statements, to the apocalyptic emotionality of journalistic media criticism.

It would appear that involvement of pundits in this “exploratory” activity should lead to the desired result. And, indeed, numerous scientific studies on the analysis of media and journalism were carried out, in which scientists tried to identify the patterns and trends of media processes. Thus, research of mass media is adequately covered by three main complexes:

- **socio-centred research**, considering the mass media as a specific social machine that performs a set of functions (the composition and content of which are disputable);
- **media-centred research**, analyzing the organizational aspects of media companies;
- **anthropic-centred research**, in which the problems of journalistic creativity and audience behavior are brought to the forefront.

Obviously there have been quite serious attempts to answer these questions; however, it is equally obvious that almost 20 years of debate has not led to concrete conclusions. Why are these questions still unanswered?

In my opinion, the answer is simple: *Mass media comprise a social institution that organizes the activities of people in its sphere of influence using certain long-lasting, narrow matrices, which resist change.*

I will try to elaborate.

Mass media as a social institution

I remember the year 1979, when as a young scientist I spoke at a scientific conference and proved that the future work of the journalist shall be determined by norms and rules. The head of Kiev University's School of Journalism, D. M. Prilyuk, stood up, frowned, and said that I was wrong, because journalism is a creative profession, and there can be no rules.

Now the idea that the media is an institution of mass communication, acting according to certain rules, has become commonplace. Today, one does not need to prove that mass communication is a system providing rapid production and mass distribution of semantic constructs, the core of which is a way of life in a changing environment, and creates (of course, using elements already available to the community) a set of social institutions and activities, ensuring its operation and development.

Mass media are one of such institutions, and journalism allows this institution to function. Mass media as a social institution require journalism to follow regulations and rules of professional conduct, which are based on certain principles and legal bases, and perform stimulating and sometimes forceful functions (through prohibitions, permissions, obligations, etc.)

Just like any social institution, mass media arise in response to a social need to have an objective process of labor division, and in more general terms – the different human processes of objective activity and public relations. Needs and wants form the respective interests and priorities that act as direct determinants for social institutions, establishment and development. Therefore, one of the specific features of such institutions origins, is that they appear as a result of the joint goal-oriented activity of a group of people, and the realization of their target settings. The institutionalization of the activity presupposes a certain standardization of these settings, their consolidation in certain forms and creation of conditions for their reproduction.

This means that the media in general are not just a set of organizations and teams, performing certain freely chosen obligations. This is a rather

rigid system of rules, regulations, and public expectations, according to which such obligations should be performed¹. These rules, norms, and expectations manifest themselves in the production of mass media, as well as in roles that are assigned (and sometimes imposed) to people associated with the institution².

In this sense, the media, as well as any social institution, appear as part of the social whole, which according to the expectation of other elements should behave in a certain way, that is, to realize well-defined functions. But just as the behavior of an individual can deviate positively or negatively, the functioning of a social institution may or may not meet the expectations of the social order and other social institutions. If the institution fails to perform its functions (or there are inappropriate deviations), it (namely, individuals performing it) face various consequences.

However, it is time to move on, starting with the understanding that the media are a social institution.

Communication matrices

Contemporary science has proven that any communicative action is mediated by binding regulations, which determine mutual behavioral expectations, and which must be understood and recognized, by at least

¹ ‘Journalists should ...’. ‘Journalists should not...’ The President, the Prime Minister, the speakers of both houses of the ministers, the oligarchs – the list goes on until the last drunkard – all they know what journalists are supposed to do and what they should not. And woe to the journalist, whose opinion about his duties does not coincide with the public’s expectations.

² The concept of ‘role’ (as a rule, together with the definition ‘social’) traditionally assigned to an individual and is used to denote the set of rules, determining the behaviour of individuals acting in a social system depending on the status or position they have, and actions implementing the these standards. However, in my opinion, the powerful heuristics potentiality of this concept gives a possibility to represent a specific aspect of the functioning of the various social actors (organizations, institutions – various subsystems of society, with the status, position in the system of social interactions).

two communicating subjects. Everyone involved in communication, intuitively aims to follow some rules and regulations, which allow, in their opinion, effective and successful communication. These ‘regulators’ are defined by different concepts: principles, postulates, rules, policies, discourses, conventions, and codes.

For example, one of the linguistic studies states that “domestic and foreign scholars in the field of speech act theory – A. A. Leontiev, L. S. Vygotsky, M. R. Lvov, A. E. Suprun, E. V. Kluev, T. G. Vinokur, J. Austin, J. R. Serl, G. Grice, G. Sanz and others – have developed rules (principles) of speech communication: the co-operation principle, the consistency principle, the preferred structure principle, the politeness principle, the equal security principle, the de-centric orientation principle, and the utterance perception principle” (Umantseva, 2007).

The concepts of “discourse” and “convention” are the most popular at the moment.

The word “**discourse**” (*fr. discours, lat. discursus* – reasoning, argument) is translated in Russian as speech, statement, and reasoning. However, these words do not convey the meanings that experts associate with this concept. Discourse is seen not only as a tool to master the reality through “articulation,” but also as a tool to construct normative models – perception frames and behavior scenarios. Thus, the discourse is both a process and a result (as established methods, rules and logic necessary to discussion). With this idea, discourse is considered a linguistic method of organizing reality, which is a perception of the world, realizable in a variety of (not only verbal) practices, and therefore, not only reflecting the world, but also developing and co-creating it.

Any discourse relates to institutionalized communication. Institutional discourse is a discourse, carried out in social institutions, in which communication is an integral part of the organization itself.

The main parameters of institutional discourse are:

- A set of typical communication situations (speech events),
- Presentation of the typical patterns of speech behavior in the performance of certain social roles,

- Certain (limited) topics of communication, a specific set of intentions and related speech strategies (Sheigal, 2004).

The **convention** refers to the forms of interaction accepted by society (and regulated by a given society), including speech. Most communicative acts are regulated to some extent (Austin, 1999, 2004, 2006; Searle, 2004; Strawson, 2004).

If we bear in mind the social conventions regulating the initiation of communication, it will be convenient to consider the communicants as members (strictly and not as strictly) of social hierarchies, such as:

- boss / manager / employer – a subordinate;
- superior officer (for example, in the army) – inferior in rank;
- teacher / master / lecturer – student / apprentice / audience;
- parents / adults – children;
- leader – team;
- owner – tenant;
- host – guest.

Quite often in order to refer to the rules of communication, the term “code” is used. L. V. Umantseva writes the following about it: “In the dictionaries the word ‘code’ is defined as a set of laws. The Criminal Code, a set of rules, beliefs (fig., book.). In verbal communication, there are also rules, beliefs, i.e. communicative code’. According to her, ‘the basis of the communicative code is built of such basic categories as communicative (speech) purpose and communicative (verbal) intention. Communicants should comply with the criterion of truth (faithfulness to reality), the criterion of sincerity (faithfulness to you), the criterion of knowledge of the native Russian language and its literary norms (allegiance with the Motherland, and its heritage – Russian language), and the criterion of morality (trust your mind, your heart)”³.

Recently the concept “**Format**” has become extremely popular. In Latin, “format” means a “look, external appearance”. The term was used in the printing industry in the 18th century, and meant “the size of the printed edition, paper size”. Format was used as a term, plus

³ <http://www.t21.rgups.ru/doc2007/8/20.doc>.

printing names and nomenclature attached to it, meaning specific sizes of publications, say, the A4 format, A3 format, or A2 format. It is no longer just about appearance and size, but about quite a specified size, a benchmark, a standard in the printing industry. Then the concept was used by computer scientists to refer to some parameters, properties, and opportunities that allow for the operation of certain computer programmes. The derivative concept of “formatting” came from computer vocabulary: 1) erase the old data and install new software; 2) specify text’s appearance, for example, text to the centre, left, or right. Both meanings of the verb “format” regard the structure and the standard.

According to T. I. Surikova, “it was this actualized sema ‘standard’, ‘benchmark’ that lead to the use of the concept ‘format’ in theory and practice of mass communication when such notions as media type, genre, style, reflecting the systemic nature of this phenomenon, ceased to convey standard and benchmark notions. And the word became fashionable...

Such a set of linguistic and extra-linguistic circumstances, in our opinion, could lead to “format” replacing the other concepts or, at least, beginning to be used as a modern, trendy synonym matching the linguistic taste of the times. This is indicated by its contexts and compatibility”⁴.

We shall outline our position without analyzing these categories. It is that the most appropriate term for all possible regulators of communication is the concept “**matrix**”. This concept was used in the cult sci-fi movie, filmed by brothers Andy and Larry Wachowski, to indicate an interactive computer program simulating reality for billions of people connected to it forcefully by machines, so that they could obtain energy necessary for their continued existence.

Of course, this concept existed long before the movie *The Matrix*, and had a rather specific meaning. It comes from the Latin word, “matrix” (womb), and was used in metal processing to identify tools with cross-cutting holes or recesses, which were used in stamping and pressing, as well as in printing to identify metal plates with the intaglio of a letter or a character, which served as molds for literals.

⁴ <http://www.mediascope.ru/node/416>.

And this meaning – a form that sets parameters – provides ample opportunities for the use of this concept.

With regard to public processes, the concept of the “institutional matrix” was used by K. Polani and D. North. Douglass North defines the institutional matrix as a structure of institutions determining economic and political behavior of actors and their limits (North, 2010). S. Kirdina develops the idea of institutional matrices in more detail, originally she proposed a model of the institutional matrix to describe two types of economies (market and planned) (Kirdina, 2001).

The institutional matrix as a sociological concept is a stable, historically developed system of basic institutions, regulating the interconnected operation of the main social spheres: economic, political and ideological.

According to S. Kirdina, the institutional matrix is a triune social form; it is a system of economic, political and ideological institutions that are in constant accord. Or, in other words, the institutional matrix is a peculiar genotype of society – it forms when the state is born, and lasts throughout the state’s development. These matrices represent knowledge, values, and norms, adapting the environment to individuals in accordance with their needs, goals and ideas. They reflect the reality of ethnic and social groups who lived here before and effectively adapted⁵.

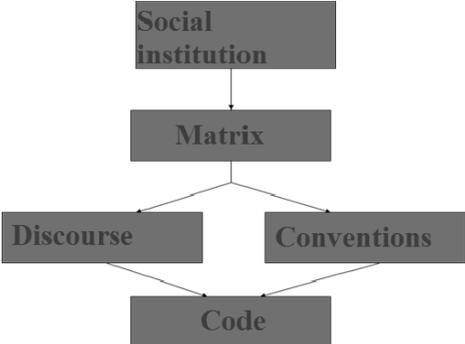
Institutional matrices are always bound to a particular social or geographical area, i.e. they have their own space with certain imperatives. In other words, we are talking about a real or virtual area, with a population that recognizes the authority of a certain matrix.

According to S. Kirdina, humanity has two basic matrices, which largely determine the lifestyle and social activities: the X and Y-matrices.

⁵ In a sense, defined term “institution” has something in common with the concept of “culture”, which is widely used in the Russian social science. Any culture is a set of programs that ensure the survival and development of the community, a group or an individual. Any culture emerges as a response to requests from people, who are seeking to survive and develop under the specified conditions in the most effective way.

Each of these matrices is based on specific economic, political and ideological institutions. All of the above allow us to formulate the thesis that the most appropriate term to refer to systems of knowledge, values and norms defining specifics of various subjects' communication in different situations and reconciling these systems with the general social situation, is the notion of the "communication matrix," manifestations of which are the discourses, conventions, codes. Schematically, this idea can be represented as (Figure 1):

Figure 1



Types of communications matrices

A variety of different communication matrices that determine the communicative behavior of individuals and social institutions can be sorted into three main groups: vertical, horizontal and diagonal matrices.

The vertical matrix:

- Vertical distribution of subjects of communication (parents – children, bosses – subordinates, the state – citizens);
- The state plays a dominant role in most communicative processes;

- Access to information is complicated due to a set of special regulations;
- Freedom of speech is not exercised.

The horizontal matrix:

- Partnerships between the subjects of communication;
- Established feedback loop;
- The right to free access to information, to expression of views, to personal choice of communication channels is legislatively enforced and exercised.

The Hybrid matrix:

- Allocates subjects of communication in classes with a horizontal and vertical relationships;
- Provides partial access to various information, however, access to a significant information resources requires special permission.

Today, in Russia all three communication matrices co-exist. The hybrid matrix is the base, with complementary vertical and horizontal matrices.

Media matrices

Functioning in the media space, communication matrix is realized in the form of a media matrix that is a set of more or less stringent standards and rules according to which, a mass-media product is created. The media matrix operates at all stages of journalistic and editorial activity, such as the selection of news, the definition of genres, etc.

The media matrix has different forms that realize different media goals. In its most general form, the following media matrices can be identified: journalism, advertising, promotion, and PR.

The fact that the media as a social institution and journalism, as a type of social activity, function in accordance with the norms and rules based on the specifics of a social system, was recognized by experts thanks to an old work of American sociologists Siebert, Peterson and

Schramm, “Four Theories of the Press”, published in America in 1956 (Siebert, Schramm, Peterson, 1998). Having named these norms and rules “theories of the press”, the authors identified four such theories: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet (communist).

McQuail added two more theories: the model of developing countries, and a model of democratic participation.

According to the Raymond Williams’ concept (Sparks, Reading, 1998) a mass media system may be authoritarian, paternalistic, commercial, or democratic. The authoritarian system is a mass media system, in which “the main task of communication is to convey instructions, ideas and attitudes of the ruling group”.

The paternalistic system is an authoritarian model, where, however, the ruling group retains social responsibility, i.e. “values and goals that go beyond the power retention”. Although the commercial system differs from the authoritarian or paternalistic by a greater degree of inner freedom, “it has its limitations arising from the difficulties to make profit from some form of communication:” “you can say whatever you want, provided that you can afford to say it, and say it with a profit”. Williams could not find an actual example of the democratic media model, that’s why for him it was rather a system of principles to be followed, rather than specific proposals on the basis of accumulated experience⁶.

In Russia, the problems of media typology are actively discussed by A. Akopov, L. Resnyanskaya, M. Shkondin and many other researchers. (Bakshin, 1984; Grabelnikov, 2001; Shkondin, 2002). However, they tried to find an effective formal classification for media, which would create a sort of media periodic table, and in its cells, all the possible types of media will be included.

My approach to analyze types of media and journalism was first formulated in 1988, in an article that was published in the now-forgotten magazine, “*Slovo lectora*” (*Word of Lecturer*). Afterwards I outlined it in some of my other publications during the perestroika era.

⁶ There are also other more emotional definitions of the social role of journalism: “Night Watchman”, “Watchdog of Democracy”, etc.

Later, these ideas were more or less clearly expressed in my book, “*The Russian Journalist in the Post-totalitarian Era*” and other publications (Dzyaloshinsky, 1996a, 1996b, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006a, 2006b, 2007).

The approach was to claim that within the framework of Russian professional journalistic culture, several alternative paradigms of professional activity co-exist, which differ from one another in all their components, including the moral and ethical ones. All of them are located in a peculiar “space” formed by three vectors, which are fundamental, social and professional settings that determine the general attitude of journalists to the audience.

The first setting puts the journalist above the audience determining his right to treat their readers as an object of management (training, development), and a journalist as the carrier or the translator of management programs of different types and levels. If we try to convey the ultimate meaning of activities of journalists professing this approach, it is exemplified by the word “impact”.

This kind of journalistic practice has a quite fundamental grounding in the work of many researchers and theorists who have created a complex of harmonious concepts of the control of action, based on the idea of the active role of mass media that act as a subject of propaganda, and the passive (despite numerous reservations) role of the audience that is regarded as a product of ideological and propaganda influence.

The second setting puts the journalist near the audience, and is focused on information relations. In this case, journalists consider that their primary professional responsibility is to provide the audience with a variety of interesting information, data, and materials, as well as to assist in the expression of popular opinion.

Both of these settings, despite the significant differences between them, alienate the audience from the mass media.

The third fundamental setting requires that journalists should be inside a particular human community, and consider themselves interested participants of a search, performed together with the audience, to find solutions to community problems. The main idea of such journalism is that

journalists should consider readers, viewers, listeners, not as a background or as passive observers, victims of various circumstances, but as participants of the problem solving process. This journalism defines itself in such terms as humanitarian, personal, communitarian, participatory, etc.⁷

The main function or role of journalism is understood as the “dialogue moderator”. It means that journalism can and should create an environment for equal dialogue between different social groups – no matter how great they are, and how different their ideas, goals and organizations are – in the course of which social contradictions and conflicts can be resolved. Journalism can and should promote conflicting opinions and attitudes within a single information space, which, upon presentation to the public, can find ways for rapprochement or, at least, or provoke arguments to prove their own consistency. This feature is especially important in a society torn by conflict and split into different camps, when a society lacks public reconciliation. This function that can convert the conflict, revealing the problem, and thus, brings it closer to resolution, but not at the level of a street brawl, through a reasonable and pragmatic public dialogue⁸.

What conclusions can we make if we apply the above classification to the Russian mass media?

The first group – “impact” mass media belonging to the state and corporations – their main task is to influence public opinion and behavioral stereotypes of the population, represents the most powerful and secured communication resources. Currently, most Russian regional newspapers and 80% of municipal are owned by state and municipal

⁷ In America, almost the same idea has been realized in the concept of civil (public) journalism. Civil journalism puts journalists’ duties to society to the forefront not the rights of journalists. In other words, this journalism requires from editors and news organizations to perform the journalistic work so, that it would help people to overcome a sense of apathy, powerlessness and alienation, galvanize them into action, turning them from passive viewers into active participants of civil actions. The American experience of the citizen journalism is presented in the book by Edward D. Miller (Miller, 1998).

⁸ Technology dialogue in the media is outlined in more details in the following papers: Resnyanskaya (2001), Grusha (2001), Prokhorov (2002).

authorities, which is reflected in their editorial policies⁹, as well as their economic independence, because all of them are subsidized by regional and local budgets in some way.

The second group of media, which are usually referred to as commercial, as they are focused on profit due to the interests and needs of the audience. Studies over the past ten years provide a basis for concluding that these media have favorable development opportunities. The advertising market is rapidly growing, and unpretentious mass audience gladly absorb low-quality content.

However, the commercialization of the media in a situation where other public institutions operate in the X-matrix, has led to the fact that many of them have ceased to meet their informational purposes, as well as to perform their inherent cultural, educational and other functions. Civil society has no traditions, and the population is excluded from the political process, thereby dictating that the media have to meet very narrow, mostly household and entertainment interests of their audience, which is very freely interpreted by managers of media companies.

The third group of media have positioned themselves as a social institution that protects the public from government and owners of capital; this is an insignificant, small group of media with an unsure future.

⁹ The results obtained in different studies indicate that the relationship between the government and the media in Russia define themselves whether in terms of submission and servitude, or in terms of war. Another option – that is a dialogue, partnership – is impossible. At the regional level, heads of any rank are characterized by an absolute unwillingness to consider the mass media as an independent social institution, by the desire to turn journalists into their henchmen, who are supposed to carry out instructions sent down. Heads of administrations see the local press primarily as a kind of additional information and analytical service, and a department of public relations, but never as a controller and a critic of their actions. With all the individual differences in age, education, life experience heads of regional and local governments consider the media as neither an independent institution of civil society nor special, relatively independent informational business, but only as an advocacy attachment to the administration. Many of them are originally convinced that journalists' duty is to help them, managers, to solve the problems they face.

What is the reason to choose a particular matrix?

The ratio of different types of media can hardly be called accidental, unlikely to be the result of someone's ill will or incompetence. Most likely, this ratio is determined by the characteristics of the social system, which media serve.

In order to understand the development and aims of the Russian media, we need to understand what has happened, is happening and will happen to the general public.

In Russia, forms of interaction between X- and Y-matrices have been developed over many years. They can be summarized in three basic models which, in one form or another, are represented in the works of modern scholars.

The Conservative-statist model. This model involves the work of Leontyev, and Eurasians (P. Savitsky, L. Karsavin, N. Alekseev, etc.). At the core of this model there is the paradigm of an updated ideocracy and Byzantinism. Civic consciousness is treated as national spirit, a single national will, and European liberalism, democracy and pluralism compose a hostile, sinful political environment, eating away at the roots of the Eurasian-Byzantine Russian society.

Today, the conservative-statist model is transformed into a fundamentalist (Conservative, Orthodox community) project, which focuses on the principled rejection of Western values, is based upon the idea of a "return to basics", "falling down before the deeper fundamentals of folk wisdom", "protection of national culture", etc.

The original principles of the fundamentalist project can be summarized as follows:

- society is understood as a sphere trying to realize the will of God in a sinful imperfect world, not as the embodiment of self-sufficient human desires;
- group and especially social interests primarily relate to the individual;
- the state in this value system is a universal organization, which can effectively develop society in support of wholesome traditions;

- innovation, particularly targeted, deliberate reforms are perceived as undesirable;
- reforms are only permitted in line with the country's civilizational values.

The Liberal-conservative model. This model has two main branches: liberal-conservatism (B. Chicherin, P. Struve), and the new liberalism (P. Novgorodtsev, S. Kotlyarevskiy, S. Gessen, B. Kistyakovskiy).

The liberal-conservative model of civil society associates the freedom and rights of the individual with the principles of nation and culture, and political freedom with spiritual and cultural freedom, extending the traditional idea of liberalism.

The question of public participation in the legislative process and state management, in reforming the political, economic and financial system is considered part of the cultural liberation of the individual and open society. This approach involves the alliance of “ideal autocracy” with liberal and democratic social forces, based upon the principles of tolerance and the rule of law and order.

Today's liberals mostly support the Western project, which is associated with a strong belief in the inevitable construction of a universal world community, based upon the principles of democracy and liberalism, scientific and cultural progress, and the widespread acceptance of the industrial or post-industrial economy.

The terms of the proposal by S. Kirdina describe the transition from the dominance of the X-matrix to the dominance of Y-matrix, that is, a complete upgrade of the basic aspects of life. Such a transition is possible only if the government and society will take a special effort to provide the conditions necessary for such a transformation:

- a minimum standard of living;
- freedom of creativity;
- free enterprise;
- fair competition;
- a high level of education;
- the development of science;

- industry and innovation;
- the importance of social capital, trust (Yasin, 2007).

The Revolutionary-radical model. Its interior includes models of civil society that are typical to the spiritual and political models of revolutionary democrats, revolutionary populism, Russian anarchism, and Russian Marxism (social-democrats of all shades and the Bolsheviks).

In the late 20th century, the revolutionary-radical model manifested itself in two types of radicalism: national bolshevism and liberal radicalism. These directions, although based on different values and program-political grounds, are, in fact, aimed at narrowing the “corridor” of civil society initiative, either influencing it “directly” through ideocratic forces, using market and economic levers, or mass media technologies.

Along with these models with a solid history, other projects to transform Russia have been developed in recent years. If we generalize the set of possible ideas, we will find different versions of the modernization project. Supporters of the modernization project believe that the adoption of the “Western Project of World Order” in Russia faces intractable difficulties, and should be replaced by a similar form, but not alternative in effects and modernization. Modernization is the special adaptation of traditional societies to the challenges of the globalized world. The essence of modernization is to preserve cultural roots, and combine them with elements of modern Western civilization. For example, Russia’s development of certain market functions is combined with genuine confidence in the uniqueness of Russian culture built on non-market principles. Unwillingness to politically unify the planet is combined with the desire for economic unification, etc.

Where are we going? Development scenarios

RLSC scenarios

In 2008, The Research Laboratory of Civil Society at the Higher School of Economics performed a study entitled “Prospects of Civil

Society in Russia: Evaluation and Selection Problems”. The study discovered a number of possible scenarios for the development of civil society.

In the first scenario, conventionally called the “society of solidarity,” civil society is characterized by high social activity on the part of the educated upper middle class, accompanied by a strengthening of civil society’s social base (increasing the core and reducing the buffer zone). In this scenario, the majority of the population perceives the society as a united body with growing trust, responsibility and a sense of their capabilities to influence the ongoing processes. In this case, the activities of the third sector are rather stale, thanks to effective personnel maintenance. NPO’s services are sought by the authorities and the business community, and contribution of the third sector to GDP is equivalent to that of developed Western countries.

The second scenario is conventionally called “inertial society”, in which the operation of civil institutions is manifested in concrete practices; however, there is only a low level of Russian involvement in such a model.

In such a society, the third sector organizations are diverse, but not stable. Certain types of NPOs may contribute to solutions of local issues, serving as developed forms of cooperation with the authorities at the municipal level. Civic involvement in the community tends to be “privatized” by local authorities. There are also groups characterized by high activity, “that is, people with higher education, or our traditional intelligentsia”. In this scenario, certain types of NPOs may contribute to the solution of local issues, but here interaction between government and non-profit organizations is possible at the municipal level”.

The third scenario – the “society of social passivity” is characterized by, in particular, a weak social basis, especially on the periphery, the instability of the third sector due to little resource support. NPOs are not regarded as a development resource for municipalities, regions and the country in general. Such a society is characterized by low levels of social, and willingness to follow others, as there is a prevailing backwards

attitude regarding participation in civil society. Features of this scenario are: a weak social base, a large, comprising more than half of the population, periphery, the third sector is unstable due to a weak resource base, and forms of cooperation with the authorities are not diverse, with the prevalence of non-material forms¹⁰.

Given the prospects of each scenario, the researchers refer to the first scenario as the best one, and suggest that it could possibly arise in Russia. Specifically for this scenario, the roadmap for the development of civil society was designed. This map indicated that in order to adopt the first scenario, it is necessary to increase the sustainability of the NPOs, develop charitable and volunteer opportunities, provide effective support for these activities at the regional and municipal levels, and contribute to a positive attitude toward civil activity.

It is also important to expand the demand for the NPOs' services, develop information and consultancy support for NPOs, promote civic education and territorial self-government, monitor the status of civil society and monitor the activities of the federal and regional executive authorities that contribute to civil development. The implementation of these measures affects such critical factors as: the standard of living, way of life, the cultural integration of society, institutionalized rights and freedoms, and socio-structural dynamics¹¹.

ZIRCON scenario

Other research that made an attempt to form a set of different scenarios for Russian civil society and assess the likelihood of their implementation, was performed by group of sociologists under the guidance of I. Zadorina. The experts were well-known and respected professionals from a variety of social and political spheres, directly related

¹⁰ *Dorozhnaya karta grazhdanskogo obschestva* [Roadmap of the Civic Society]. <http://www.hse.ru/news/recent/6228644.html>.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Russian civil society, including the leaders and activists of NPOs, public and other civil s organizations, representatives of state and municipal authorities that regulate civil activity, heads and senior staff of public and private funds of civil organizations, researchers, scientists, and analytical centers that deal with the problems of development of contemporary Russian civil society.

The experts identified the following three factors as significant for the development of Russian civil society:

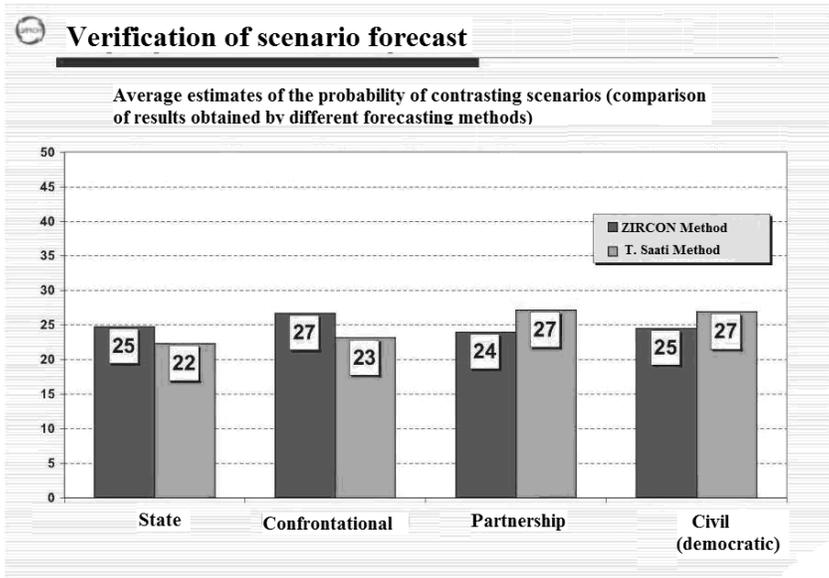
- The level of civic engagement in the community (from high to low);
- The level of influence of the state on civil society (from a strong influence to a lack of influence);
- The level of state support for CSOs (from substantial support and funding to a lack of support and funding).

The combination of the three main factors produced four contrasting scenarios: partner, statist, confrontational, civilian (democratic).

Thus, the experts did not reveal a single dominant, or most likely, scenario. A statist scenario is considered by many experts as slightly more likely than others in the short term, where the state plays the leading role in the development of civil organizations. However, there are reasons to believe that, as a result of a possible decrease in state support for civil organizations, and the growth of social activity. Russia may develop a confrontational (more likely) or civil (less likely) model¹².

¹² *Public Initiative. Four Expert Forecasts of the Civil Society Development in Russia.* <http://www.infopublic.ru/content.asp?pn=2609>.

Figure 2



G. Satarov's scenarios

Another predictive project was realized by a G. Satarov's group. During the project, experts identified and assessed the likelihood of several scenarios for the development of Russian civil society.

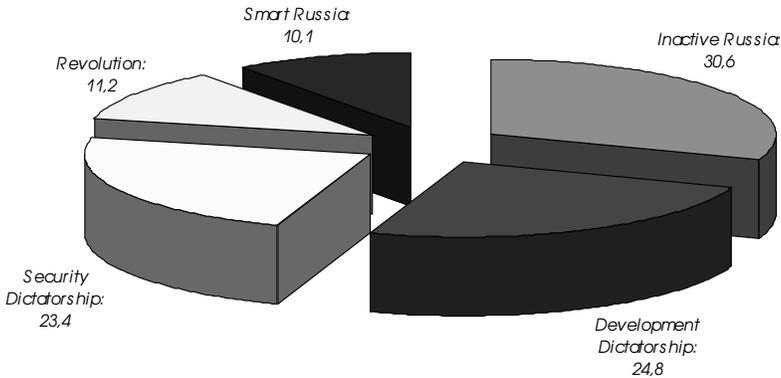
*Figure 3***Main scenarios**

№	Name of scenario	Scenario Description
1	Inactive Russia	This inertial scenario, reflecting the continuing trend of instability and potentials of any other scenarios. Reforms are sporadic and imitative, power is weak and ineffective, elites are disunited, and society is demobilized.
2	Development Dictatorship	The tightening of the regime by group forces that take responsibility to restore order in the country, prevent or stop larceny and lawlessness in order to accelerate the modernization. A sort of Pinochet variant.
3	Security Dictatorship	Sharp tightening of the regime sake of keeping the power of the sitting group or any part of it, winning the other competitors. In the modernization sphere there is imitation with larceny.
4	Revolution	Quasi-legitimate or illegitimate regime change, resulting from a street activity of large groups of the population. Actual political coloring of force seizing power is insignificant.
5	Smart Russia	Movement to modernization according to the Western scenario, the restoration of normal political competition, improving the efficiency of legal institutions, etc.

This inertial scenario reflects the continuing trend of instability and potential for any other scenarios. Reforms are sporadic and imitative, power is weak and ineffective, elites are disunited, and society is demobilized.

This is the likelihood of different scenarios in 2005:

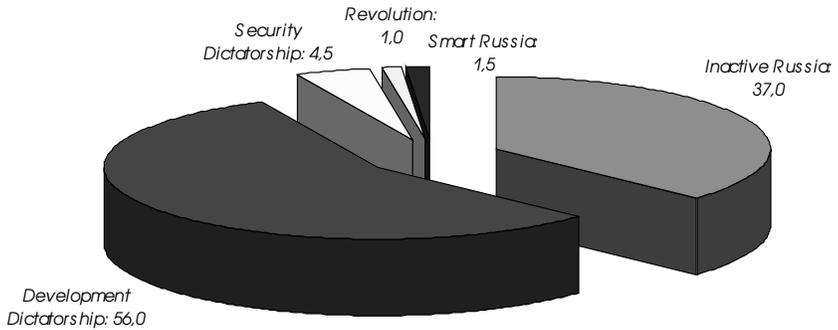
Figure 4



The Scenario, “Inactive Russia,” was in the lead. The next two places, with about the same result, were the models “Development Dictatorship” and “Security Dictatorship”. “Revolution” and “Smart Russia” held the last two places. Meanwhile, the chances of all five scenarios ranged from 10 to 30%, which means there were neither clear leaders, nor obvious outsiders. Such a small variation in the probability of the scenarios is typical for an uncertain situation (if not in reality, then at least among experts). It is even more interesting because it is a question about the period, which was perceived and evaluated as rather stable: the regime controlled all aspects of political and social life, and economic prospects were good.

In 2008, the situation, according to experts, changed as follows:

Figure 5



Compared to the assessment of the likelihood of different scenarios in 2005, which were within a small range, in 2008, it was different: two scenarios were in the lead – “Development Dictatorship” and “Inactive Russia”, and the rest of scenarios seemed extremely unlikely.

In 2012, due to dramatic changes in Russia’s political climate, it was considered necessary to change the set of scenarios so that they would more accurately reflect both the current political situation, and the range of core opportunities to change it. Here is an updated list of scenarios defined by experts:

Table 1

**List of scenarios presented by the name
with a brief textual description**

№	Name of scenario	Scenario Description
1	Inactive Russia	The regime imitates some concessions and willingness to engage in dialogue with the opposition. The protest movement cannot self-organize and express its demands and as a result, dies out. Corruption at the presidential elections is not shocking; their results do not give rise to a new wave of protests. Despite occasional bursts of dissent, conflicts and protests, the regime persists, Putin holds power.
2	Interception	During the election campaign, between rounds and after the elections, the regime takes a number of steps to partially satisfy the protesters and muffles dissent. A number of laws and personnel decisions are adopted, which helps to solve this problem. The regime is in power.
3	Dialogue	With the growth and institutionalization of protest, with a recognized core, capable of establishing universal demands, the regime starts a dialogue with representatives of the protesters. Rapid, progressive political reforms are developed and approved, and should be implemented within 2-3 years.
4	Tiananmen	The regime cracks down on the protests, using massive force and repressive measures toward opposition leaders, and a large number of protesters.
5	Political chaos	With the growth and institutionalization of protest, the regime continues to ignore ongoing social changes. Elections are held with gross violations, street protests are supported by a number of previously loyal elite groups. It leads to sharp destabilization of the political situation, putting the regime in jeopardy.

The analysis showed that there are two competing scenarios: “Inactive Russia” and “Interception”. The likelihood of the scenario, “Inactive Russia,” decreased to 46%. The three remaining scenarios measured less than seventeen percent. “Dialogue” is the least plausible

scenario. There are two scenarios that are now referred to differently, but have a clear, narrow political meaning. They are the scenarios: “Revolution” (before) and “Political chaos” (now). Here, however, likelihood increases.

A year ago, the likelihood of the “Revolution” scenario was almost zero, but now the likelihood of “Political chaos” has reached 8%¹³.

Thus, we can state that the initial desire of a certain number of Russians focused on Westernization, despite resistance from elites and the masses. Today, we have a hybrid, or rather a mixture of modernization of the fundamentalist model. It is no accident that today, a variety of traditional Russian values serve as the basis for further reforms: patriotism, great power, and social solidarity. The main task is improving the efficiency of executive power, rather than creating conditions conducive to the establishment of a fully-fledged civil society. This is an executive who balances and controls the authorities, despite the fact that the main threat to human rights and freedoms, democracy in general comes from executive power. Rigid verticalization of centralized power, manipulated population, “pocket” and obedient civil society institutions, theatrical democracy, “tame” State Duma – these are elements of Russia’s current national development.

As for the prospects of the transformation process in contemporary Russia, from the point of view of the institutional matrix theory, the forecast is as follows: “the main result will be, firstly, the strengthening of dominant positions of the redistributive economy’s basic institutions in its new forms, a unitary, centralized political system, and communitarian ideology. Secondly, an efficient niche for the embedding and functioning of a complementary-to-our-country market economy, federal structure and subsidiary ideology will be created. Thirdly, we expect the achievement of a social consensus on the country’s structure and development prospects, which will consist of expansion of the legal framework,

¹³ *Sisenatnoye prognozirovaniye politicheskoi situatsii v Rossii* [Predictive Scenario-Based Modelling of the Political Situation in Russia]. Analytical report No. 2, February 2012. http://www.liberal.ru/upload/files/Doklad_3.pdf

i.e. more complete articulation of law, and consolidation of social life into civilized forms, particularly for the “life and idea” of our society”.

Thus, returning to the question asked in the beginning of the article, we have to state, that in these social conditions, when two incompatible social, communicative matrices are overlapping, mass media on the whole cannot be free, fair and objective

Mass media cannot, but journalists can be. But that is a topic for another conversation.

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MEDIAPOLIS AS A NEW REALITY AND COMPLEX RESEARCH PROJECT

МЕДИАПОЛИС КАК НОВАЯ РЕАЛЬНОСТЬ И КОМПЛЕКСНЫЙ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ ПРОЕКТ

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The article represents modern media, cultural and social realities in the context of the Mediapolis. European theorists, Roger Silverstone in particular, proposed this effective concept. In essence, it reflects the formation of a new environment for the individual, society, and for their media life. The Mediapolis represents a specific analogue of the real city taken in its media hypostasis. In the article behavior is considered as everyday practices of the individual. Taken together, different aspects of media life comprise the content of the research project “The Modern Russian Media-polis”, the main directions of which are described in the essay.

Key words: *media life; individual; society; Mediapolis; everyday practice; research project.*

Статья отображает современную медийную, культурную и социальную реальность в структуре Медиаполиса. Это богатое понятие было предложено некоторыми европейскими теоретиками, в частности Роджером Силверстоуном. В своей сущности

оно отражает формирование новой среды обитания для человека и общества и для их медиажизни. Медиapolis представляет собой своеобразный аналог реального города, взятого в его медийной ипостаси. В статье медиаповедение рассматривается как повседневная практика человека. Взятые в совокупности различные аспекты медиажизни образуют содержание научно-исследовательского проекта «Современный российский Медиapolis», главные направления которого описаны в данном произведении.

Ключевые слова: медиажизнь; человек; общество; Медиapolis; повседневная практика; исследовательский проект.

The idea of Mediapolis in a research context

The growth of media as a human need necessitates nontraditional approaches for description and explanation. This especially modern phenomenon has been wholly expressed by the British scientist, Roger Silverstone, in the title of his monograph: “*Media and Morality: on the Rise of the Mediapolis.*” The bright intellectual metaphor (the Mediapolis) incorporates multidimensionality and the real depth of the changes. Silverstone gave the following explanation for his choice of a vector of reasoning on present society, and the person within it: “We have become dependent on the media for the conduct of everyday life... It is quite clear that the media are not, cannot be, everything. Life is lived outside the media and for many, if not statistically most, around the world, the media, at least many of them, are absent, unavailable, irrelevant... Life is lived, in families, organizations and states without references to the media. We live. We die. My argument presumes all this. But it also insists on the significance of the media for our orientation in the world... in ways unimaginable before the electronic age” (Silverstone, 2007: 5-6).

This substantiation of the author’s position attracts attention due to balanced estimations of the occurred changes (without the demonization

of the media channels that is characteristic in a number of publications), and the intention to search for solutions of fundamental questions in daily life, instead of focusing external factors, like politics and technology. The correlation of the media and morals is included in the name of the book, “Media and Morality”.

Some researchers support the idea of the Mediapolis as an original form of civilization, and further interpreted it. They especially emphasize two related phenomena that are to some extent exemplary of the contemporary human condition: “First, a notion of media work as a set of behaviors, strategies and tactics, norms and values that co-determine with technology the outcome of the production of culture within and across media industries... Second, an appreciation of media work as a range of activities and social arrangements that a growing number of people – and the majority of teenagers – enact in the context of contemporary digital culture... that is: using media as media producers rather than or next to media consumers” (Deuze, 2009: 23-24).

One can find a dissertation devoted to the Mediapolis, but the author addresses this phenomenon through the very narrow thematic aspect of the mediation of child soldiers in central and east Africa (Bugay, 2012). The notable interdisciplinary workshop “*Mediapolis: media practices and the political spaces of cities*” was organized by the Department of Geography at the Open University (UK). In accordance with the program, the discussion was focused primarily on the political nature of cities and media (Mediapolis, 2008). These facts and similar ones substantiate the subject of analysis. Nevertheless, in general, the Mediapolis idea does not get complex multidimensional consideration and reflection in research literature.

This paper takes on several main questions. The first one is connected to understanding the Mediapolis phenomenon as a holistic entity, which is highly typical for today’s social reality. At the next stage of analysis, we divide the concept into major subcategories (sides, aspects of analysis). The last task consists of defining perspective intellectual approaches on each side, including formulating research questions to be answered by

subprojects. There is no intention to answer all of the questions, because discovering and identifying problems seem to be more important. The paper's structure correlates to the questions.

Mediapolis as a space for media life

In the context of media research, one must transfer attention from institutes and professionals to the “ordinary” person, who has his or her own media behaviors. This includes when activities are not governed by person's desire and consent. From these positions a sufficient addition to an expressive metaphor of the Mediapolis arises, namely, the concept of **media life**. Corresponding to Silverstone's concept, media life is not opposed to “usual” life in its traditional syncretised understanding, but becomes one of its integral parts. François Heinderyckx writes in this context: “Innovation in the area of information and communication technologies is particularly prone to radical prophecies with these types of spectacular trajectories. Looking back at the vast majority of predictions in this area over the past thirty years or so is disconcerting and often amusing. The domain of e-business, e-commerce and e-government is particularly subject to drastic claims that fail to materialise in real life: the end of shops and stores (why bother if you can order online?), the end of offices (so much more efficient to telework from home), even the end of corruption and opaque governance... Prophecies are also remarkably cyclical: changes are announced, later found to be inaccurate, then a few years later reiterated, either with no reference to the earlier predictions” (Heinderyckx, 2013: 99-100).

At the same time, media life operates according to its own laws and rules similar to humans living in economic, familial environment, political arenas and other spheres that have their own regulations, customs and standards. Through this connection, a society may expect noticeable growth of interest in so-called audience's behaviour in the media sphere (though a canonical understanding of the audience as a set

of information consumers, most likely, will lose its meaning in coming years). The statistical analysis of subjects and objects of research grants the ability to see how zones of attention in scientific publications actually correspond with each other. German scholars made such an attempt.

For historical and theoretical introduction they have examined the evolution of journalistic research in Western countries. After World War II a great variety of research approaches appeared. The authors especially stressed a necessity of cultural studies in the field of journalism. They recalled some authoritative scientists, who urged the primarily sociology-driven community of journalistic academics to overcome their narrow focus on communicator research, and to stop the “exclusion of the audience” (Löffelholz, Rothenberger, 2011: 13).

The content analysis of scientific journals concerning journalism demonstrates a state of affairs similar to the contemporary situation. Seven academic journals that use the term “journalism” in their title have been selected for studying. These English language journals represent different regions of the world. The majority of research focused on the communicator (mostly editorial personnel): 64,5% of all published articles. They are followed with the analysis of the content of media (49,6%), and audience studies (14,6%). Research of the channel or, accordingly, media production is seldom: only 9,2% of all cases. The preferences have not changed a lot in comparison with a period when pragmatic interest in media functioning and journalist dominated science.

A qualitative leap in the development of fundamental theoretical research is necessary in order to define the needed level of reasoning for situations regarding the Mediapolis and media life. The situation demands fresh ideas, and if possible new paradigmatic suggestions, instead of the empirical observations that prevail today. It would be strange to deny the importance of data gathering, including experiences in a genre of case study. It is even less suitable to agree with the domination of simple descriptive projects when the reality requires the formulating and checking of hypotheses of the highest theoretical level.

Attempts to arrange such research were made by members of the *Theory of Journalism and Mass Communications Department* of the St. Petersburg State University. The project titled *The Modern Russian Mediapolis* is developed here, and some steps to its practical realization (mainly regarding St. Petersburg) are taken. The intellectual impulses were found in the context of those ideas, propositions and data that have been presented above. The general intention is to construct (better to say – to reproduce) a media copy of a megalopolis, or to reflect a megalopolis in its media hypostasis. There are no analogues of such research, as far as we know.

The author does not formulate a definition of city (megacity). Let's use a description that does not cause objections because of its commonly offered characteristics: "The city in general is a rather independent, legally formed complex dynamic territorial, economic and social system in which... relations of life-support are generated... Thus, the city... unites community into the system consisting of various elements (economy, culture, politics, ecology), penetrated by social relations whose functioning is directed on achievement of the global purpose – growth of the quality of a life of each person" (Shibakov, Kotlyar, Shibakova, 2004: 71).

Just as the real, "physical" city includes a rich variety of interconnected substructures and elements, the Mediapolis also "consists" of management and manufacturing, infrastructure and a private life, mass consciousness and speech dialogue. Additional arguments for this intellectual frame may be found in the modern understanding of the city. As philosophers insist: "In the city the universal image of the person as a set of representations about his intrinsic characteristics is formed. This image becomes a basis of self-consciousness of the modern person, his ideal design which gradually joins new elements of the same nature: representations, ideas, values. They arise in a special communicative situation of a city life in which the exchange is made, first of all, of symbolical values: a word, gesture, ritual" (Scherbakov, 2012: 173).

Certainly, it would be naive to proceed from the assumption of full identity in a structure of elements, but parallels can be relevant and fruitful

in intellectual analysis. Below is the description of main directions and problems of the project.

First of all, we need to define how we understand **the Mediapolis as a whole**. This word is in use in the public sphere (besides the context that has been offered by Silverstone) - publicity agencies, consulting agencies, publishing houses, and even a French radio program have used the term. It is not necessary to argue that such names, as a rule, are the result of a casual choice, instead of aimed theoretical-conceptual search. In the described project, the Mediapolis is understood simultaneously in several ways:

1. *The Qualitative conditions* of human life and of a society that is formed by intensive development of media technologies and increase in the production of media.

2. *The Non-material environment* of inhabitancy of the person and a society created by media communications and deprived of spatial definiteness.

3. *The Methodological toolkit* explaining events and processes in the modern world in a view of the production and consumption of media.

The substantive, qualitative characteristics and estimations of the Mediapolis lay outside these formulations. The main task of the research consists in searching for, and interpreting these subjects in various thematic directions. In other words, the researchers shall use and prove the selected methodological paradigm that has the generalized name of “Mediapolis”.

For example, in regard to *quality of life* (media life) it is necessary to explain a correlation of infrastructural and technological factors, on the one hand, and social, economic, social-psychological ones, on the other hand, plus maybe ecological and anthropological factors. Otherwise, we arrive at primitive technological determinism, which is no longer a popular scientific model. These tendencies determine the development of modern science and will help us to investigate various aspects of the modern world (everyday lives, individuals' practices), which excite a heightened interest in sociology, social psychology and others humanities.

In particular, experts in political sociology write: “A revival of interest to the world of everyday life within the frame of sociology of daily practices has been connected with ‘a practical turn’... means the separation of the world of routine actions into the autonomous area of research... Practical action forming dynamic unity with a structural context becomes the basic for existence in everyday life (according to A. Giddens)” (Plotichkina, 2010: 234-235, 237).

Recent research has focused on daily media behavior. Authors of one recent research project write: “A focus on the place of media in practices... directs attention to the place of mediated communicative practices in the variable formation of the field of ‘politics’; and it also draws attention to how this relationship might in turn be shaped by the embeddedness of media practices in a variety of integrated practices that help up make urban life – work practices, transportation processes, socio-cultural practices of social reproduction in the home and neighborhood, and so on. In other words, it is a perspective through which it becomes possible to distinguish how certain media practices might be understood to be more explicitly political than others” (Rodgers, Barnett, Cochrane, 2008: 6-7).

Sociologists of culture use a wider approach to this matter, they analyze not only the political meaning of media behavior, but human practices with obvious accent on the socio-cultural understanding of media behavior: “Information revolutions are not a rectilinear process in the frame of which new kinds of media simply become current, taking a predicted place in a home and everyday life of the person. It would be more correct to speak about versatile process – acculturations of media, or... about a domestication process relating to media technologies. Within this process the means of communication are being examined and adopted to conditions of the developed life; simultaneously former habits collapse, and the social interactions mediated by technical novelties change” (Sergeeva, 2011: 3).

The Mediapolis in a structural dimension

One can see that such a view of a social reality is wholly organic in our understanding of the Mediapolis as the routine, regular practice of its inhabitants, who are deeply engaged in interaction with the media. This aspect of research deserves a detailed reflection in the analysis of **the Mediapolis citizens' life**, which constitutes one of the main components of the Mediapolis structure (and, in turn, is one of the main sections of the analysis). The citizen, in this case, is considered in a direct connection with the etymological roots of this word, as a city dweller, the ordinary inhabitant of the Mediapolis, despite obvious conditionality of borders of this quasi-territorial phenomenon.

Existence in the world of the media represents a daily practice to which our contemporary society has become accustomed, and in which the modern person is easily guided – not only in a technological dimension, but also in a behavioral dimension. Sociological statistics support this conclusion. So, according to the data of the *Zircon* research group in September 2011, 39% of Russians demonstrated a high degree of media literacy (knowledge, understanding and media skills), in comparison with 31%, who demonstrated a low-level (two years ago the situation looked worse: 31% and 23% respectively). Thus, in 2011, 62% of interviewed respondents were sure that all could understand a stream of information without assistance, and separate the reliable information from information “dust” (Mediapotrebleniye naseleniya Rossii, 2012). Even if this opinion contains a deal of overestimated self-representation, it still demonstrates that people are adapting to new media.

In order to prevent the widespread mistake of narrowing a theme, let us emphasize that the everyday life of the townsperson is not restricted to the sphere of household and consumption. Researchers of human communities offer much more complex conclusions, which were the discussion of the *60 parallel* journal. It is remarkable that the magazine describes itself as a journal “for the people, inclined to think of sense and matter of their own everyday activity.” They use a basic scheme of society

offered by the Russian philosopher, Georgy Schedrovitsky. It includes four zones:

1. The zone of formalized systems of activity: different organizations, institutions, and industrial structures, in which people exist as social individuals.

2. The zone of consumption and household.

3. The zone of the club, where people arrange different relations concerning events in the first two zones, and the content of the fourth.

4. The zone of culture, where matrixes (norms, standards and samples) providing the reproduction of the developed forms of activity and life are found. Man is thought of as a unity of the organism, the individual and the person (Rac, 2011: 44).

Accordingly, the citizen of the Mediapolis interests us in all zones of the social world because all of them include media components, and in each of them the citizen is the main character. However, in the formalized systems of consumption, and in the club, he is a dependent figure, with the lowest degree of independence from external influences. As the individual subject of thinking and behavior he appears in a field of everyday culture, where he has an opportunity to accept (or reject) the norms and patterns of media life. It's necessary to evaluate the Mediapolis citizen according to his civil activity and the role that he plays in media environments. Mediapolis citizens choose their roles. The roles are those of the communicator, an initiator and producer of information, the author with a high level of behavior variability, and the navigator who regulates information streams in the functioning of Mediapolis. Such navigation exists also as a kind of civil activity.

Certainly, freedom of choice requires a high level of media literacy, and mature self-identification. In methodological relation, the most difficult task is revealing the real level of the citizen's civil self-identification in the conditions of the Mediapolis. It seems to us that this task demands a complex program of applied investigations, first of all of political psychology profile.

The aspect of everyday human activity also plays an important role in the analysis of **labor resources** as a structural component of the

Media-polis. Certainly, daily practices of media producers interest us in traditional dimensions - from the viewpoint of the organization of the working process in media organizations, and personnel structure. It will be useful to track tendencies of change in media employee's corporation (their professional priorities, new official and qualifying positions, age, and educational background). There is only one reliable ground for doing so, namely gathering databases (statistics) on media professionals, within the limits of a region (territorial Mediapolis), country, continent, and so forth. Such bases existed in the Soviet era; however, this practice existed under a radically different political and administrative regime, and cannot be used to research modern Russian society.

Nevertheless, some statistical data give serious stimulus for reflection. So, according to *UNESCO*, in the first decade of the 2000s, in Russia there were 102,000 newspaper journalists, leading the entire world. In comparison, China had 84,000, and the US had 54,000. The population of China is 10 times greater than that of Russia, and the income of the American print media from advertising exceeds Russia's by approximately 20 times. Russia does not have an economic or demographic advantage (Ivanov, 2011). It is possible to assume that there will be a situation of personnel chaos and its inevitable consequence – a decline in the skill-level of employees.

Research of labor resources may use additional channels of information. Essential tendencies in the dynamics of the professional characteristics of employees come to light due to the observations of recruiting agencies. They use the Headhunter index (hh.index), which presents resumes for professional vacancies. For a normal market situation, the index used to supply two or three candidates. However, at the end of 2011, in St. Petersburg, per vacancy of a social network employee or blogger, there were only 0,5 resumes; actually, employers had nobody to choose. At the same time, labor market of traditional media was controversial; an overabundance of employees and the irrelevance of offers to employers' requirements generated a sharp misbalance. The sharpest supply and demand imbalance relates to reporters, observers and correspondents

(hh.index 37,7), TV and radio directors (32,6), photographers (28,1) (Shmatko, 2012: 94-95).

In other words, the manpower of the Mediapolis undergoes deep structural changes that occur spontaneously and remain, mainly, outside the research. In these circumstances, it is especially important to focus attention on the self-understanding and self-determination of employees in the Mediapolis, as well as on their reflection on the change in working conditions, attitudes in editorial staffs and other collectives, and on portrait characteristics of typical “new” professionals.

The separation of life from inhabitancy can be fulfilled only in an abstract-schematic context. Nevertheless, the accents in these two cases will vary. The research approach through inhabitancy grants primary attention to *the need for media* – both from the individual side (who is the main personage), and also from the side of structured and non-structured communities. Most likely, they are not limited by fundamental “deficiency needs” (by A. Maslow) – physiological and safety ones, but have so-called secondary needs, which prevail in even ordinary contexts. It means the highest level of the Maslow “pyramid” – self-actualization. It is necessary to consider that in the 21st century, self-actualization is tightly linked with the opportunity of self-expression, which, in turn, became a subject of the greatest anxiety. The authors of the world survey devoted to access to the Internet stressed in their report for UNESCO: “Representatives of global institutions and national governments around the world have endorsed freedom of expression as a basic human right” (Dutton et al., 2010: 7).

Correspondingly, it is impossible to imagine administrative **governance** in the Mediapolis (the next structural component) as a set of algorithms of outside actions. In this case, elements of spontaneity, self-regulation, horizontal coordination, and informal communications will be strong. In the media sphere, as well as in a public life as a whole, the role of the state and other official bodies is highly important and necessary, but they play only the role of the provider, regarding the rights and freedoms of the person, and furthermore about mass communication. In a certain

sense, institutional resources are now generally close to the end, and to no small degree it occurs due to the availability of media technologies to the ordinary inhabitant of the Mediapolis.

Recent history provides more and more examples of how the administration and its aspirations and press monopolies control of media life leads to sharp collisions and scandals. Among one of the most cases was the British *News of the World*, which violated a myriad of legal and ethical standards. In this situation, we frankly recognize that elite authorities have primary interests in such cases. According to the press, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Cameron, has declared a radical revision of relations between the government and the mass media. The government and representatives of the opposition for many years did not pay attention to the behavior of the press because they were more interested in gaining support from larger media groups, such as Rupert Murdoch's *News Corp* (Overchenko, 2011).

Nevertheless, it would be an unrealistic oversimplification to build a model of governance in the Mediapolis in a rectilinear, neoliberal way, supporting unlimited personal freedom. The parity of freedom of self-expression and information security remains an intellectual and practical problem because growing media resources add nuances that complicate the issue. More actors become involved in the relationship, from security personell to millions of ordinary network users. For example, the decision of the Russian *Foreign Intelligence Service* to develop special technique to monitor blogs was seen as controversial. The technique is planned to solve problems at several levels. It will examine the processes of community building in social networks, define the factors that influencing popularity of data, develop methods of organization and governance for the virtual communities, and so on (Barabanov, Safronov, Chernenko, 2012). The Russian officials are not pioneers. According to news agencies, the CIA has a division that supervises worldwide social networks (SMI: sluzhba vneshnei razvedki zaimetsya social'nymi setyami, 2012). Hardly was it possible to expect, that so-called competent services will bypass an enormous stream of the open information given by the Internet. But the problem of freedom and regulation expressed in the “priority –

parity” dichotomy becomes much more intricate. The case of Edward Snowden exemplified this contradiction in the extraordinary visible form.

Most likely, to develop true criteria for governance in the Mediapolis, it is necessary to define basic representations on regulation in social system. Let us try to offer a generalization: the purpose of social regulation consists, first of all, in the consolidation of the system, and this purpose causes importance of integrative function performed by journalism and media. If so, there are bases for the trepidations of Ukrainian communications scholar, who remarks: “While the totalitarian countries... create consolidation of social system, the post-Soviet space, due to total commercialization of the virtual field, bases the film-plots on breaks, instead of consolidation... We understand breaks as points where the system does not work how it should... In virtual space (movies) or information space (news) we see and we hear about a situation of breaks. For this reason today there are not and there cannot be movies, for example, about engineers, researchers, cosmonauts, artists because they do not coincide with a mainstream. They are founders of social systems, instead of founders of breaks” (Pocheptsov, 2012).

Further analysis of the governance component of the Mediapolis requires one to examine a huge set of regulative acts in the media sphere in comparison with mechanisms of self-regulation. Key ideas for such a project may be found in Manuel Castells’s conclusions, according to which the vertical administrative system has lost its monopoly on governance, and a new horizontal network determines social dynamics in modern society. In any case, the Mediapolis needs a new model of power relationship in information sphere.

Analysis of the environment also includes studying such structural components as **the infrastructure** of the Mediapolis. Valuable information may be found by collecting the maximum volume of data on media channels, which in an aggregate form the uniform space for the completely organized being of a society and the individual. To some extent, the databases of research (rating) firms may be used as sources of information, though they do not offer a complete description of the Mediapolis

infrastructure. However, this part of the article still addresses some points of contention; this is the place for debate. For example, whether the infrastructural environment is comfortable for its inhabitants? Whether it has a rational substantiation, or arises out of anarchy? To what extent does it increase accelerated self-reproduction? Whether it has prospects in the future, or it should remain a current (if not past) phenomenon? Whether division of transnational and local channels is relevant today? Finally, whether St. Petersburg “coincides” with tendencies, developed in other media cities, and whether it is necessary for it “to coincide?”

There are some precedents similar to the *Mediapolis project*, carried out in Singapore (another name is *Media City*). This Mediapolis physically exists, as a governmental company, a special area within the “big” city, and a complex of industrial enterprises. The administration of the project describes it as: “Mediapolis is the realisation of a vision: a media-centric city built to inspire creativity, collaboration and connectivity – where state-of-the art infrastructure, an active community of innovators and creators, and a collective spirit of enterprise make Mediapolis a place where ideas flow, flourish and thrive... Mediapolis is where digital media connects with the community in fun and tangible ways” (Our Media City, 2012).

For every nation, the question of the rationality of such media centric cities (or lack thereof) should arise in a context of infrastructure analysis.

There is one more special environment for us, namely **language and speech**, which are maybe the most visible aspects of routine life in the Mediapolis. Certainly, it is impossible to reduce observation to criticism of the damage to language in network communications and mass media. It is important in due time to question if a new, universal speech of the individual and society is arising. Or maybe there are a number of voices, which generates some kind of new Babylon, at least an intergenerational break in inhabitants’ understanding of each other. Who is the source of a fashion and standards, and what today is referred to as speech culture, which institutes are responsible for “governing” speech processes, and

whether it is necessary to govern them? Besides, which national and international characteristics coexist in these processes? Perhaps, in general, the future will lead to a new Esperanto?

However, speech communication also has much more “prosaic” aspects that one should remember in addition to Internet-communications. Daily speech develops on the basis of direct interaction, and for a significant part of the population, problems arise at this level. Conflicts occur when there are migrations of other ethnic, language and cultural communities. Every modern Mediapolis, as well as a megalopolis as a whole, opens its borders. For Russian cities it is an extremely disturbing question. According to official statistics for the first half of 2013, migratory authorities in St. Petersburg have registered 792,000 new migrants. This is 22,000 more than in the first half of 2012 (V Smolnom uvideli migrantov, 2013).

The demographic reality is that the speech environment is distinct from traditional models. A new Babylon already exists in a megacity, and nowadays it has less in common with the literary-mythological allegory. Maybe academic linguists have the privilege to not pay special attention to the regeneration of the social environment, but the practices of a municipal government and self-regulation are compelled to adapt to actual circumstances of intercultural dialogue.

Anyway, it is obvious that the traditional uniformity of dialogue is replaced by the collision of different styles. The diverse speech of the Mediapolis is substantially focused on the personification of dialogue, unlike the unified dialogue in a mass audience. Thus, in a research it is necessary to combine the approaches of traditional linguistic and stylistic science with a freer attitude regarding language norms, which is characteristic for the postmodernist tendency in humanitarian knowledge.

In close connection to popular speech, but in a different mode, **the cultural consciousness and self-consciousness** of the Mediapolis develops. Undoubtedly, essential shifts occur in this structural component, and hardly all changes are homogenous. Positively, at least the individual has access to cultural property that transcends not only the borders of a real

megacity, but also planetary ones. Negatively, there are low standards and cultural simplification. These obvious changes are cultural phenomena that were generated by media life, by net communication.

Paradoxically, the accessibility of gigantic information resources promotes cultural interaction with reality only to a minimal degree, and encourages a lazy understanding of reality. The original “mirror” of cognitive activity of the Mediapolis inhabitant serves as the structure of sources of knowledge and representation. The redistribution of channels of media consumption in favor of the Internet does not require further research. Let us use only one illustration. The surveys in St. Petersburg and Stockholm, carried out in the frame of comparative research *The Role of Media for Identity and Democracy* have shown the following data: most 17-year-olds, read (books, newspapers, magazines) only 1-2 days per month (near 75%), while nearly every day 70% use the Internet in Stockholm, and 38% do the same in St. Petersburg. The surveys were organized in 2007, when there was a rather big gap between Swedish and Russian Internet access. Today the disparity is much smaller (Use and Views, 2011: 58-59).

In a cultural dimension, the use of modern communication technologies causes neither objection, nor counteraction. Deep anxiety arises in connection with decline of reading. The popular Russian writer and Professor of Physics, Sergey Kapitsa (he also known as the son of the Nobel Prize winner, Peter Kapitsa), declared: “We at last came to what we aspired to come to during all 15 years; we have brought up the country of idiots... The speed of technical development today is very high. But our ability to comprehend all this and to live reasonably in a new technical and information environment lags behind from this speed. The world experiences now a very deep crisis in the sphere of culture. So the situation in our country is typical enough for all other world - in America and in England too people read a little... Now it is very difficult to find intellectual leaders in general. Probably, because minds are necessary to nobody – sensations are necessary” (Rabi Robsky, 2009).

It is easy to see that the subject of the discussion is not reading, but the culture of the Mediapolis. It is not crucially important which channels

carry knowledge and valuable representations to citizens. Someone can personally disagree with the elimination of paper books and “old” cinema. One should recognize that the decline of certain media is in itself a cultural practice, which requires analysis.

It is especially necessary to reflect on *the idols of the crowd*. It seems that writers as mentors, easily recognizable literature samples, outstanding thinkers, and film protagonists are things of the past. Bloggers are modern idols and prophets, frequently without personal originality. How does such a replacement affect mass consciousness and behavior? Is the construction of the Mediapolis equivalent to the destruction of the Culturepolis (or at least to qualitative pauperization)?

City folklore still exists. The idols, popular figures, who dominate the media, are a result of not only media institutions, but also the spontaneous actions of citizens. This way of communication rarely draws attention of researchers, possibly because of how difficult it is to study. Some precedents of studying demonstrate the necessity of such projects, and the value of their findings (Ries, 1997).

Certainly, mass media channels and oral dialogue have an inseparable relationship, and mutually influence each other. At the same time, they are historically independent systems. Contemporary science tries to include spontaneous dialogue in a number of aspects of mass communication researches. It is true that: “In the communicative environment alongside mass press, TV, radio and the Internet exists one more channel of mass communication... which in circumstances of modern dialogue... is filled by rumors (but not only them) and which is named the Oral Channel... It has its own effective organization; it is used for collective distribution of a social significant information product... and works via transfer of oral texts from the person to the person by a principle of a speech chain or a network” (Osetrova, 2010: 13).

Thus, city folklore and other forms of spontaneous dialogue are integral parts of media life and, accordingly, must be analyzed, including folklore processes in networks. What myths and legends arise in net communication? Correspondingly, which spiritual-cultural values do they demonstrate, and how do they relate to previous cultural values?

Separate and profound attention should be paid to the consciousness of the person, who has got unlimited opportunities for self-expression and self-realization in the media space. In principle, these wide possibilities correspond to the strategy of humanization, as to the ideological basis of civilization leap and motive power of social transformations. There are bases to suppose, that in the sphere of media in recent, the preconditions for increasing “the human factor” were established, and now the individual and the social community must face the consequences.

To the future understanding of Mediapolis

There is the question of the readiness of the townspeople to manage the potential freedom that the media infrastructure has given to them. It is a question of whether the individual perceives his personal freedom as an indispensable part of the Mediapolis, to which he or she is emotionally attached. Personal freedom is understood in the highest spiritual context, without any diminutions of its substance through “convenient” usage, or to a standard set of technological operations (like computer clicks) and so forth.

However, further analysis may lead us away from the complicated framework of the Mediapolis. Obviously, each element of its structure deserves research on fundamental and applied levels, with different methods. As an initial step, the research team from St Petersburg has published the first results of the project in a monograph, in Russian (Sovremennyi rossiiskii Mediapolis, 2012). There is no doubt that the project should proceed.

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CIVIL APPLICATIONS IN RUSSIA'S MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRUCTURE

ГРАЖДАНСКИЕ ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ В СТРУКТУРЕ МЕДИАКОММУНИКАЦИЙ РОССИИ

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The article dwells on the present role of Internet communications in the development of Russia's civil society and social infrastructure. In particular, it looks into the use of civil applications, which have been increasingly popular in recent years. The author touches upon the factors preconditioning the active employment of civil applications, and points out the criteria for their systematization. Furthermore, the author provides an overview of the new types of media communications, and contemplates the prospects and potential problems connected with their development and use in the field of professional journalism.

Key words: *civil society; Russian media transformation; network communications; NGOs' media background; civil applications in the Internet; humanitarian media agenda.*

Статья посвящена роли интернет-коммуникаций в развитии гражданского общества и социальной инфраструктуры в современной России, а именно практике гражданских Интернет-

приложений, получивших широкое распространение в последние годы. Рассматриваются факторы, актуализирующие их функционирование; предлагаются критерии систематизации приложений, дается обзор практики новых видов медиакоммуникаций; оцениваются возможности, перспективы и проблемы, которые открываются с развитием данных форм гражданской активности для профессиональной журналистики.

Ключевые слова: *гражданское общество; трансформации российских СМИ; сетевые коммуникации, медиаистория НКО; гражданские приложения в Интернете; гуманитарная повестка масс-медиа.*

One of the key trends of today's civil society is the increasing popularity of online social networks. Their use, through mobile applications, meets the communicative needs of groups of citizens sharing their interests and associations via virtual networks. The network society and its experiences have a great impact on democratic processes, cultural changes and personal identity.

With the start of the digital era, both local and global civil organizations have acquired a powerful communicative resource for democratic initiatives and self-management. The Internet, with its 2,5 billion users worldwide (or about 35% of the population by the end of June 2012, according to Internet World Stats¹), can be viewed as a far-reaching communications structure, with smart mobs, able to speed up social transformations, and thus is turning into a crucial tool for shaping global civil society.

However, mobile technologies today are more than just advanced communicative tools. Many cultural experts, such as sociologists and anthropologists, study the socio-cultural peculiarities brought about by the development of mobile communications.

Manuel Castells conducted comprehensive research of the "Network Society" as the basis for the modern economy, politics and culture.

¹ *Internet usage statistics.* URL: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.html>. The service provides no further data.

His book “The Rise of the Network Society” has been published in more than a dozen editions, only in English. It is quite familiar to readers in this country as well (Castells, 2000). As the leading theorist of information society, Mr. Castells keeps studying the complicated interrelation between information technologies, economic activity, and the social and cultural life of the post-industrial world today. In Mr. Castells’s opinion, the network communications structure reflects the way of life and way of thinking of individuals finding themselves in the reality of developed information society (Castells, 2003; Castells, 2004; Castells, 2009).

This is a relevant issue for Russia, where Internet users make up more than half of the total population (according to the Public Opinion Fund, by mid October of 2013, this was up to 57%²). What role do the new information technologies play in the development of the civil sector? In which media formats is civil activity expressed? What are the problems and prospects of integrating various types of media communications in Russia’s information space? What impact do these processes have on the professional life of a journalist? By addressing the practices of employing civil applications on the Internet, the article attempts to find answers to these questions.

Civil communications in the post-Soviet period

When contemplating the social and media transformations of the post-soviet period, the key researchers of Russian Mass Media (Vartanova, 2009, 2013; Dzyaloshinsky, 2012; Ivanitsky, 2010; Korkonosenko, 2010; Fomicheva, 2011; Schepilova, 2010), stress the fact that both in Russia and all over the world, the Internet has become an integral part of national media systems, providing new formats for the development of media and their links to society.

“The new media have defined new aspects in the standard ‘journalist – information source,’ ‘journalist – content,’ ‘journalist –

² <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/news.asp?id=335433>

audience' relations. Active Internet users challenge the professionals by mastering the traditional journalists' tasks, such as gathering and spreading the information..." (Vartanova, 2013: 87-88).

While political dialogue with the authorities has not quite met optimistic expectations, there have been certain positive social dynamics, i.e. the functioning of social infrastructure and various aspects of civil relations. Nowadays, Russia certainly "lacks the so-called 'network culture' and strong civil/horizontal links. It can be characterized by the contradictions or even conflicts between the novelty of Internet-communication and the respective horizontal, non-hierarchical structures; and the social experience, unspoken rules and regulations based on the paternalistic tradition" (ibid: 105-106). All of the above mentioned phenomena make researchers even more interested in the networking experience of various social groups.

Studies of the current state of Russian civil society provide a meaningful context for the understanding of new social practices. The studies are numerous and might contradict each other in the diagnostic aspect. However, at this point we should specify our vision of the matter. No matter how varied the research traditions and interpretations of civil society might be, the category of confidence is essential to all of them (Bourdieu, 2005; Seligman, 2002; Fukuyama, 2004). It is a common conviction that the conditions for human interaction will be met, that people will behave in accordance with some general norms, and that confidence makes up a crucial element of the social and economic development of the society.

Confidence should be regarded as a kind of social capital or social resource affecting the advance of civil society. This, in turn, is defined by the citizens' involvement in social practices (mutual help and support, philanthropic culture, volunteering, participating in NGOs or civil incentives, human rights work and local self-administration), or by using the mentioned patterns as guidelines.

Russian civil society is derived from the country's historical background, and differs from the Western one. In Western Europe, the mentioned process advanced through several centuries of the propagation

of democratic traditions, economic and political freedoms. Up to the 20th century, feudal relations, lack of horizontal links or the culture of social interaction were characteristic of Russia. The Third Estate formed only in the late 19th century. Unlike in the West, the Russian intelligentsia, rather than bourgeoisie, advanced liberal ideas. The post-soviet period was marked by growing demand for civil society, a structure that would balance state power, and be able resist it in certain ways. On the other hand, the newly formed civil society would have to create a new environment for the formation of national values, and the traditions of democratic participation, the informational participation included. (Fomicheva, 2012; Platonova, 2011; Vartanova, 2009). Thousands of non-government organizations have appeared in Russia, however, only a few dozen of those have gained significant popularity and influence³.

An extended poll (34,000 participants in 68 regions of the Russian Federation) conducted by the Public Opinion Fund has revealed that although no less than 90% of the adult population make up the potential social basis of civil society, but their actual involvement in social practices is quite low, with the “core” adding up to 7,7%; 26,6% are “ready to join” and about 8,8% are the so-called “outsiders,” who are disconnected from the social base. We can therefore observe a certain capacity for growth (Civil Society in Modern Russia, 2008: 148-149).

Another factor that should be considered in view of the contemporary history of civil society in Russia, are the complicated relations between the Media and the NGOs in recent decades (NGOs and the Mass Media, 2003; Why Don't They Write about Us, 2012; The Media and Civil Society Formation, 2010).

The media history of NGOs may be considered from two perspectives, representing the two different poles of the communications field, and constituting the totality of the humanitarian media agenda, i.e. NGO's own information activities, and the media coverage of such civil organizations' activities. In the first case, the NGOs act as the subject of

³ According to the 2013 data by Russian Federal State Statistics Service, there are currently 87 028 NGOs registered in Russia. URL: <http://www.gks.ru>

the information industry, which have created their own segment in the media market. Thus, in the nineties, the so-called “non-profit press,” including hundreds of small newspapers and magazines providing an insight into social entities, came into existence. Despite the fact that such editions had never gained public recognition, they still had a certain impact on the development of the social civil sector. At the same time, non-profit press activists were striving to find some sympathy from journalists; however, friendly relations were never established between the two parties. “As a result, only a very limited number of people are aware of the NGO’s activities, and it is often a mere coincidence that they get this information”, experts claimed (Dorosheva, 2002: 6). Consequently, Russian NGOs obviously failed to attract significant media attention.

However, NGOs would not give up their attempts to access open information space. They have been modifying their ways of dealing with the media and mastering new technologies, and thus have acquired notable influence and power by means of establishing themselves in the network space and addressing society without the media involvement. They create their websites and use them as their own media, initiating their information projects and getting actively engaged into social networks (Stechkin, 2010: 241–244). “They are their own press,” experts stated (Ganzha, 2012: 72). Today, this type of activity has become widely popular. Civil society and new technological development have come together at a point that is crucial for Russia’s social life and journalism.

Nevertheless, no significant changes can be observed in the sphere of relations with traditional journalism. Current research data show that only 10% of journalists advocate NGOs. In the early nineties, 60% of journalists regarded supporting the civil sector as an urgent task, whereas now only 30% think so.

Another study has demonstrated that, as far as the leading press is concerned, the number of publications covering NGOs’ activity adds up to less than 4%. Most of these publications deal with the government-based entities, such as the Public Chamber or the Public Council of the Russian Ministry of Defense. The NGOs tackling society’s everyday problems

hardly get any media coverage. It should be mentioned that at the moment that the social infrastructure in this country is quite disorganized and archaic, which makes the solving of public problems slow and illogical.

The amount of texts devoted to NGOs as such is even smaller (less than 1%) (Shiryayeva, 2010, 316–319), and even these few articles often touch upon scandals, sensations or anniversaries⁴. Consequently, a false image of NGOs has come to life, and the relations between civil activists and journalists are still far from a true partnership. The fact that the history of Russian journalism before the 1917 Revolution was marked by extensive coverage of charity campaigns, makes the existing situation even more unfortunate (Gorcheva, 2013; Frolova, 2005).

However, in the last couple of years, there have been positive signs of NGOs in the media. With their active Internet involvement, civil organizations have made significant progress, both in the social and political spheres. Protests changed the political life of the country during parliamentary and presidential elections. Numerous meetings and protest demonstrations could not affect or nullify the election results, but society's mood had changed. Many people feel ready for civil action, and today, when street protests are less frequent, it is a more important factor. Network communications have become the one and only means of free interaction, and the most powerful resource for the formation of civil society.

In light of those conclusions, we should consider the following factor: in the recent months, the media have established two opposing directions of civil development, social and political. Social theorists are familiar with this dichotomy: *politic* and *civitas*, the notions of “political” and “civil” citizenship⁵, which have been the source of debate for many

⁴ Refer to the Donors Forum Report on the Status of Charity Funds in Russia in 2010: URL: <http://www.donorsforum.ru/reports/ezhegodnyj-doklad-foruma-donorov-o-sostoyanii-i-razvitii-blagotvoritelnykh-fondov-v-rossii-v-2012-godu/>.

⁵ The civil society (the Third Sector) opposes the state (the First Sector) and advocates citizens' rights, thus creating vertical links. At the same time, it represents the environment where social values are elaborated and members of the society support and help each other, thus building up horizontal links.

centuries. Russia's social history can be regarded as one of the most vivid examples thereof. In this context, we should mention the enormous gap between actual government policies, and the civil ideas of liberal society in this country, as well as between the civil elite and the broad democratic public, contradictions that have existed for centuries. This conflict has led to misconceptions of Russian culture all over the world.

Today, we can observe the revival of this debate in the modern media setting. A "*Kommersant*" newspaper reporter believes that civil actions and projects, which have been carried out through the Internet, are special forms of civil protest. "Today a lot of people turn to charity. Many of those who took part in the recent protest actions wouldn't stop short of sieging the Kremlin at that time, just to change the life in this country for the better," he states. Further on, he argues that this is an efficient way of modernizing the country, "Due to these actions, even the people who have never been involved into politics start contemplating such things"⁶. Regular citizens join the discussion, claiming that the Internet cushions the impact of revolution. "Had it not been for the Internet, the revolution would have erupted a long time ago!" they assure, adding that many anti-government resources have not been closed, just so that people have somewhere to let the steam off.⁷

According to analysts, a new information system, i.e. "society-blogsphere-Mass Media-government"⁸ has arisen. The modern vocabulary includes a new notion of **civil applications**, or the websites or services established to solve some of the urgent social problems, or contribute to their solution. These applications include a full range of Web 2.0 sites largely constituted by users' content. Civil applications present are of great interest as a peculiar direction and means of expressing social activism, as a new type of media communications and humanization

⁶ *Charity As a Form of Protest*. URL: <http://kommersant.ru/doc/2093192> // Kommersant, 18.12. 2012.

⁷ *Internet: a Cushion between People and Revolution?* URL: http://maxpark.com/community/289/content/1946565?utm_campaign=mostinteresting&utm_source=newsletter.

⁸ <http://www.public.ru/blogsmi2011>.

resource. Special Internet-services are employed for project management and promotion, social PR, general cooperation, social engineering and fundraising.

Certain civil applications can exist in form of mobile ones, this being a technical solution for the expansion of their functionality. The notion of mobile applications has become vastly popular, however, not every mobile application can be granted “civil” status; in some cases, they concern purely consumer projects, and inter-consumer information exchange. Such parameters as the informational content, the peculiarities of using the information and its functional vector, i.e. handling the most urgent social issues and the development of the civil sector, allow us to conclude that civil applications belong to a group of their own. We can define them both as a type of media communication, and sometimes as civil projects. With reference to civil initiatives, the applications can be regarded as a means of realization (there is usually a website for a offline functional options), or as of projects in their own right (the application in itself becomes a project). Civil applications cannot be viewed as journalism in its conventional meaning representing a different type of communication. Nevertheless, the media often take part in their development, while the tasks of professional journalism embrace not only the media coverage of NGOs’ activity, but also their involvement in projects development and realization with civil activists (Dzyaloshinsky, 2006; Khlebnikova, 2011).

Civil applications: practical activities overview

On the whole, civil projects are quite varied. They touch upon all spheres of social and private life. In some social niches, civil action substitutes for official institutions, although the amount of Internet applications that actually contribute to the development of horizontal engagement, and the improvement of the social environment, is also quite high. By attempting to systemize them, we make a step towards the

academic evaluation of this phenomenon, still new to the Russian media agenda. We can highlight the following criteria:

Topical: reflects the links to different spheres of social life and highlights social problems (administrative abuse, insufficient support for families and children, poor medical care arrangements and funding, unfairness of courts, traffic and communal services problems, urban land improvements etc.). We can't help mentioning that all of the spheres of public life are now covered by social applications. However, the potential for new projects based on the needs for particular social services is truly unlimited.

Goal-oriented: stresses the functional purpose of projects, such as problem identification (claim, request, report), petitions and addresses, assistance in emergency situations, volunteer programs, fundraising, personal help to those in need, protest, the attraction of public attention, joint support arrangements, enlightenment initiatives and propaganda. Fundraising and crowdsourcing are the two fastest developing trends.

Organizational and technological: demonstrates the variety of forms of interaction between citizens, citizens and government entities, as well as the numerous aspects of project initiation. A project may be launched by means of private observation, a letter, a personal, public, or NGO initiative or address, media information, an idea by an individual or an organization etc. Another factor that should be considered is the great number of social connections in the process of project realization, with NGOs, individual citizens, business representatives, government entities and experts participating therein. Their methods of interaction differ in each case.

Certainly, in reality most of the connection may overlap, which makes the review of civil applications, a new and promising type of communication in Russian society, particularly interesting. Surely, there were large civil projects in the past (the movement in support of the Khimkinsky Forest, the Blue Bin Society, Bloggers against Garbage, etc.), besides, Russians were familiar with successful foreign movements. However, the summer of 2010 was marked by significant

changes to this situation. Civil applications received broad recognition, which demonstrated the citizens' readiness to communicate, to act, and thereby see results. It should also be mentioned that not only the young and technically advanced, but also the middle-aged and senior citizens get actively involved in civil projects.

The review of civil applications below demonstrates that the functional parameter is dominant.

Crowdsourcing. The purpose of this type of application is providing help to those in need. «*Karta pomoschi*» (“*The Help Map*”)⁹ was the starting point, and the first project of the kind. It became widely popular due to efficient cooperation in the face of forest fires in 2010, and has been operating ever since. Those in need post their information on the website, and volunteers can get in touch with them. The website makes it possible to select excerpts from various sources (blogs, social networks, traditional media), post them on to the map and systemize them. Furthermore, more civil applications employed this approach, for example the well known “*Liza Alert*”¹⁰, or “*Zoopatru*” (“*The ZOO Patrol*”)¹¹.

The given resources provide help in the cases of daily needs and emergency situations (for example, the famous «*Virtualnya Rynda*» (“*Virtual Watch Bell*”)¹²), professional assistance (such as «*Neopofizizm: soobschestvo neravnodushnyh ludey*» (“*Do Care: Community of the Involved*”)¹³, which provides free legal counseling).

“**Complaint Books**”. The most famous project in this aspect is «*Democrator*» (“*Democrator*”)¹⁴. A registered user can post a detailed description of his or her problem on the website. If other users believe this problem is urgent, they express their support. With 10 or more users' responses within 28 days, the site administration sends an electronic address to the corresponding government agency. With 50 responses or

⁹ <http://russian-fires.ru/>

¹⁰ <http://lizaalert.org/>

¹¹ <http://petonik.com/>

¹² <http://rynda.org/>

¹³ <http://nepofizizm.ru/>

¹⁴ <http://democrator.ru>

more, a paper copy of the claim is sent with the list of signatories. The officials' reply is posted on the website for further discussion. Should the majority of the users find it satisfactory, the case gets "closed," otherwise a new claim is compiled and further official entities are appealed to.

Mr. A. Bogdanov, who has conducted research on "Democrator," believes that it is an authentic project that has introduced European ideas to Russia.

Similar crowdsourcing projects are «RosYama» (*"Russian Pit"*)¹⁵, RosZHKH (*"Russian communal services"*)¹⁶, and «Dom. Dvor. Dorogi» (*"House. Yard. Roads"*)¹⁷ (the winner of the Civil Applications Awards of 2012). The resource named «Moya Territoriya» (*"My Territory"*)¹⁸ provides an efficient communication tool for citizens, city authorities and service entities. The complainant just outlines the issue, while all the further control is carried out by the resource. In case of a problem remaining unresolved, the application coordinators compile a legal application on the matter.

«**Initiatives**». «Podari-Derevo.RF» (*"Donate a Tree. Russian Federation"*)¹⁹ is an ecological initiative suggesting a new way of preserving and expanding forests and green spaces. The project plants trees in the Moscow and Leningrad regions, which need help maintaining their forestland. Each tree is registered under a certain number, and each participant gets the respective certificate.

«**Yopolis**» (*"YoPolis"*)²⁰ **stands out among other civil applications. The Russian businessman M. Nogotkov launched this ambitious project in autumn 2012. The project provides a politically neutral platform for the cooperation of citizens in resolving urban problems, and interacting with the authorities.** "YoPolis" embraces a full range of functions, allowing each individual to participate in the social life of the city, such as putting

¹⁵ <http://rosyama.ru/>

¹⁶ <http://roszkh.ru/>

¹⁷ <http://domdvordorogi.ru/>

¹⁸ <http://www.streetjournal.org/>

¹⁹ <http://podari-derevo.ru/>

²⁰ <http://yopolis.ru/>

forward district and infrastructure development initiatives, or getting in touch with likeminded people. The project gives everyone a chance to prove oneself based on one's actual actions and proposals, to gain support of the neighborhood, district, city or even the whole country. Besides, the resource coordinators conduct media monitoring on social topics expanding its potential as a communications tool.

Crowd funding. Crowd funding, which presupposes raising funds for particular initiatives, plays a special role among civil applications. We will look into some examples thereof: the project «*Tugeza*» (“*Together*”)²¹ raises funds for orphanages, retirement homes, hospital renovation and the purchase of medical equipment. The «*S miru po nitke*» (“*Every Little Helps*”)²² application collects funds for a variety of ideas and projects. Thus, a project may be paid for, or closed. In case closure, the collected funds are returned to the donors.

“Governmental”. These applications provide mechanisms for interaction with the authorities, voicing citizens' stances and expectations. Examples of the applications in question are provided below: <http://www.zakon.profsro.ru/>, a website for the public discussion of draft laws founded by the auditors' labor union. «*Otkrytaya policia*» (“*Open Police*”)²³ is a project in an open data format that provides information from internal affairs agencies. The project coordinators stress the work of social activists, and claim they are ready to share their data with the media champions of civil society «*Portal otkrytyh dannyh pravitelstva Moskvy*» (“*Moscow Government Open Data Portal*”)²⁴.

Informers are applications that contain useful information on healthy diets, ecological planning, and similar topics. In this connection, we can draw the following examples: «*V Moskvu*» (“*In Moscow*”)²⁵, a project by the RIA News agency, a multipurpose directory for tourists and local

²¹ <http://together.ru/>

²² <http://smipon.ru/>

²³ <http://openpolice.ru/>

²⁴ <http://data.mos.ru/>

²⁵ <http://www.inmsk.ru/>

citizens providing the information necessary for a comfortable stay in Moscow. «Perekryli» (“Blocked”)²⁶, a location-based online service, informs users of road blocking events. «Zarplata uchiteley menyaetsa...» (“Teachers’ salary being changed...”)²⁷ is an online resource for navigating Russian teachers’ salaries. The project looks into the gap between official and actual salary levels, and makes an attempt to bring the professional community together to deal with the issue.

The range of civil application activity is also quite wide, from national resources, such as the <http://www.zakon.profsro.ru/>, to local ones, for example, «Zalivaet» (“Leaking”)²⁸ and «Lokolo» (“Locolo”)²⁹ St. Petersburg-based projects that tackle hyper-local level initiatives, such as keeping entrance halls clean and etc.

We can see that the civil applications are quite varied and may differ by topics, functions, technologies, subject matters, range of operation etc. However, all of them have a so-called “civil marker” and thus contribute to the development of civil communications and the formation of the humanitarian information agenda in this country in its broad meaning (Frolova, 2013).

Special attention should be paid to the social educational project «*Teplitsa sotsialnykh tekhnologii*» (“*Social Technologies Conservatory*”)³⁰ aimed at forging cooperation between the non-profit sector and IT-specialists. The Social Information Agency-based project, founded in 2012, may be viewed as one of the first attempts to contemplate new Russian civil and communications phenomena. Its purpose lies in helping NGOs, activists and would-be volunteers use information technology, online tools and applications with maximum efficiency. One of the key tasks of the project is interaction with technical experts, who have all the necessary skills to contribute to social life, but

²⁶ <http://perekryli.org/>

²⁷ <http://opensalary.info/>

²⁸ <http://zalivaet.spb.ru/>

²⁹ <http://lokolo.ru/>,

³⁰ <http://te-st.ru/>

are unsure of how to act. A strong team of journalists, web developers, civil sector and private activists has come together through to run the project. Besides, the project reaches out to many Russian regions. “*The Conservatory*” strives to spread the acquired information among as many users as possible. Therefore, the project focuses on distributing the best practices and truly useful tools. The project’s website provides a directory of civil applications, which amount to dozens of initiatives, including those launched in the former CIS countries, and worldwide.

These practices demonstrate that the development of social activity based on civil applications is an undeniable trend in communications. Network technologies have helped the society move from theories and to actual projects, and provided powerful resources for their promotion, thus making social incentives more convincing.

Civil applications and professional journalism: problem areas

New technologies involve both civil and professional journalists in social activities. On the one hand, we differentiate between traditional journalism, civil communications, and acknowledge the differences in the nature of various applications (not all of them bearing the ability of civil application), but on the other hand, we cannot help mentioning the parallels between the two notions. By this we mean teams of professional journalists, who combine media and NGO activities. There are not many of such journalists, but their experiences are quite meaningful for the social sector, with the above previously mentioned Social Information Agency heading the list. The extensive SIA data base has helped its coordinators to see the prospects of civil applications, organize application contests, and contribute to the development and fostering of new ideas and projects, and the “upbringing” of civil applications and culture formation. *The “Conservatory”* website includes numerous interviews with founders of civil applications, which accumulate the detailed information on this phenomenon. This can be viewed as one

of the first attempts to analyze new Russian civil and communications phenomena, and is a bright example of cooperation between civil activists and professional journalists. This is the new reality that is expanding the concept and social role of media communications.

“Studio-Dialogue” is another team promoting civil initiatives in the media, and along with SIA, set up the daily *“Charity Address”* radio show. The first broadcast took place on October 31, 2000 at the *“Mayak”* (*“Lighthouse”*) radio station. Nowadays, along with *“Mayak”*, the show is aired by *“Radio Rossii”* (*“Russia’s Radio”*) and *“Golos Rossii”* (*“Russia’s Voice”*). In 12 years, there have been 3,844 episodes, 15 books on the media and NGOs’ cooperation, and about 10 000 phone calls processed by the program hotline (*Why Don’t They Write about Us*, 2012: 5). With their unique experience of combining the NGOs’ and media’s functions, the journalists have a profound understanding of the matter, and strive to energize social agencies to distribute information, and to establish and enforce Russian civil relations.

Unfortunately, few media resources address the issue of civil application. However, journalists have been able to highlight the following problems based on their experiences:

The problem of unawareness of the new media reality, and of why and how the means of communications should be developed;

The problem of goal-setting, putting forward a question of whether it is justified to replace government entities in their functions by initiating active public involvement via civil applications;

The problem of solidarity focusing on why social interaction is crucial and how it should be arranged;

The problem of defining the scopes of responsibility concerning the responsibilities of various structures;

The problem of confidence striving to make crowd-funding services more transparent and combat fraud;

The celebrity problem of trying to find balance between the national tradition of discreet activism, and the need for publicly attracting attention to charity and volunteer issues;

Undoubtedly, professional journalism could play a significant part in tackling such problems; moreover, it is impossible to find answers to these questions without broad media discussion. As far as the structure of the humanitarian media agenda is concerned, it is obvious that all of its components may be improved by employing civil applications. By this we mean the broadening and diversification of the thematic field, and the introduction of new personalities and formats to the media arena. Will this create a new resource for generating content in the traditional media? As Mr. I. M. Dzyaloshinsky, a civil communications researcher, noted ten years ago, “The professional community servicing the press is definitely one of the advanced layers of the society” (Dzyaloshinsky, 2001: 27). Can this role be preserved today with the tough competition in the communications sphere? There is no definite answer to this question; however, the risk of professional journalists losing their dominant position is higher than ever today.

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FORMS OF CONFLICT DISCOURSE AS A REFLECTION OF CONFLICT DYNAMICS: PECULIARITIES OF REGIONAL MEDIA

ВИДЫ КОНФЛИКТНОГО ДИСКУРСА КАК ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ДИНАМИКИ КОНФЛИКТА: ОСОБЕННОСТИ РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ СМИ

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From the perspective of discursive psychology, discourse is “the primary arena for human action, understanding and intersubjectivity” (Potter, 2012: 114). Conflict discourse as it appears in media texts refers to the descriptions of situations and psychological states that play an important role in the formation of particular actions, and the tactics disputants use to criticize other parties’ moves and position themselves for accountability. The Novgorodian media (newspapers and e-papers) are enclosed within the information field of the region and reflect changing situations within its frame through different forms of conflict discourse. It presupposes that descriptions of the situation change as the situation alters under the influence of participants involved in confrontation. Thus the media bring into focus and fix parties’ positions, their motives, their conflict interaction as it develops, and their conflict resolution (termination) if it happens; they influence to some extent the trajectory of a developing situation.

Key words: *conflict discourse; conflict dynamics; regional media; forms of conflict discourse; language peculiarities of the conflict discourse forms.*

В рамках дискурсивной психологии Дж. Поттера конфликтный дискурс (КД) – это языковые формы, которые создают конфликтогенную версию реальности, т.е. ресурсы для оценок, конструирования фактических версий и выполнения конкретных действий; для СМИ – источники критики, объяснений и оправданий. Новгородские СМИ (печатные издания и интернет-газеты) замкнуты на информационное пространство региона и отражают то, что происходит через различные виды КД. Таким образом, динамика конфликта разворачивается в фокусе СМИ, фиксируя позиции участников, их мотивы, само конфликтное взаимодействие, разрешение (завершение) ситуации, если они наступают, и в определенной степени влияет на траекторию его развития.

Ключевые слова: *конфликтный дискурс; динамика конфликта; региональные СМИ; виды конфликтного дискурса; языковые особенности конфликтного дискурса.*

Conflict discourse as a research tool for studying a regional media field

Immensity is not characteristic for the Novgorodian media field. It presents the typical features of media communications of a small Russian region, the most prominent of which is a dominant position of media founded by the authorities. Improvements in a regional media field greatly depend on business development and regional socio-cultural specificity. As for the Novgorod region, it lacks serious natural and human resources and its advertising market is in clear decline as it hasn't yet recovered from the economic recession. All of these factors make media seek the support of local authorities. Thus, it can be said that the regional media field has distinct territorial frames.

Nevertheless, the Novgorodian media field also encompasses social and socio-political media founded by independent editors. Although their specific characteristic is a bigger share of federal news, the advantages of all regional media in the world of readers' expectations of familiar faces and the "flavour" of local news can't help but being taken into consideration. Thus, conflict discourse can be found in discourses of various spheres of communication: political, business, religious, ecological, cultural, sports and others; this implies that there are different arenas where the local authorities pursue a policy of positive image formation and their opponents counteract them.

Conflict discourse can be a research tool for studying a regional media field, which is a polydiscursive formation. It is filled with discourse provoking events, personages and opinions that trigger the initiation, expansion and subsiding of different forms of the discourse in question thereby exposing the dynamics of developing situations in the region.

The research of the Novgorodian regional media was carried out from September 2012 to September 2013. The objects of the research were two newspapers, issued in paper and electronic versions, one e-paper and one newspaper with no online version. The local authorities founded the first two newspapers while the last two were founded by the independent editors.

Monitoring was used as a research method allowing continuous observation within the frames of the regional media field. This dynamic social communication phenomenon keenly reacts to social and cultural changes, depending on both information and cultural policies of the authorities at different levels and the position of the media association. The unit of observation period was a month as this is long enough even for a weekly paper to publish several issues but not too long so as to lose track of a developing situation. Quantitative analysis allowed the researchers to trace the changing intensity of conflict discourse and associate it with media materials. Content analysis made it possible to reveal the forms of conflict discourse at different phases of the developing conflicts.

An illustration of the monitoring results after the first month can be seen in the following table.

Table 1

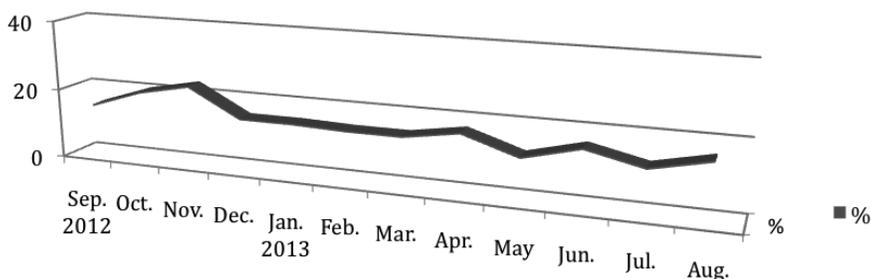
Intensity of conflict discourse in September 2012

Names of papers	Texts presenting conflict discourse in relation with the total number of materials
Novaya Novgorodskaya Gazeta (paper)	28 % (22/78)
Vashi novosti (e-paper)	14 % (31/216)
Novgorodskie vedomosti (paper)	18 % (61/332)
Novgorodskie vedomosti (e-version)	12,5 % (35/281)
Novgorod (paper)	10 % (11/110)
Novgorod (e-version)	7,5 % (6/80)
Average	15%

The monthly calculation of the intensity of conflict discourse during the whole research period shows the following results presented in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1

The intensity of conflict discourse, September 2012-August 2013



Forms of conflict discourse as they appear at different phases

To better understand conflict dynamics it is important to define what conflict discourse implies. Santoi Leung presents the various ways the term conflict has been conceptualized. She analyzed the literature in numerous fields (philosophy, rhetoric, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and linguistics) and singled out *disagreement*, *the adversative episode*, *oppositional argument*, *disputes and disputing*, *quarrel*, *the contracting routine*, and *conflict talk* (Leung, 2005: 2). The researcher came to the conclusion that conflict talk is the most appropriate term for conflict discourse as it covers the phenomenon in the broadest sense and “captures the central idea that participants take alternative positions on the same issue but it does not imply a restriction to a single speech act nor a single turn sequence nor a single topic of contention” (ibid: 3).

However, the specific feature of media texts is that they reflect interpretations and responses to an event at a certain moment and therefore can imply both a single speech act and turn-taking acts. It depends on the position the author or editor takes and what speech tactics they choose to highlight events. Thus, the abovementioned terms can be considered as forms of conflict discourse that reveal the dynamics of a developing conflict through the main stages: the latent phase, the open phase (emergence and escalation), and the termination phase (de-escalation and settlement) (Antsupov, Shipilov, 2000: 262–269).

Win-oriented forms of conflict discourse

The analysis of the Russian regional media (as exemplified by the Novgorod region) shows that *the adversative episode* is characteristic for the latent stage and de-escalation. An adversative episode, as it is understood by Eisenberg and Garvey, is “a sequence which begins with an opposition. This opposition may be in reply to an action, a request for action, or an assertion” (Leung, 2005: 5). In the latent phase it shows

differing interests or values that have the potential to spark conflict. As for de-escalation, it suggests highlighting reduced grievances, at least for one side, as the goals of the involved parties change. In this case, publications are supposed to demonstrate that participants regard those goals as unattainable or requiring unacceptable burdens. Adversative episodes can be found in media texts covering political, economical, social and cultural issues. E-papers prefer this form of conflict discourse more than newspapers and periodical media that are issued both in paper and electronic versions.

Lexically, an adversative episode is marked in headlines, which present two individuals (subjects) or an individual and a subject opposed to each other with the help of semantic conversives. Conversives imply the situation is to be viewed in win-lose terms or power-submission terms. According to Tatiana V. Shmeleva the addresser takes on the role of “a modest informer,” that is, an author of reified information not expressing any attitude to the situation described (Shmeleva, 2010). The introduction of contrasting conversive pairs suggests stronger expression. The addresser in this case is “an estimating informer”, an author permitting themselves assessments of certain aspects of the problem described. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse: *“Fleiderer” demands 1 million rubles from Boris Shumilkin* (Vashi novosti: Biznes (Your News: Business)), *“Baltnefteprovod” doesn’t utilize the dangerous wastes left after the spill* (Vashi novosti: Ekologiya (Your News: Ecology)), *It’s not the governor’s concern* (Novgorodskie vedomosti: Politika (Novgorodian News: (Politics), e-version), *We have money to repair houses, yards and roads. Executives are the problem* (Novgorod: Ekonomika (Novgorod: Economics), e-version).

As for media texts, they usually present only a one-sided viewpoint and are full of quotes, and often lack conclusions. By providing addressees ‘direct access’ to an event, authors seem to withdraw from a situation, giving readers a chance to make assessments (Holt, 1996). But Harvey Sacks considers ‘the sheer fact of doing quoting can be the expressing of a position’ (Sacks, 1992: 309).

Thus, an adversative episode is the *manifest conflict* as Morton Deutsch defines it; quotes present a fragment of the situation but not the underlying conflict, it may be considered “a safer way to express what is going on because the underlying conflict is seen as too volatile or too dangerous to deal with directly” (Deutsch, 1973: 13). However, addressing conflict in this way makes it difficult to prevent it from being destructive.

The specific feature of any conflict is that it starts at the moment when at least one of the opponents perceives the situation as a threat to their status or position. An adversative episode can become a “triggering event” that develops into emergence. In other words, an episode may be perceived as the first appearance of a conflict or as a confrontation that erupts resulting out of a dormant conflict. Interpretations of participants are of importance as they are the base for images of people involved in the situation: their personal traits and professional skills. Arguments emerge out of opposition.

The *oppositional argument* results out of an adversative episode and marks the open phase of a conflict. Deborah Schiffrin describes it as follows: “one or more speakers openly support disputed positions” (Leung, 2005: 2). In the regional media it mostly implies highlighting politicians’ statements, political or economic experts’ opinions, social activists’ open letters and grass root campaigns in particular. It presupposes taking a hard-line stance on the issues described. According to Tatiana V. Shmeleva the addresser takes on the role of “mouthpiece”, the one who speaks on behalf of others.

An oppositional argument implies goals formulated so that adversaries are required to make more radical and extreme changes. It leads to *escalation*: an increase in the intensity of a conflict and in the severity of tactics used in pursuing them. Parties begin to make stronger threats and impose harsher negative sanctions; issues move from specific to general and participants’ goals change from “doing well” to winning. The aforementioned changes are specific for the *underlying conflict*. In the regional media the *oppositional argument* is usually presented by a series of articles showing power-plays of adversaries and highlighting the hearings which may result out of such

publications. Newspapers that have only printed versions prefer this form of discourse more than e-papers. It helps to keep the degree of interest, especially if it is a weekly newspaper. For periodical media issued both in paper and electronic versions it is less preferable but still takes a top position among the conflict discourse forms.

Lexically, an *oppositional argument* is marked in headlines by means of modal operators of obligation or necessity, rarely modal operators of possibility, formally marked negative words (words with negative prefixes), inherently negative words and double negations. The same proves to be true for media texts. Here's how the conflict formula works: the stronger the conflictogene is used, the stronger the response can be. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse: *We don't need any intercessors* (Novgorodskie vedomosti: Ekonomika (Novgorodian News: Economics), paper). *Left Wing demarche* (Novgorodskie vedomosti: Politika (Novgorodian News: Politics), paper). *Do you dare to use school teachers for PR?* (Novaya Novgorodskaya Gazeta: Politika (New Novgorodian Newspaper: Politics)), *Chancers in the Housing and utilities sector* (Novgorod, Ekonomika (Economics)).

Escalation, however, cannot continue indefinitely. De-escalation can be temporary or can lead toward settlement or resolution. However, escalation may also lead to a stalemate, a situation in which neither side can win.

In general, win-oriented forms of conflict discourse take top positions in the regional media field.

Negotiation-oriented forms of conflict discourse

Presenting the situation as a *disagreement* is a better way to deal with a conflict. Kotthoff speculates that it “takes some accountable effort” (Leung, 2005: 7); “there often are interspersed turns within an episode where disagreement is formulated in line with the preference for agreement”. It can be a particular case of the *manifest conflict* but it presents an opportunity for negotiations and a potential settlement. In the regional media, disagreements are found in reports, reviews and brief articles.

As a contrast to printed newspapers and e-papers, periodical media issued both in paper and electronic versions give preference to this form of discourse.

The specific feature of such publications is that most of them are akin to “I-statements” or “I-messages”. I-statements give partners information about them, but do it in a less threatening way in contrast to You-statements. You-statements trigger defensiveness and emotional resistance. The addresser in this case is “an estimating informer” but what differs them from the addresser preferring the adversative episode is that they explain what they have experienced, trying to assure that it is the situation that is unacceptable or unbearable, not the people. Their goal is not an experience of power and domination.

A disagreement works seemingly well in the latent phase as participants haven’t fixed their positions yet and there is room for maneuver. Conflict tends to develop through stages, from an awareness that differences exist to a hardening of attitudes. Thus, when escalation leads to a stalemate, disagreement can be considered a face-threatening act since “disagreeing with someone threatens that person’s positive face” (ibid). Leung considers that in this case “participants cannot only connect back to the action of the previous speaker”, but the situation can also make them “display opposition across turns via format tying” (ibid: 9).

Lexically, disagreements are marked in headlines by allusions, implied or indirect references to an event, a film, a book or a part of another text. They are meant to classify the experience with which the author is tackling. As for media texts, they contain metaphors, gradable lexemes, intensifiers, and approximators of degree and quantity. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse: *House for a Niff-Niff* (apartments for orphans), *My house is my castle* (problems of privatization), *Dirty work. Novgorodian enterprises pay less attention to sustainability* (Novgorodskie vedomosti: obschestvo (Novgorodian News: Society), *Bone in the throat* (the problem of stray dogs), *Chronic benefit* (medicines for benefit recipients) (Novgorod: obschestvo (Novgorod: Society).

Conflict talk is the most complicated among the conflict discourse forms: “participants pay close attention to talk in the previous turns and

use this to construct appropriate subsequent talk” (ibid: 3). It implies a combination of such forms as disagreement, adversative episodes, oppositional arguments as well as contracting routine. It reveals itself in the open phase and is apparently the underlying conflict. The addresser takes on the role of “reporter” or “analyst” as Shmeleva defines it: a participant presents a view from the side, a bottom-up approach; at least they create the effect of presence.

In the regional media, conflict talk mostly includes adversative episodes to describe situations along with disagreement or oppositional arguments to make assessments and conclusions. The combination of adversative episodes and disagreement is an attempt to deal with a conflict based on objective grounds and lead it to potential negotiations. The combination of adversative episodes and oppositional arguments may lead a conflict to a stalemate. However, it’s less intensive than oppositional arguments alone as disputants are not supposed to be driven into a corner. They can still put on a positive face if not save face altogether. Conflict talk is found in surveys of events, commentaries, and interviews. It’s a preferable form of conflict discourse in the pre-election period and is typical for both printed and electronic media.

Lexically, conflict talk is marked in headlines by allusions and metaphors. What makes it different from disagreement is that conflict talk classifies the situation, referring it to a certain group, while making a frame for it that influences negotiation tactics and potential outcomes. As for media texts they comprise features characteristic for adversative episodes, disagreement and oppositional arguments. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse: *Cry from the heart of “Novgorodskiy Bekon”* (Vashi novosti: Biznes) (Your News: Business), *Profitable position. Why the orderly Profsoyusnaya st. became a disorganized marketplace* (Profitable position – *Dokhodnoye mesto*, a play by Alexander Ostrovsky) (Novgorodskie vedomosti: Biznes) (Novgorodian News: Business), *Second lesson of mathematics from “EdRo”* (Ed/inaya/ Ro/ssia/ – United Russia) (Novaya Novgoroskaya Gazeta: Politika (New Novgorodian Newspaper: Politics), *Emergency meeting* (Novgorod: politika, biznes (Politics, Business).

However, conflict talk often yields to oppositional arguments and adversative episodes as win-oriented forms of conflict discourse are stronger in the regional media. Yet, the media do not dismiss the importance of negotiation-oriented forms of conflict discourse: these forms fit into the format of both social and political newspapers as well as socially-oriented forms of conflict discourse.

Resolution-oriented forms of conflict discourse

Disputes and *disputing* is characteristic for the latent stage as “disputes are not necessarily arguments <...> a stretch of discourse must involve an exchange of views on whether it is worthwhile to believe some assertion or take some action” (ibid: 3). This is a constructive way of dealing with a conflict. Disputing prompts participants to admit that the problem exists and to make efforts to reach an accommodation between both parties. But it is the interpretation that is of importance because it influences the development of a conflict. If instead of the common interpretation that disputing is a tool for conflict resolution, participants display aggravated disagreement, possibly leading the situation to escalation.

In the regional media, disputes occasionally take leading positions. It happens when the media bring into focus town-dwellers’ or local private entrepreneurs’ problems. Thus, disputing is found in surveys of events and commentaries. Periodical media are considered to be channels for interaction with the powers that be. The addresser takes on the role of “reporter” with resulting sequences.

Lexically, a dispute is marked in headlines by rhetorical questions, the answers to which are described in the following texts: quantifiers referring to objective reality, pointing out how long the problem has been in focus, and modal operators of possibility. The same is true for the contents of media texts. In contrast to the contracting routine disputing makes it possible to avoid escalation and resolve existing problems. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse:

At the first spring meeting “Business club” again put a question about administrative barriers (Vashi novosti: biznes) (Your News: Business), Caught on the Net. Is the game worth the candle? (Novgorodskie vedomosti: obschestvo (Novgorodian News: Society)); Who to complain to? “Profs” probably live well (Novaya Novgorodskaya Gazeta: Obschestvo (New Novgorodian Newspaper: Society)).

The *contracting routine* is possible in the settlement phase that follows de-escalation if negotiations have been successful. It implies agreement to reach an accommodation that will satisfy both parties. But it cannot guarantee the agreement will not be violated and that is why it can not be considered reconciliation.

In the regional media, this is rarely found. Supposedly this happens because the media focus shifts to new events that are of current importance. The role the addresser takes on in this case is of a “modest informer”. Lexically, the contracting routine contains positive lexemes breaking the conflict framework without referring to the previous moves. The following examples can illustrate the specificity of this form of conflict discourse: *Minister of Culture signs the decree on conservation zones of Yuriev monastery (Vashi novosti: Kultura) (Your News: Culture), “Zemlyanichka” redeems its position. Not all children sanitary camps are ready for the first turn (Novgorodskie vedomosti: obschestvo (Novgorodian News: Society)), End of the Jerry shop (Novgorod: obschestvo (Society)).*

Conclusions

While developing conflict situations change as the goals of participants change, periodical media reflect these changes through different forms of conflict discourse. They show how the trend described reverses. On the one hand, newspapers present disputants’ grounds: arguments in support of their position, appeals against arbitrary decisions and appeals for action and collaboration. On the other hand, periodicals present editors’ or

journalists' viewpoint that may as well influence the developing situation and hence change its trajectory.

Taking on the role of “reporter” or “analyst” the journalist may disclose facts that have been overlooked. In turn, the situation may either deteriorate or alleviate. Thus, journalists have a set of tools to manage conflict situations as well as adversaries involved. Forms of conflict discourse used to describe issues prove that it is so. Conflict dynamics and conflict discourse forms are mutually dependable.

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COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOR TYPES OF NEW MEDIA USERS

ТИПЫ КОММУНИКАТИВНОГО ПОВЕДЕНИЯ ПОЛЬЗОВАТЕЛЕЙ НОВЫХ МЕДИА

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This article analyzes the most common user communicative behavior models in the Russian-speaking new media. The method of coordinated management of meaning (CMM, by B. Pearce and V. Cronen) serves as the methodological basis for this research. As part of the research plan, a 500 respondent survey was conducted. The survey results highlight the most actively used blogging services and makes it possible to analyze 135 blogs (27 of each type) and to identify five Russian blogosphere communication models. The study finds that the dominant communicative strategy of current web space is dialogical.

Key words: *new media; blogosphere; communicative behavior.*

В статье анализируются наиболее распространенные модели коммуникативного поведения пользователей в русскоязычных new media. Методологической основой исследования послужил метод координационного управления смыслом (coordinated

management of meaning – CMM) (B. Pearce, V. Cronen). В рамках исследования был проведен опрос 500 респондентов. Результаты опроса позволили выявить сервисы блогов, которые используются наиболее активно и провести анализ 135 блогов (по 27 каждого типа) позволили определить пять коммуникативных моделей в русскоязычной блогосфере. В результате исследования было выявлено, что доминирующей коммуникативной стратегией в современном веб-пространстве становится диалогическая.

Ключевые слова: *новые медиа; блогосфера; коммуникативное поведение.*

Introduction

The transformation of the political and economic environment in Russia which occurred in the late 20th century led to the emergence of a new system of social media, the role of which is increasing in nearly all spheres of human communication: art, education, politics, business, journalism and others.

The proliferation in forms of social media is primarily due to the increasing number of users. According to the Public Opinion Foundation (FOM), the primary increase in the Internet audience in Russia can be attributed to provincial regions. In the autumn of 2012 the average monthly audience in Moscow was 70% of the metropolitan population. For two years, i.e. since the autumn of 2010, audience growth in the metropolis has been rated at 25,5% while for the same period the audience in rural areas increased by 47,3%, and in towns with a population less than 100,000 people – by 31,9%.

In addition to the increased use of the Internet as an information source, the year 2012 showed a growth in confidence regarding this news source. Back in 2010, only 4% of the population regarded online news sites as a source of information, which they trusted highly, and by 2012 this percentage had already reached 11% (Public Opinion Foundation, 2013).

Communication potential of Internet resources is determined by modern communicative process transformation, alternation of dissemination channels, content performance, addressant and recipient roles,

etc., which expectedly leads to a change in the media message parameters. The basic requirements for a message are high searchability, scanability, number and quality of relevant links, accessibility for users, etc.

Fundamental changes in the communication medium have led to the integration of different spheres of information on a variety of different levels. Political, economic, cultural and social processes intertwine and blend into a complex global unity. Local and national information flows mix and dissolve in the global information space. The boundaries between advertising, journalism, public relations and promotional activities have virtually disappeared.

The process of information consumption by audiences has also changed. Today, various audience types demonstrate diverse media activity, receiving information simultaneously through multiple channels (for instance, Internet and TV).

The challenge for today is to determine the types of user communicative behavior in cyberspace and the principles that determine choice of contacts, their frequency, specificity, and so forth.

Methodology

The method of coordinated management of meaning (CMM, by B. Pearce and V. Cronen) served as methodological basis for this research. The CMM, created within the framework of the socio-cultural tradition, is traced back to such research areas as social constructionism, pragmatism, symbolic interactionism, rhetoric, psychology narrative approaches and organizational communication, ethnomethodology, and interpretive ethnography.

Content analysis was also applied.

Brand Analytics, which is a system of video monitoring and analysis of references in social media on a real time basis¹ was used for data analysis.

¹ <http://br-analytics.ru/>

The data were processed by SPSS, a statistical analysis software package used for sociological data processing.

As part of the research, of which some results are provided below, a 500 respondent survey was conducted. General characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Recipient general characteristics

Characteristics	% of total number of respondents
Sex	
Male	48,2
Female	51,8
Age	
18-20	12,2
21-26	67,1
27-34	10,8
35-55	7,8
More than 55	3,1
Education	
High School	13,8
Specialized secondary education	18,2
University education	26,3
Incomplete university education (student)	36,2
Have an academic degree	5,5
Occupation	
Industry (including transportation, communication, construction)	5,2
Agriculture	1,6
Trade, catering, housing and communal services, consumer services	4,5
Health, Social Welfare	4,5
Education	11,7
Culture	6,8
Lending, Finance and Banking	5,4

Characteristics	% of total number of respondents
Government department	3,8
Social organizations	4,3
Media	8,5
Non-working pensioners	4,2
Students of higher and secondary educational institutions	31,1
Military, law enforcement	3,2
Temporarily unemployed, housewives, on maternity leave, etc.	3,1
Other	2,1
Employment status	
Senior manager (director, deputy director and chief engineer, chief, officer, etc.)	9,7
Middle management (head of department, foreman, etc.)	25,9
Ordinary worker (worker, employee)	64,4

The numerical classification of the Pearson's correlation criteria statistical theory was used to interpret the results.

Results

The main results can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, the dominant communicative strategy in the current cyberspace is dialogical.

According to the Public Opinion Foundation, as of autumn 2012, 52% of Russia's population over the age of 18 use the Internet (61,1 million people).

According to yandex.ru, Russia's most popular blogging services are: LiveJournal – 37% of users; Blogi@mail (blogs.mail.ru) – 18%; LiveInternet – 13%; Ya@ru (my.ya.ru) – 13%; Dairy@ru – 12%; LovePlanet – 4% ; Blogger.com – 3%.

The survey results highlighted the most actively used blogging services and made it possible to analyze 135 blogs (27 of each type) and to identify Russian blogosphere communication models (Table 2).

Table 2

Types of blogosphere communicative models

Blog feature	1	2	3	4	5
Posting of own texts	1,06	1,29	1,22	1,15	1,06
Reading of others' texts	1,41	1,20	1,24	1,45	1,06
Commenting	0,97	1,10	1,23	1,19	1,35
Translation of interface to other languages	0,46	0,42	0,24	0,46	0,50
Search by category	1,64	0,61	0,99	0,43	1,03
Crossposting	0,81	0,78	0,96	0,71	0,77
Enhancement of external interface	1,01	0,61	0,53	0,70	0,67
Subscriptions to blogs of other users	0,85	0,42	0,71	1,31	1,26
Advertising	0,43	0,46	0,63	0,51	0,25
Setting different levels of access	0,62	0,54	0,34	0,36	0,35
Participation in the blog ranking systems	0,31	0,39	0,57	0,38	0,39
Setting up RSS	0,75	0,58	0,54	0,54	0,44
Video calls	0,29	0,08	0,46	2,74	0,37
Calls between participants of communication	1,88	1,46	0,64	1,44	0,87
Calendar of Events	1,10	0,71	0,78	0,90	1,07
Sending and receiving messages	1,52	1,37	1,29	1,49	1,53
Browsing other user's profiles	2,19	1,53	0,43	1,57	0,31
Dynamic construction of menu	1,64	0,49	0,76	0,64	1,14
Creating of own profile	1,02	1,20	1,28	1,17	1,11
Exchange of audio files	2,04	0,69	0,43	1,16	0,33
Photo sharing	1,48	2,25	0,42	1,37	0,68
Posting of audio files	1,52	0,82	2,25	1,24	0,69
Sharing video files	1,23	1,33	1,33	1,30	1,73
Posting of photos	1,50	0,90	1,05	1,38	1,66
Posting of video files	2,03	1,03	1,25	1,47	0,60
Adding of different modules	0,84	0,65	1,13	0,92	0,81

The research singled out 5 communicative models in the Russian blogosphere. The numerical classification used in statistical theory of

the Pearson's correlation criteria was implemented for the analysis. The value of the correlation criteria is given in Table 2.

- Negative value represents an activity type, which is not typical for the group;
- Values from 0 to 0,7 indicate small importance and rare usage of the activity for the group;
- Values of from 0,8 to 1,5 indicate occasional use of these functions;
- Values above 1,5 indicate that this type of activity is the preferred and dominant for the group.

Description of the selected communication model types in the Russian blogosphere:

Type 1

“Techies” are advanced users who actively use all available options: technically sophisticated services (RSS programming, customizable interface, media-services, subscription services, event calendars, and dynamic menus). They are interested in, and actively use, new features.

For this group, relevant and timely information is a high priority. More and more new resources are developed just to provide the most complete information as soon as possible to satisfy their needs. Therefore access to profiles of other members, subject-specific search and ability to dynamically create menus become particularly important. The dialogue strategy is manifested in various forms and is predominantly pragmatic (communication should be business-like, with priority on providing information and solving distinct communication tasks). Sending and posting audio, video and image files, as well as internet calls are often used for this purpose. Written verbal communication (reading other people's texts, making own text posts and comments) is used to a much lesser extent, which is typical for the “techies”. This group is the least focused on self-presentation, and information communication is determined by dialogic communication requirements and is reduced to the minimum.

Type 2

“Socialites” are people with high individual communication needs. A blog for such people is another form of social communication with old friends, and a way to find new ones. For these users, active sharing of pictures to demonstrate an active social life, and examining other users’ profiles is very characteristic. Such activities as posting videos, sending messages, internet calls, creating one’s own profile, sharing videos, commenting, reading other users’ posts, and publishing their own texts are usually at a medium level.

Type 3

“Actors” are people who are mostly concerned about their self-presentation. They are the most active among other groups at enhancing their own profiles – they consider this to be the most important blogging service since it helps them hide what in their view are negative qualities, and to create a desirable image. They actively send audio files and often post and share self-created materials (video and audio files, pictures, texts) that illustrate their personal interests and preferences. The author’s communicative activity prevails over the reader’s as they strive to find acceptance and rewards from their audience. A user of this type is eager to build up a certain image in other users’ eyes.

Type 4

“Mimics” – for these users it is most important to create an illusion of live communication. They heavily employ video calls and browse profiles belonging to others. They often write their own posts and comments, subscribe to blogs of other users, exchange messages, post and share audios, videos and pictures.

Members of this group tend to visualize dialogic communication. There are various reasons why people follow this communication model, a topic which requires further research. Thus, according to S. Grinfeld², young people prefer virtual communication and it can be explained by perfectionism and a desire to achieve everything all at once. Virtual

² <http://theoryandpractice.ru/posts/3539-syuzan-grinfeld-rebenok-vospitannyy-na-sotsialnykh-setyakh-teryat-sposobnost-k-soperezhivaniyu>

reality, which is a kind of public environment, allows for immediate emotional support.

Type 5

“Passive” users are not that active in blogging (their only average activity is posting photos), they tend to use only technically basic services, rarely make posts (less than once a month), read messages from other users (several times a month) and use a calendar of events. Representatives of this group are barely involved in the online environment.

Secondly, web space is segmented according to value systems of communication participants. The major factor regulating communication activity in dialogic technology is the matching of communicant axiological paradigms.

Analysis of different organization forms in the Russian-language cyberspace (data of blogs, portals, webcasts, Internet chat rooms, Internet forums, wiki-resources, etc.) shows that the largest segment of consumer activity belongs to social networks. This fact also bears witness to the dominant position of the dialogic communication strategy since the social network makes it possible to implement dialogicity to the fullest extent.

The impact of social media is growing steadily: According to the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center³, in 2012, 82% of internet users had at least one account in a social network, compared to 53% in 2010.

The most popular social networks in Russia are:

- Odnoklassniki (odnoklassniki.ru) – 73% of Internet users
- V Kontakte (vk.com) – 62%
- Moi mir (my.mail.ru) – 31%
- Facebook – 18%
- Twitter – 9%

Social networks have now begun to offer services that were previously typical only for blog sites. For instance, in 2011 the “V Kontakte” (vk.com) network added a feature of creating one’s own message wall, which was unavailable to users previously.

³ <http://wciom.ru>

The huge number of people available for communication in cyberspace, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, an almost total absence of real-world technical and practical barriers to communication (linguistic, temporal, territorial) make it necessary for a user to limit their circle of contacts by some kind of criteria. Thus a particular frame of references is formed to distinguish and filter contacts. For example, a blogosphere user is evaluated not only on the basis of post or comment texts, but also by a special system of markers, which is similar to an offline situation: number of friends (subscribers), number of visits to the blogger page, rating place of the blog, number of posts and comments and all kind of regalia, badges, stars and other marks of distinction given to the best blogs by the blogging platform to which they belong.

The results of a correspondence survey show that 87% of respondents prefer to stop communication with a user who has different moral and ethical standards from their own.

Thirdly, a message's author becomes an important component of the axiological paradigm in virtual space.

According to Brand Analytics, about seven million posts, messages and comments are posted daily in the Russian-language social media. This amounts to about 200 million posts a month. Daily public posts (excluding private messages) on platforms with the maximum share of user-generated content reaches truly enormous volumes:

- Twitter: 4,5 million messages.
- Vkontakte: 2,2 million messages.
- LiveJournal: 160 thousand messages.

The average daily number of posting by authors in social media are as follows: (including authors of both posts and comments)

- Vkontakte: 1,2 million unique authors
- Twitter: 590 thousand unique authors
- LiveJournal: 27 thousand unique authors

Thus, each author on Vkontakte makes on average about 2 posts, in LiveJournal this number is about 6, and in Twitter it is an average of 7-8 posts per author each day. In Russian-language web space communication is concentrated in groups united by certain characteristics. It should be

noted that, for instance, in social networking the communication within a group is distributed more evenly and has a horizontal dialogical and polylogical nature. At the same time, blogs have an increasingly vertical hierarchical communication that focuses around “gravity centers”, or individual opinion-shaping bloggers with whom everyone wants to communicate.

Ratings of the most popular bloggers are an important resource used for political and business communications. Thus, according to Puplic.ru, the highest number of references in the media in 2011 was about Alexey Navalny.

People communicating online in social networks usually know each other not only virtually. On the contrary, as a rule a blog audience is formed of strangers. Therefore, it is important to identify the factors that drawing the attention of a large number of users to a specific resource.

According to the survey, for 73% of respondents, a blog’s author represents the deciding factor for turning to a particular resource or material.

Discussion

Information interactivity and personalization in contemporary cyberspace

Strengthening the role of information interactivity and personalization is accompanied by technological development. Thus, in the Web 1.0 environment, content was produced only by a small group of specialists for further consumption by an enormous number of Internet users, while in the Web 2.0 environment users produce and actively exchange the information, networks are formed. The so-called Web 3.0 environment is hard to describe yet, but its obvious distinction is the development of online recommendation services, which are formed exclusively on the basis of consumers’ opinions.

In 2012, content personalization became the main developmental trend for the virtual environment. Leading search engines implemented a system of personalized search results. Twitter and Facebook have seriously changed the personalization of trends and news feeds; online shops enhanced their recommendation systems. It is worth mentioning that, in the media sphere, in 2011–2012 the *Washington Post* launched three personalization projects: Trove, Social Reader and Personal Post. All of them share a unified architecture that combines computer logic, user settings, and editor supervision of content. Meanwhile, media practitioners and analysts have a multifaceted reception of this practice. Most Western publishers agree that personalization of content formation can improve the customer experience and increase revenues by increasing brand loyalty and, as a consequence, increase the number of hits⁴. On the other hand, the difference among personal news feeds of more than 20%, may pose a danger to common information field existence (Tendentsii razvitiya novostnogo segmenta mediaotrasli Rossii, 2013).

The increasing role of a message's visual component changes the nature of media texts: verbal components are complemented by design and info graphic elements, which play an important role as components of media texts and bear an important message.

Synergistic processes in new media since 2000 led to the formation of multimedia newsrooms, information centers, meant to create media messages for previously separate communication channels (press, broadcasting, online).

Increasing various types of multimedia resource interactivity (Jensen, 2007) depends on the extent and quality of individualization and personification that can be achieved by its creators. In the context of a highly competitive environment in the field of information delivery, and if we take into account the enormous excess of available information, the publication that offers the most suitable form of text as the final product will gain an obvious advantage.

⁴ <http://www.emediavitals.com/content/4-things-you-should-know-about-personalization>

The forms of online interaction that are by now “traditional” with any audience should be continuously improved and enhanced: these include multiple choice and yes-no voting; on-line conferences; posting of photos and maps; and flash games with various subjects. The search for new interactive forms of communication with the audience should conform to the principle of dialogueness (polylogics), the defining communicative strategy in modern media in regard to the communication forms existing in online communities (e-mail, mailing lists, online conferences, file sharing, multi-user worlds, Internet chat rooms, online forums, web blogs, wikiwiki).

There are two types of information sharing among participants in web communication – direct and indirect real time dialogues or polylogues. Direct exchange of information takes place among users who are simultaneously online (popular software, like ICQ, AOL, Instant Messenger and Yahoo! Messenger, as well as software for tele- and videoconferencing when users exchange audio or video). Indirect dialogue is any exchange of messages through computer networks by client-server technology, when network databases permanently or temporarily store messages that are exchanged among users, and through relationship servers that optimize information transfer among users (e-mail, news, mailing lists, file sharing via FTP-server, multi-user worlds, chat rooms, forums, web sites, web portals, blogs, wikiwiki).

A considerable number of publications have discussed dialogue as a form of discourse (L. P. Yakubinsky, A. R. Balayan, D. D. Yotov, D. I. Izarenkov, A. N. Baranov, V. G. Kreydlin, T. M. Kolokoltseva, I. N. Borisova, N. A. Ramazanov, J. D. Lopatin, E. A. Molyavina, N. I. Formanovskaya and others).

Dialogic discourse in a media text is characterized by certain common features: the speaker’s knowledge of the world of values, and of the emotional responses anticipated from an audience and their means of verbal manifestation (associated with the designation of actions, situations, opinions, attitudes, intentions, emotions, and assessments with respect to oneself and to the audience); a speaker’s ability to take

into consideration the audience's knowledge and opinions of the speaker, etc., orientation towards the social role and status of the audience with correlation to one's own role and status. The effectiveness of a dialogical media text can be assessed by the exchange of communicative roles between the speaker and the listener, by creating cooperative "consent" dialogue, by adjusting to one another, correspondence (congruence), and sometimes concessions, as well as conflict dialogue of "disagreement", objections, resistance, confrontation (Formanovskaya, 2002: 158). The success of dialogical and polylogical communication will depend on the clarity of a speaker's orientation to the audience as a specific socially-determined personality with status and roles, and with a certain system of values.

Current media space significantly alters the interactive communication features: former temporal, spatial and linguistic frames are vanishing. Meanwhile, the common values of communicants become a defining factor, and this segments the communicative space, determines the choice of partner and attitude towards him or her, the duration of contact, willingness to provide information, and the successfulness of communicative task solutions (Dzyaloshinsky, Pilgun, 2011; Pilgun, 2012).

Although some genres clearly belong to dialogic communication (electronic mail (e-mail), ICQ), and others – to polylogical (social network, the Internet - blog), it is important to note that the dialogic and polylogical Internet communication overlap and are closely related within the one genre. For example, in the process of real time communicating (chatting), it is possible to choose either a dialogue with one person (with a separate channel for such communication) or polylogue with multiple recipients simultaneously, i.e. it is possible to use a variety of interactive conferencing systems (IRC, ICQ, WebChat, Prodigy). By means of electronic mail (e-mail) it is also possible to send messages to one or several recipients.

Differing communication terms are defined as follows: a dialogue is performed via e-mail, while a polylogue is performed by teleconference (in newsgroups).

The dialogical and polylogical nature of media text is most evident in blogs, namely in readers' comments and authors' replies. The audience response may appear immediately after the publication of a post and continue to come in for several days (Gorny, 2004). Comments consist of a user name, user picture, time of posting, optional "header" field and the body of a comment. Depending on the blogging platform, comments can be placed one after the other (resembling the structure of forums), or can have a tree structure with threads (i.e. comments may not relate directly to the blog entry and can be posted on other comments). In this case, a comment usually also contains a permanent link to itself. The tree structure stimulates polylogue and polemics among users (Nowson, 2006). It is important that personal messages are isolated: some blogging platforms provide the feature of sending private messages to each other in addition to the posts and comments. Posts and comments are usually available to all Internet users, however, almost all blogging platforms have a feature allowing users to restrict access to their posts (and consequently to the comments to the posts), granting access to only one group of people, a group defined by the user. In addition, a user has an option that makes it possible to "hide" the posts' comments, making them visible only to himself or herself and to the author (Blood, 2000). Most blog platforms offer their users the ability to filter comments: they can prohibit comments from specific users, or forbid any comments to a specific post or to all of their posts (Herring, 2007).

Information interactivity and personification are the basis of all successful tools in the current state of marketing. For example, the success of SMM (social media marketing), which allows for promotion of web sites, products, or services through online social media channels that provide the opportunity to engage in communication with a wider range of users, to involve a wider audience inaccessible through traditional advertising channels (Weinberg, 2009) – directly depends on a clear separation of the target audience and the two parameters: eWOM (electronic word of mouth) and COBRAs (consumers' online brand-related activities). The first describes the activity of users (number of comments, discussion, evaluation, recommendations of product or

service to each other), the second is the consumer activity on the site or in the brand online group.

Similarly the attitude towards the news media has changed: the number of subscribers to the MSM in social media networks has increased, which is the reason to reevaluate the effectiveness of Facebook and VK interaction with the media. According to the comScore1 agency, in the News / Information category in 2012 the global audience increase amounted to 5%. The cnn.com (with 65 million viewers a month), Air Force (with 58,8 million per month), The New York Times (with 42,6 million readers a month) can be justly considered the audience leaders.

As for RuNet, according to TNS Web Index, in October 2012 the monthly audience of the leading Russian news sites amounted to 21,9 million people, representing 61% of the Internet audience (Russia, 12-54, cities 100,000 +). Compared to October 2011, an increase of 13,2% was registered, which is slightly higher than the total Internet audience increase (13%) (Tendentsii razvitiya novostnogo segmenta mediaotrasli Rossii, 2013).

Flexibility and efficient use of dialogical forms of communication with consumers helped the newly established Tiger Milk media company to achieve tremendous success: in over one and a half years they gained 14 million subscribers across 4 platforms. Timofey Melnikov and Herman Poleshchuk, the company founders, believe that the main advantage of Tiger Milk is the instant consumer responses – likes, reposts, comments, hits.

Media space segmentation

There are numerous factors that define how communication participants filter and segment media space. Among the most important ones is the principle of concurrence/non-concurrence of communicants' value paradigms.

This axiological characteristic is crucial for the segmentation of the media resource audience, both in terms of natural dialogues and in

terms of imitation of dialogue, when the artificial formation of dialogical context is necessary for involving new communication participants in order to solve certain commercial or political objectives. Among other things, moderation can represent a special case of control over Internet communication activities. A secret entry into a private communication channel and lurking may help to diagnose the value paradigm of a user and to develop exact mechanisms of influence.

A dialogue line can consist of several speech moves, all of them minimal speech acts. Meaning, value preferences and communication principles dictate the sequence of speech moves undertaken by communication partners involved in online interaction, or transaction as a complex communication act, or a communicative episode. Dialogue speech implies exchange of utterances, and the choice of the dialogue speech composition, content and language features are determined by direct perception and active influence of the companion. Since the structure of the dialogue is the exchange of lines, which lack semantic completeness (Lvov, 200: 128), a dialogue or its parts should be considered as a single speech act. It should be noted that a dialogic context is characterized by naturalness, compliance to the situational parameters, and spontaneity. That is why it is in the process of interactive communication that the exchange of value paradigms of communicants is realized to its fullest extent, either explicitly or implicitly. Obviously, the higher the degree of concurrence of the axiological component in dialogue lines of a conversation, the more successful the results of communication.

Value paradigms determine intentional, modal and emotional meanings that form the core content, which is the reason for the dialog interaction. Multidimensionality of dialogic discourse is defined by propositional speech content and is enriched by implicit components and by the background knowledge and implications.

Thus, the polyphony of dialogic communication is formed and transformed into a communicative-pragmatic discourse dimension. The propositional meaning of statements in cues is complemented by communicative meaning, formed by intentional, modal, emotional and

social information, refracted through the participants' value paradigm. Apparent is the heterogeneity of information resources, which are implemented through various speech tools with different levels, at the same time their synergy forms semantic volume, which is exchanged by communicants to coordinate their speech and practical activity (Formanovskaya, 2002: 166).

From the standpoint of a pragmatist approach to discourse analysis (see, for example, Sidorov, 2008: 51), this phenomenon can be interpreted as a statement or text which is formed by joint communication activities of addressant and recipient.

The role of a potential recipient in the interactive communication interchangeably transfers from one communication partner to another. Since set of values represent an organizing factor of a dialogue, the communication will be determined by an alternating exchange of information, based on axiological component "alternating verbalization by one participant after another one of symbolic coordination of activities that are axiologically concurring" (Sidorova, 2010).

The pragmatically oriented description of discourse emphasizes the interactive nature of the speech communication as interpersonal connection, which acts as a determinant of cognitive processes and is a multi-dimensional, multi-level system, characterized by multifunctionality and relative responsiveness. (Lomov, 1984: 243-244; 1996: 242; Tarasov, 1989:38; Ivanov, 2002: 138-139).

It is appropriate to mention Mikhail Bakhtin's finding that "dialogic relationship cannot be reduced merely to a logical and objective-semantic relationship, since they have no dialogic component on their own. They must be verbalized, become utterances and positions of different subjects, which are expressed in words, so that among them could arise dialogic relations" (Bakhtin, 1986: 367). Obviously, the verbalized "positions of different subjects" clearly reveal the axiological positions of conversation participants. The interaction productivity will directly depend on the degree of agreement between communicants' value systems and, in the case of their absence, a dialog communication cannot be realized.

The strengthening of the foremost position of dialogue strategy in virtual space reinforces the fact that the forms of networking interaction are developing in the direction of forms that can best reveal the potential of this strategy. Clearly, further development of network interactions is associated with crowdsourcing platforms, which are the next step in the development of interactive communication. Crowdsourcing as a communicative tool allows us to create new models of interaction in which the interests of various audiences can find compromise in the name of uniting on the basis of dialogue and polylogue. Projects based on the crowdsourcing technology can be used as an effective tool for solving business, social and political problems.

Conclusion

This study singles out 5 communicative models in the Russian blogosphere. The research materials prove the thesis that a dialogue strategy is the defining and most promising form of communication in the current web space. Polyphony of dialogic communication is formed and transformed in a communicative-pragmatic dimension of discourse. In computer-mediated communication, personal orientation becomes critical for discourse formation. Since all of the traditional components of a successful dialogue (temporal, spatial, language) are deemphasized in virtual space, the axiological characteristics of users become of high priority. Concurrency of value paradigms regulate and determine the dialogue (polylogue) in online communities. Overall, the axiological base of communicants segments the communicative space, determines the choice of partner and attitude towards him or her, contact duration, willingness to provide information, and the successfulness of communicative task solutions. The authorship problem on the Internet is not so much leveled but is gaining a fundamentally new status, which is important for the communication process regulation, because authorship becomes an important criterion in the segmentation of virtual space by a

user from the perspective of a concurrence or non-concurrence of value systems.

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MEDIA INFORMATIONAL LITERACY: A NEW CONCEPT

МЕДИАИНФОРМАЦИОННАЯ ГРАМОТНОСТЬ: НОВЫЙ КОНЦЕПТ

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This article illuminates questions of interconnection between the basic concepts in the theory of media informational literacy, the elimination of logical contradictions, and the creation of a modern conception of media informational literacy and media education.

Key words: *media; information literacy; media education; noospheric media education; informal education; media informational literacy; MI-literacy; media informational potential of the individual; media informational outlook.*

В статье раскрываются проблемы взаимосвязи основных понятий в теории медиа- и информационной грамотности, устранения логических противоречий и создания современной концепции медиа-информационной грамотности и медиаобразования.

Ключевые слова: *медиа; информация; грамотность; ноосферное медиаобразование; неформальное образование; медиаинформационная грамотность; МИ-грамотность; медиа-информационный потенциал личности; медиа-информационное мировоззрение.*

Using the noospheric approach

The All-Russian Scholarly and Practical Conference “Media Informational Literacy in the Information Society”, held in April 2013 in Moscow, confirmed that researchers and practitioners of media education and information training are trying to find a contemporary approach to the understanding of convergence processes of Media and Information Literacy. It remains very difficult to address and overcome existing contradictions. Experts are still in thrall to their ideas in this field of research and operate within the framework of established scholarly trends.

For two days the conference agenda was devoted to the question of media informational literacy (MIL) – the “combination of knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary for an individual to understand when and what information is needed; where and how to obtain that information; how to evaluate it critically and organize it once it is found; and how to use it in an ethical way”. The authors of the conference program documents emphasize that this concept “extends beyond communication and information technologies to encompass learning critical thinking, and interpretative skills across and beyond professional and educational boundaries”.

While acknowledging the importance of the conference in the promotion of the idea of media literacy, however, we would like to engage some ideas that were not elucidated in the course of the discussion. Without them, it is difficult to picture a single internally consistent new literacy concept for the 21st century.

When we discuss any concept, we must consider it a system of interconnected viewpoints interacting as a team. At the same time, it also represents a system of problem-solving methods. Today it’s still too early to speak about any media literacy concept because there’s still no consensus in defining key notions such as “media”, “information”, and “literacy”. No underlying definition of media literacy formation would be acceptable to all scholars. In this regard, it is very difficult to outline specific characteristics which might measure indicators and methods

of achieving a high non-traditional literacy level. Moreover, there is no popularly accepted spelling of the concept (together, separately or with a hyphen?).

Without theoretical and methodical coherence at the origin of concept formulation, there are moments when searching for answers to difficult questions, and formulating recommendations and suggestions, experts are talking about effectively dissimilar phenomena. In fact, a majority of researchers and experts have not managed to grasp the actual meaning of the media information concept as an idea, an open image of a future conception that allows us to perceive the depth of meanings and intentions. This situation brings to mind the Higgs boson search, which posits an ungraspable element capable of moving from the abstract and immaterial world of atoms to the material world.

Aware of the complexity of the problem, we will try to present our views on some approaches, principles and interpretations of notions in the system of media-informational literacy and media education, which, as we think, have their own internal logic.

First, let us denote that we regard the conceptual, methodological, criteria and instrumental framework of MI-literacy and media education in terms of the noospheric ethical-ecological approach (E. K. Tsiolkovsky, V. I. Vernadsky, N. K. Moiseev, E. Leroy, P. Teilhard de Chardin, L. S. Gordina, B. E. Bolshakov, M. U. Limonad). It involves conceptualization based on the principles of harmony with the world, genetic unity of the world, the subject-subject view on education and formation of noospheric thinking.

Noospheric thinking is a new term, and its content regards the disclosed logic of the logic of hypothetical construct. The most significant components of the semantic concept of “noosphere thinking” are the following:

- High level of criticality;
- Focus on creation of products that improve the state of the biosphere;
- Projectivity;

- Focus on cooperative solution of scientific and industrial problems;
- Focus on solution of nonstandard problems;
- Focus on knowledge and understanding of the processes occurring in nature and human society.

Since thinking is the activity of consciousness, at least the basic characteristics of noospheric consciousness should be defined. An understanding of the necessity for co-evolution of man and nature is an essential condition for the formation of noospheric consciousness. Thus, focus on cooperative interaction with nature and other people becomes the main characteristic of a noospheric man. Their main distinguishing feature is the highest responsibility to their ancestors and descendants, all mankind in its endless historical existence. They see their own purpose in implementing ideas, denying everything that destroys life and approving all that contributes to its maintenance and development. A maximal engagement with intellectual and spiritual life, and an active, effective responsibility for everything that is happening on the planet comprise the cultural position of a noospheric human. A global perspective is essential, i.e. vision and understanding of everything that happens on the planet and to mankind, awareness of the dynamics of the world, its diversity and interdependences.

The idea of media-informational literacy is logically included in the concept of a noospheric education, which is the convergence of natural science and unscientific educational concepts and practices of the end of the twentieth century. A noospheric education is characterized by consistency and unity in the view of nature, world and human. This unity of thinking allows for the development of a high degree of morality, of consciousness, and for the uncovering of a person's potential aimed at realization of their destiny in the world. This pedagogical system is based upon the knowledge of principles of peace, society, person's psyche, as well as educational principles that justify the relaxation-active mode in studies, incorporating a learner's experience into the process of education and perception of the world.

The ideology and fundamentals of noospheric education as they relate to the methodology of science can be regarded as a basis for the modern media education concept. Noospheric media education is a pedagogical system of the 21st century; one of its key features is the focus on revealing the Higher Self of the teacher and the learner (the fullness of their potential, inner essence, which is the driving force behind all of their actions) through their creative interaction, using all the channels of reality perception.

The new and important factor for development of media-informational literacy media-informational literacy and media-education concept is recognition that media-education should be to a large extent informal (from the Latin *informalis*). The prefix “in-“ has the meaning and impact of the movement directed inside the subject. This semantic particle corresponds to a linguistic content meaning “within something”, “inside something”. For example, the root of the word “innovation” comes from the Latin “*nova*” (in Russian, “new”). The prefix “*in*” means “introduction, inward”. The concept of “innovation”, therefore, can be interpreted as “the introduction of changes inside the product, within the process”. This interpretation differs from the concept of “nonformal”, with the prefix “*non*”, meaning “optional, easy, unofficial, spontaneous”. In regard to the concept of long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for the period up to the year 2020, the problem of personality socialization and education has three educational strategies – formal, nonformal and informal, based respectively upon the three educational types:

- Formal education (elementary, secondary, secondary special, higher, further education);
- Nonformal education (development of the advance course system);
- Informal education (various kinds of economic and noneconomic motivations to nurture individual inclinations for personal development and self-education).

It should be noted that the term “informal education” is formalized in the “Memorandum on Lifelong Learning” (2000).

As yet little-studied, informal education is the undirected exploration of socio-cultural experience beyond the strict bounds of the organized pedagogical process. It occurs in the process of any communicative action within family groupings, and in various organizations and communities, including educational communities, libraries, museums, and via different kinds of media, Informal education is flexible; it depends on a learner's needs and can be realized in any place and at any time. In this context an informal education manifests itself in internal human motivation to perceive the world, in self-organization and determination. "I am the source of information and its consumer at the same time. I develop myself and determine my development pathway by myself".

It is necessary to distinguish between “media” and “mass media”

In Russian the word “media” is a shortened version of the English “*media communication*” meaning communication with means, i.e. not a direct, face-to-face communication. “Media” derives from the Latin “*medium*”. In various European languages “*medium*” means: a tool, a mediator, an easily suggestible person, and in a physical sense – environment. In our interpretation of media space, the concept “media” includes a limitless range of communication tools which serve to transfer different kinds of information. These include works of art in the form of books, pictures, movies and advertisement in all its aspects, TV or radio programs, public performances, official documents, post cards, ciphered messages, SMS, or complicated convergent multi-media texts of the web-based mass media. In short, media are channels of content delivery. However, the great majority of experts in media-informational literacy and media educators use the word “media” to mean “means of mass communication” – mass media. We traditionally regard “media” as mass media, which restricts researchers to the limited field of journalistic practice. With such a narrow definition, the following notions drop out

of sight: book, letter, speech, music, painting, sculpture, etc. Besides, there are direct media, unlike the mass media, involving point-to-point communications with the consumer. Such means of message delivery as post, telephone, telegraph, fax and others relate directly to the idea of media.

Media texts created in these and any other kinds of media appear to be beyond the sphere of the media-informational literacy, which is focused mostly on television, Internet, print media and sometimes on advertisement and movies. This fundamental disagreement wrongfully restricts the scope of media-informational literacy and media education distribution, and prevents us from building a holistic conception based on the idea of the Universal Media. This makes it rather difficult to integrate processes from the broader area.

In practice, this leads to situations such as the following: the Media and Information Literacy Curriculum for Teachers developed by UNESCO experts and published in 2012 under the editorship of Alton Grizzle and Caroline Wilson understood media as “physical objects used to communicate, or mass communication through physical objects such as radio, television, computers, film, etc”. It also refers to any physical object used to communicate media messages. Media are a source of credible information in which contents are provided through an editorial process determined by journalistic values and therefore editorial accountability can be attributed to an organization or a legal person (Media and Information Literacy: Media and Information Literacy Curriculum for Teachers, 2012).

Information is not a thing

In developing the MIL concept, the notion “information” should also be defined. The word “information” derives from the Latin word “*informare*”, which means “to shape”. Thus, from the etymological point of view information is the act of rendering an indefinite mass structured.

J. P. Barlow in his work, “Selling Wine Without Bottles: The Economy of Mind on the Global Net”, says that “Information is a verb, not a noun. Freed of its containers, information is obviously not a thing. In fact, it is something that happens in the field of interaction between minds or objects or other pieces of information... Information is an action which occupies time rather than a state of being which occupies physical space, as is the case with hard goods. It is the pitch, not the baseball, the dance, not the dancer... Information is experienced, not possessed. Even when it has been encapsulated in some static form like a book or a hard disk, information is still something that happens to you as you mentally decompress it from its storage code” (Barlow, 1994).

Within the framework of a traditional paradigm of information literacy, in order to “develop person’s informational literacy it’s essential that some informational environment should be created around a person, to get adapted to such environment a person should have some special knowledge, experience and skills” (Denisova, 2006), while the information itself appears to be something lying in the box or posted on some site page, or in TV program, counting moments until it will be accessed. However, possession of information doesn’t mean knowledge, and moreover, it’s not a motivator for active living.

Modern interpretation of information corresponds to the idea of all pervading media, mediation and communications. Information can exist only in motion, it flows, and like water it penetrates all the pores of the social body. It cannot be blocked; it’s impractical to fight with it using dams, because against a background of stagnation, it loses its informational qualities and is no longer as valuable as it could be. It is clear that secret archive documents can become information only if they are declassified, because otherwise there’s no information. From this perspective, those competencies which developed in the circumstances where linear information culture dominated do not meet the challenges of a modern hyper-technological web society.

From divergence to convergence

The fundamental principle to form the MI-literacy concept is the principle of unity of the communication act, where media as a communication means are inextricably linked to information. In postindustrial society, as civilization moved from the paper medium of conveying information to electric means, due to the unprecedented change in production of information and appearance of new channels of delivery, two ways of theoretical and practical understanding of communication formed, built upon the basic essence of communication – media and information.

Each of the ways in the process of divergence has developed conceptual apparatus, schools of thought, theories and methods. Moreover, the difference between experts in the field of media and that of information is not of a conceptual nature. It separates scholars and practitioners on the branch principle: libraries and everything connected with the preservation of information is within the scope of information literacy; mass media and everything integrated into the mass media environment are somehow associated with media literacy. However, the processes of information flow through media channels are identical in all communication structures, whether it is a city library or a local television network.

We are currently experiencing a convergent phase in the development of a communicative culture. It is expressed in a fusion of different media, of formats and genres, of ways to deliver information, and in the need for new professional competences. Therefore, the fusion of two kinds of literacy – media and information (currently very topical) – represents an objective evolution of scientific knowledge and global technologies.

As an illustration of this principle, it is enough to remember the historical process of the creation and transformation of a book as one of the key media types. In the 15th century, when book manufacturing technology was developing, Johann Gutenberg and other inventors, in the search for an optimal solution, brought together paper technology, wood block printing, complex chemical and mechanical processes,

engravers' and stone carvers' craft, coinage elements and even features of wine making.

As a result, the book appeared as a special kind of communicative means in industrial society, a symbol of printing culture. However, a further turn in civilization's development eventually resulted in divergence; the notion of "book" splintered into subspecies: electronic book, audio book, video book. Nowadays we know entirely new forms: the "tactile book", the "digital book". Soon we will have aerial books, the letters of which will be able to appear, but then disintegrate wherever and whenever the reader wants.

The study of the history of the development of "living systems" as an ongoing, consistent pattern of sequences of divergence and convergence leads us to extrapolate principles that can be fruitfully applied to information systems and to expect that, as a result of rethinking what a media information concept is, a new divergence process will appear soon, resulting in formation of principally new competences in media informational literacy.

We understand that MI-literacy represents only a minimal threshold of personal development for the individual. Nevertheless, it plays an overwhelmingly important role in processes of strategy formulation and tactics for the economic and social development of society. Besides, such literacy should be regarded not only from the perspective of people's educational level, but also in a wider context, including such life spheres as civil society, politics and technologies, professional identity, level of prosperity and many others. Such a wide range of contexts involves rethinking the part of media informational literacy in the system of social institutions, and in the structure of an individual's intellectual resources.

Media information potential of the individual

As they grow in noospheric development, a person and a society rise from acquisition of media-informational literacy up to the level of a media and information culture as a method to preserve and build values of the society, its cultural experience and norms. And finally they reach the

highest level – the media and information mindset, which, in our opinion, is based upon ideas of progress in civilization. Among which there are:

- The idea of freedom;
- The idea of variety;
- The idea of variability;
- The idea of polylogue;
- The idea of partnership;
- The idea of cooperation;
- The idea of interdependence;
- The idea of individuality recognition;
- The idea of development;
- The idea of critical solidarity and self reflection.

These noospheric values guarantee not only the survival of humankind, but also global welfare and prosperity. In this sense, it becomes obvious that media-informational literacy as the new literacy of the 21st century is not a metaphor, not a turn of phrase, but a vital need determined by global processes in the development of civilization.

In the process of media education, the intellectual resources of a person is updated as he progresses through the levels of media informational literacy, media and information culture and reaches the level of a media and information mindset.

The speed of an individual's and a society's media and information development are not always the same; that is why both the person and the society may feel some discomfort. The person who moves far ahead of the social medium in understanding global information processes is doomed to be misunderstood and lonely; and society is not able to realize its potential if a large part of its citizens go behind the evolution of the information and communication technologies. The most balanced way is when the potentials of both individual and social media and information grow in harmony, mutually enriching on other.

In regard to the potential for an individual grasp of media and information, we mean intellectual communicative resources allowing individuals to fulfill themselves effectively within the information

society. Media education experts by no means aim to fill people with information, but to “derive” it from them. Like a flower seed containing all the information about its form, color and scent, and only negative external conditions can deform it, and so people have all the encoded information for their communicative capabilities, and social environment can transform the delivery channels of this information in its own way and, thus, affect personality formation.

In conclusion, based on our own investigations and taking into account modern approaches to media-informational literacy and media education, we have formulated the definitions of concepts that interest us.

Thus, *media literacy is a system of base media-informational competences that enable people to effectively organize a communicative relationship with society on all the levels of media activity. Media informational literacy is a new literacy of the 21st century, which involves the human ability to consciously interact with information and its distribution channels in the media environment. Media informational literacy is the result of media education.*

Thereafter, *media education is a combination of different educational acts providing personal identification, self-development and self-organization, which manifest themselves in conscious media behavior, media activities and media creativity on the basis of humanist ideals and values.*

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MEDIA AND RELIGION STUDIES: CHALLENGES OF NEW MILLENIUM

ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ РЕЛИГИИ И СМИ: ВЫЗОВЫ НОВОГО ТЫСЯЧЕЛЕТИЯ

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This paper examines existing paradigms and approaches in media and religious studies while analyzing new trends in this field of research both in Russia and abroad. The author suggests that searching for a common approach and framework — as universal as possible — is an important challenge for the international community of scholars in the new millennium.

Key words: *media; religion; research paradigms; trends.*

В статье рассматриваются основные подходы в исследованиях отношений религии и СМИ и описываются новые тенденции в этой области в России и за рубежом. Автор полагает, что поиск общего подхода — как можно более универсального и приемлемого для исследователей из разных стран, — является важной задачей для международного научного сообщества в начале нового тысячелетия.

Ключевые слова: *СМИ; религия; исследовательские парадигмы; тенденции.*

The milestone book “*Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress*”, published at the beginning of the new millennium (Culture Matters. How Values Shape Human Progress, 2000), marked an essential shift in academic discourse with respect to culture. Addressed mostly to economists and politicians who tended to think in the paradigm of universally applied determinant factors of development and progress, the book called on them to take culture into serious consideration.

Reminding readers that “for many economists, it is axiomatic that appropriate economic policy effectively implemented will produce the same results without reference to culture”, the book’s editor Lawrence E. Harrison writes: “The role of cultural values and attitudes as *obstacles to or facilitators of* progress has been largely ignored by governments and aid agencies. Integrating value and attitude change into development policies, planning and programming is, I believe, a promising way to assure that, in the next fifty years, the world does not relive the poverty and injustice that most poor countries, and underachieving ethnic groups, have been mired in during the past half century” (ibid, xxiv).

After examining the link between values and progress, the relationship between culture and institutions, and various aspects of cultural change, these scholars came to the conclusion that culture really matters.

May we suggest the same regarding religion in the context of media? Does religion really matter for media and the public sphere in the beginning of the new millennium? And, furthermore, what are the consequences of this impact for media and communication studies?

“Yet culture, in the sense of the inner values and attitudes that guide a population, frightens scholars”, stated David Landes (Landes, 2000: 2). Following his observation, we have to state that religion as a subject of research and an essential actor in media systems is still underexposed.

The influence of religion on different sub-systems of society during the last decade has attracted with increasing frequency the attention of prominent philosophers. The book “*The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*”, published in 2011 in New York, brought together the reflections of Jurgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, Judith Butler and Cornel West

resulting in a live dialogue on a vibrant subject (Butler, Habermas, Taylor, West, 2011).

Rethinking traditional approaches, these scholars evidently show that many ideas about religion and public life are myths still rooted not only in mass consciousness, but also in academia, among researchers and faculty members. Critically warning against a “polarized” framing of the subject, the book reminds readers that religion is neither totally private nor totally irrational, and that the public sphere is not necessarily the place for radical deliberation on religion if the analysis is to be deep and objective.

Calling for a “radical redefinition of secularism”, Charles Taylor proposes the revision of the “mantra-type formulae like ‘the separation of church and state’ or the necessity of removing religion from public space” (Taylor, 2011: 34).

Recently printed books, mentioned above, have had success convincing both the academy and media managers that religion does matter while also inspiring scholars to reflect more deeply.

Having started with the “culture matters” suggestion, we have to remind ourselves that in many societies culture is rooted in religion, and despite secularization, is still fed and inspired by religion as its core and basic structural element.

In the context of this paper we use a widely accepted definition of religion: religion is a system of beliefs and common practices relative to superhuman beings. World religions have sets of symbols, concepts and rituals with the connection to a transcendent beyond the natural order.

“Religion is threatening, inspiring, consoling, and provocative, a matter of reassuring routine or calls to put one’s life on the line. It is a way to make peace and a reason to make war”, emphasized Craig Calhoun (Calhoun, 2011: 118). “Religion is an amazing phenomenon that plays contradictory roles in peoples lives. It can destroy or revitalize, put to sleep or awaken, enslave or emancipate, teach docility or teach revolt”, stresses Iranian sociologist Ali Sharyati (Hazleton, 2009: 19).

Providing historical analysis of mutual relations and influences between media and religion, American scholar Stewart M. Hoover writes: “In fact, religion and media have been closely linked since at least the Reformation, and it is axiomatic that modes of communication we might also call ‘media,’ such as oral performance, ritual, and dress, are fundamental to our understanding of pre-Reformation religion as well. Thus, when we contemplate questions of the fate of religion in an age dominated by the media we should start with the realization, that as a system of meaning and signification, religion has always been inextricably linked to modes of communication” (Hoover, 2002: 26).

Media and religion as social institutions of civil society may find themselves in conditions of competition and conflict, as both claim to be value-based referees in public life. If religion and media are expanded from a narrower notion of social institutions to a wider concept of domains, they sustain tensions as the domains of evaluating, labeling, measuring, praising and condemning.

The “dualistic” approach to media and religion still dominates academic discourse, where both sub-systems are described as “independent and potentially acting independently upon one another” (Hoover, 2006: 8). The “dualistic” approach of competitive institutions is based on functional analysis, because media and religion, according to Stewart M. Hoover, “occupy the same spaces, serve many of the same purposes, and invigorate the same practices in modernity” (Hoover, 2006: 9). Moreover, they are producing and distributing “normativity” – descriptions and patterns of what is good and what is bad – and also monitoring whether social life fits into the normative models they promote.

At the same time, media, as well as some other influent actors (mostly of the political domain), are intended to “press out” the religion from public life in situations of conflict and relocate it to “the private walls of bourgeois domesticity, or the interior, silent universe of individual readers” (Stolow, 2005: 120).

Historically, the communication of religious content presumes “face-to-face exchange” within interpersonal communication (liturgy, confession, sacraments in Christianity). Technically mediated forms

of sacred knowledge transfer and coverage of religious subjects provide additional threats to the content (even the rewriting of Holy Scriptures in medieval monasteries caused a lot of mistakes and misunderstandings). Referring to accuracy in communicating the sacred, Norwegian researcher Knut Lundby reminds us that, “however, distortions and non-communication are perfectly possible in close situations as well as when large media are involved” (Lundby, 2006).

Recent media technology innovations and the convergence in processes of religious perspective are summarized in two newly published books, both written by Catholics and mostly focused on Catholic reflections and experience. One was published in the USA (Vøgt, 2011), the other was printed in Poland (Internet i Kościół, 2011). I am sure that there will be more religious “compendiums” on new media.

Research paradigms

Professor Liesbet van Zoonen of the Loughborough University (UK) has summarized the literature on media and religion over the past thirty years and notes the renewal of an interest in the research of the relationships between media and religion. She outlines four key approaches – some of them overlapping – of study in this field, namely: (1) *articulation*; (2) *mediatization*; (3) *similarity* and (4) *distinction* (Zoonen, 2011).

Articulation paradigm. In the context of religion and media, the notion “articulation” refers to the approach which locates the analysis “radically in the experience of lived religious or spiritual lives as they encounter their social and cultural lives, of which the media play an ever more important part” (Hoover, 2006: 55). The starting point for “articulation-oriented” research are the people themselves and their media experience in connection with religious experience, considering also the circumstances, the environment and the time. This approach acknowledges the possibilities of similarity and separation between media and religion, or mediatized religion. The methodology of articulation paradigm studies often uses in-depth interviews, focus groups and observation methods.

There are many good examples of an approach focused primarily on articulation (Clark, 2003; Meyer and Moors, 2005; Zoonen, Vis and Mihelj, 2010).

Mediatization paradigm. The study of the mechanisms of influence on active media coverage of various social, cultural, political and economic events has developed a new notion in the social sciences and humanities, called “mediatization”. Scandinavian scholar Stig Hjarvard suggested that religion can no longer be studied separately from the media, because a) media are for most people the primary source of their religious knowledge and religious imagination; b) some social functions of religion are now primarily the functions of media and c) religious institutions use media logic and media framing for their actions (Hjarvard, 2008). The mediatization paradigm presumes that media are the main actors in the context of religious activity in the public sphere; therefore research design is based on quantitative and qualitative methods, content, text and image analyses, and also on so-called cybermetric methods for Internet content research.

Similarity paradigm. Religion is itself considered as medium-like as a channel between the self and God or other supernatural subjects. Texts, symbols and icons are the language of religion as a medium. According to Dutch researcher Hent de Vries, without mediating practices and discourses, religion would not be able to manifest itself at all (De Vries, 2001). Vice versa, media themselves with religious features look similar to religion. They are ritualized and widely use religious instruments to be more suggestive. Some theories of media and communication also have religious roots and precedents (Peters, 1999). Methodologically similarity paradigm research is based on cultural critiques with some empirical research.

Distinction paradigm. Researchers promoting this paradigm are convinced that there are deep differences between religion and media, and consider this distinction to be the most essential part of their relationship; they consider religion and media to be two separate fields and try to describe and interpret their mutual influence. All kinds of concerns of religious institutions and of individuals regarding the rise

of the modern mass media, as well as warnings against media dangers, are subjects of this study. On analyzing the impact of TV on young audiences, some researchers came to the conclusion that enormous exposure to paranormal and supernatural subjects (like a Medium, a Ghost Whisperer, etc.) has transformed the religious imagination of youth (Petersen, 2010). In some cases, media are interpreted as channels of evil, predominantly negative in content, therefore censorship and co-regulation are demanded. Dutch Catholic bishops in the middle of the 20th century did not recommend that Catholics listen to non-Catholic radio, and more recently parents in some schools demanded that books about Harry Potter be withdrawn from school libraries. Such conflicts between religion and media emphasized the opposition between the two social institutions (see, for example: Starker, 1989). At the same time Churches and other religious institutions tried to spread their message by all possible means, therefore they were among the pioneers of all kinds of media - from early printing to ultramodern Internet-based technologies. Another perspective, active religious presence in media, the so-called “clericalization”, and the pressure of religious institutions on what is liberally understood as the public sphere of media are also subjects of this research interest. As far as methodologies and methods are concerned in this paradigm, in addition to the descriptive approach, scholars utilize survey research, psychological experimental methods, in-depth interviews and focus groups.

In sharing the “four paradigms” research landscape proposed by Liesbet van Zoonen, we would like to draw attention to at least two influent and rapidly developing “shifts” in this field. The first: towards a more general and wider context of culture – the “*culturological turn*” (Hoover, 2002), and the second: towards the individual experience of a person – “*anthropological turn*” (Media Anthropology, 2005). Both of these shifts reflect the need for an integral approach, taking into consideration more carefully both social and personal contexts of media and religious events, relations, effects etc. This integral approach has yet to be worked out.

Russian context

In order to understand more precisely the context of this field in Russia, it seems to be reasonable to ask why religion matters in the Russian media and public sphere.

Outstanding attempts of philosophical comprehension by internationally recognized scholars – Sergey Averintsev, Vladimir Bibikhin, Sergey Horujy (Averintsev, 2004; Bibikhin, 2003; Horujy, 2011) and others – do not encourage their Russian colleagues to focus on religious matters as these are still ‘ad marginem’ of humanities and social sciences in the country.

The research domain of journalism and communication follows the mainstream and does not pay much attention to religion in media in the context of the wider public sphere.

The few existing books, dissertations and papers fit into four mainstream categories of research:

a) *content oriented studies* (coverage of, attention to, accents, proportions, overexposure and marginalization, etc.) (Religia v informacionnom pole rossijskih SMI, 2002; Kashinskaja, 2008; Khroul, 2009);

b) *institutional oriented studies* (Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish, etc. media) studies (Luchenko, 2008; Khroul, 2010b);

c) *channel oriented studies* (press, radio, TV, Internet, mobile networks) (Luchenko, 2008; Khroul, 2008) ;

d) *media policy oriented studies* (media co-regulation, ethical issues, profanation of sacrum, scandals, dysfunctions causing conflicts, etc.) (Khroul, 2010a).

Findings of this research that has been conducted, which are sometimes quite important, have minimal effect on information policy and structural changes of media.

For example, the research project “Religion in the information field of the Russian media”, which was conducted in 2002 and focused on quantitative and qualitative comparisons of newspapers and radio stations content, brought interesting results. Professionally analyzed empirical

data gave the opportunity for a deeper and more serious understanding of the dysfunctions of media (in particular, press and radio). But due to the contemporary situation with respect to the coverage of religious topics in the Russian secular media, the findings were not taken seriously.

Besides journalism and communications scholars, religious studies scholars also express a growing interest in media and religious research. For example, many considered as a positive and promising sign the international conference “*Religion & Media*”, held by the Moscow Society for the Study of Religions, Faculty of Philosophy, Moscow State University (Moscow, May 12-15, 2010), which brought together more than 30 experts in this field from Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, USA, Canada, Ukraine and Russia.

There are several factors explaining the growing interest in media and religious issues in Russia. From a methodological perspective they can be classified as (1) *quantitative* and (2) *qualitative*.

Among the quantitative factors is the growing number of believers, empirically proven by sociological centers after public opinion polls (Levada, 2012, FOM, 2012), though the methodological question remains “who is the believer?” Do we count all according to self-estimation or just those practicing religion? In August 2012 the first-ever sociological survey and mapping of religious adherents in Russia based on self-identification was published (Arena, 2012). According to its findings 41% of the people identify as Russian Orthodox, 25% “spiritual but not religious” people, 13% atheist and non-religious people, 6,5% as Muslims, 4,1% as unaffiliated Christians, 1,5% adhere to other Orthodox Churches, and 1,2% as Pagans.

A growing proportion of religious people – both in the media and in the audience – impact the whole situation and it is this impact that becomes visible and interesting for researchers.

As a qualitative factor, we can consider the growing awareness of Russian people of “creed”, the subject of the belief, and the “quality of faith”. If it is measurable – even symbolically – it could be considered close to zero during the systematic “atheization” and estimated to be

much higher after 20 years of religious freedom (but still there is a serious problem of the “compatibility” of average beliefs with official doctrine). The research question: “What Russia really believes in?” attracts many scholars (Furman, Kaariainen 2000 and 2006), especially with a focus on the mediatization effects of faith transmitting (Krasikov, 2005).

Besides the quantitative/qualitative dimensions, there are some other attractive aspects for empirical research and theoretical reflection in the media and religion field – such as private/public, religious/secular, institutional/informal, official/oppositional, journalistic/PR, etc.

Signs of hope

The new book series “*Media and Religion*” launched in 2011 by an international team of scholars in the field, with encouraging support by the Faculty of Journalism (Moscow State University), is an attempt to comprehend contemporary trends in media and religious studies (Religion and New Media in the Age of Convergence, 2011). The huge variety of subjects and approaches presented by the contributors to the first volume reflects the complexity of “media and religion” research and also the present level of its comprehension with previously unknown facts and underexposed trends, relevant conclusions and new ideas to inspire future research.

From the perspective of the “*Media, Religion and Culture*” working group of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), the number of separate research initiatives and case studies grows day-by-day, but still misses if not a “monolithic theory”, at least “a common denominator”, a “viable framework” for the different approaches.

Discussions in Stockholm (2009), Braga (2010), Istanbul (2011), Durban (2012) and Dublin (2013) showed that there is no clear understanding how communication and journalism relate to religion among involved scholars. As the “*Media, Religion, and Culture*” former chairman Johannes Ehrat from the *Pontifical Gregorian University*

(Rome) suggested, there is still no comprehensive theory of religious communication that precisely and non-controversially describes all levels and sorts of religious practices, since all religions *a) divide the sacred and the profane*, *b) have transcendental immanent objects* (e.g., the Holy of Holies, Sacraments, Mecca's Kaa'ba, Buddha's statue, or similar objects in space); and *c) most religions have holy scriptures and holy persons*. Three imminences of the transcendent – the space, the symbol and the person – are all built into central religious processes of communication.

At the same time, it is almost evident that it will not be easy to find a common approach, a common research angle in the different religions, in different societies and in different media systems with different audiences. Another difficulty is connected to the theological-dominating approach, and to the typically theological argumentation patterns, which are not compatible enough with traditional communication perspectives.

Searching for a common denominator, shared approach and common framework, ideally as universal as possible, is an important challenge for the international community of scholars in the new millennium.

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Part 3

JOURNALISM STUDIES IN RUSSIA AND ABROAD

NEW COMPETENCES FOR FUTURE JOURNALISTS: RUSSIAN JOURNALISM EDUCATION EXECUTIVES EVALUATE INDUSTRIAL DEMAND

НОВЫЕ КОМПЕТЕНЦИИ БУДУЩИХ ЖУРНАЛИСТОВ: КАК РУКОВОДИТЕЛИ ЖУРНАЛИСТСКОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В РОССИИ ОЦЕНИВАЮТ ЗАПРОСЫ МЕДИАИНДУСТРИИ

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The article provides results and analysis of the survey of how journalism educators as main stakeholders in Russian journalism education evaluate the current situation in the area of high professional education. The survey also focuses on what decisions on curriculum priorities they make, what revisions in education programs they plan

according to new requirements of the Russian media industry, and what competences are being envisaged for the future media practitioners. The article presents results of the national survey of Russian JE (Journalism Education) executives – deans, directors and heads of different schools /chairs/institutions which provide journalism training in a wide range of educational structures from universities to academic chairs. Geography of the study covers journalism education all over the country – from the enclave Kaliningrad in the Western part of Russian to the Siberia and the Far East region. The study showed that while journalism basic courses are still at the core of the education programs, digital professional competences and tech savvy skills, due to their innovative nature and attractiveness to employers, predominate in modern journalism training. We also revealed that there exists a common understanding of the need for further developments of JE towards cross-platform and networking programs.

Key words: *journalism education; bachelor's degree; journalism competences; multimedia; convergence.*

В статье анализируются результаты опроса российских педагогов как основных участников образовательного процесса и их оценки современного состояния профессионального журналистского образования в стране. В фокусе внимания их представление об изменении потребностей медиаиндустрии в кадрах, перемены, которые в связи с этим произошли в программах обучения журналистов, новые компетенции, которые предлагаются для освоения будущим профессионалам. Исследование проводилось в рамках общероссийского опроса руководителей – деканов, директоров, заведующих кафедрами образовательных структур различного уровня, от факультетов до университетских кафедр, где ведется подготовка журналистских кадров. Опрос географически охватил журналистское образование всей страны – от Калининграда до Сибири и Дальнего Востока. Исследование показало, что наряду с базовыми профессиональными компетенциями, которые остаются основой журналистского образования в обу-

чение активно вводятся цифровые умения и навыки технически продвинутых профессионалов. Участники опроса оказались единодушными в том, что журналистское образование движется в сторону кроссмедийных и сетевых решений.

Ключевые слова: журналистское образование; диплом бакалавра; журналистские компетенции; мультимедиа; конвергенция.

Introduction

In Russia, like everywhere in the world, media industry and journalism as a profession survived turmoil times. The move to new professional values and practices in Russian journalism began after the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. Changes in the Russian media system brought about a new understanding of the profession, in which standards of uncensored reporting and investigative journalism held the central place. In the 1990s–2000s Russian journalism faced several professional and moral conflicts, but many of them derived from the double-sided nature of Soviet journalism that socially and culturally belonged to the field of literature, and at the same time clearly was a politically and ideologically determined profession.

In the context of the Russian shift to new economic and social structures, journalism was affected by new trends. Processes of standardization, commercialization, and commoditization have changed the newsroom environments and led to the establishment of new professional values – sensationalism, appeal to large audiences, and mass tastes, and infotainment (Vartanova, 2012: 138). In parallel, the national system of journalism education carried out both by universities, where it originated in philological faculties, and by high communist party schools started to change. For decades, the mixture of the two fields – literature/philology and ideological work – defined the character of the journalism education. The creative nature of the profession was strongly emphasized, while the importance of technological skill remained limited. The post-Soviet decline in journalism as a creative profession was paralleled by the

birth of new openly commoditized professions in advertising and public relations that outsourced talents from journalism. Professional standards of advertising and public relations eroded journalistic values; concealed advertising, image making, and information wars became widespread phenomena in Russian journalism of the late 1990s to early 2000s. This all challenged not only professional standards and values in Russian newsrooms, but also the structure, focus, and formats of journalism education.

On the other hand, in the context of ongoing technological changes Russian journalism educators, like educators elsewhere in the world, try to reload high school syllabuses in order to meet the current demands of the media industry and profession. Moreover, the role of journalism education for academic reflection and more broad understanding of profession increased. As Hallin and Mancini put it: “Formal “professional” training has become increasingly common, and does often play an important role in defining journalism as an occupation and social institution” (Hallin, Mancini, 2004: 33). The changes in journalism coincided with deep transformations in Russian national high education system, when in 2011 a sharp jump to Bologna process and European educational standards was made.

The key feature of the Bologna’s educational reform – a competence approach – has become a platform used in preparation arrangements for designing the new Federal State Educational Standard in Journalism adopted in 2009. It stimulated educators’ debates on competences and ways to teach them. The list of professional competences, which shaped the fundamentals of the Standard, was formulated during the meetings of the Methodological Council for Journalism Education in between 2008-2009, however nowadays in the context of the rapid technological and professional change it requires upgrading. Recast of the document was announced in the spring of 2013 and is already in the process. This article focuses on the analysis of how the academic stakeholders of JE system in Russia respond to challenges of innovations and expansions in media industry.

Theoretical Framework

Debates on media revolution started in the middle 1990s were crystallized in the Western and Russian theoretical works after almost a decade (Quinn, Filak, 2005; *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium*, 2006; Boczkowsky, 2004; Meyer, 2006; Kung, Picard, Towse, 2008; Vartanova, 2009). In parallel to this, journalism educators in Europe formulated the conventional list of major professional competences for students that should be supported by their education and training (Tartu Declaration, 2006). The European experience enriched the competence frames for the Russian State Standard in journalism education adopted in 2009 and implemented to education system in 2011.

Several years after the adoption of the Tartu Declaration and Russian Standard, both documents were criticized for not keeping pace with further radical changes in journalism practices. Critics of the documents argued that they don't universally affect professional competences in the schools of journalism at the national and global levels (Drok, 2011). The obvious need for revisions of the JE in the context of "the networked journalism" (Van Der Haak, Parks, Castells, 2012) was actively debated during many international conferences, including the European Journalism Training Association Conference (EJTA). Further research showed a consensus about the future of the main competences and helped to formulate new ones (Drok, 2011). The renovated Tartu Declaration with innovated competence list was approved during the 3rd World Journalism Education Congress in Mechelen in 2013.

In this context, Russian journalism education institutions and study programs have also turned to the path for renovations. This is why the academic investigation of the current state and dynamics of the Russian journalism education could also enrich understanding of the present Russian media landscape.

Research methodology

The online survey performed in March–April 2013 was conducted in JE institutions of Russian Federation – from universities to academic chairs (Lukina, Shiryayeva, Svitich, 2013). Geography of the study covered institutions engaged in journalism education (BA level) all over the country – from the enclave Kaliningrad in its Western part of Russia to the Far East region. The questionnaire was circulated among high school executives in 103 institutions; the respondents included the heads of 64 schools – a reasonably representative sample within the total number of 134 Russian high schools developing journalism programs. Two different groups of respondents were distinguished for the further comparative analysis. The 1st group included representatives from 35 institutions – state universities on federal and regional levels. The 2nd group included 29 non-governmental and non-core institutions also engaged in journalism education.

Table 1

Academic position of respondents

Academic position	1 st group		2 nd group	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Dean	16	46	9	31
Deputy dean	3	9	0	0
Chair	15	43	20	69
Other	2	6	1	3
No answer	0	0	1	3

The respondents were either deans or chairs of journalism departments. At that point the 1st group was represented by 55% of deans and deputy deans, the 2nd group included 2/3 department chairs within the structures of related departments, and tended to be philological. In average about 41% of respondents have doctoral (full PhD) degrees, others are candidates of science. In a whole the selection of respondents demonstrates the high level of expertise.

Table 2

Academic degree of respondents

Degree	1 st group		2 nd group	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Doctoral degree	15	43	11	38
Candidate of science	20	57	17	59
No degree	0	0	0	0
No answer	0	0	1	3

Research questions

Research questions concentrated on the opinions and attitudes of journalism educators to various academic and industrial issues, such as course diversity, specializations and profiles in the JE programs, program ratings in universities and journalism schools, demand for journalists in different regional labor markets, demand for professional journalists, renovation of journalists professional competences, attitudes to changing demands from media industry and careers. The study was also focused on the detailed examination of the expansion of professional technological competences with the emphasis on tech savvy skills.

Results

1. JE programs: standardization and academic liberties

The first examined question concerned the opening dates of bachelor’s education programs. A jump to Bologna’s two-level system in 2011 was not as rapid as it was assumed. Only 43% of the first group institutions opened bachelor’s programs in 2011, and 72% – of the second group. But there have been implementations of bachelor’s level programs years before – since 1990s, though they were mostly designed for foreign students.

Table 3

**How long has your school been providing bachelor's
education in journalism (in %)?**

Since	1st group (n=35)	2nd group (n=29)
1993	3	0
1995	3	0
1996	3	3
2002	3	0
2004	3	0
2005	3	7
2006	3	3
2007	0	3
2008	3	3
2009	3	0
2010	17	7
2011	43	72
2012	3	0
No answer	9	0

In compliance with the Bologna declaration signed by the Russian Federation, the admission to specialist 5-year journalistic programs was closed in 2014 and all universities and high schools were obliged to start the first-level BA programs as a part of the two-level high education system.

Almost all JE institutions designed their study programs in the frames of the Federal State Educational Standard in Journalism (2009), however there were several schools and universities which got the right to create their own educational frames – both educational standards and curriculum – among them were Lomonosov Moscow State University, St. Petersburg State University and a few other leading high schools. Our research sample includes only one university, which got this right – Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Although program standardization prescribed common educational goals in providing basic knowledge and professional skills, all Russian educational institutions received quite substantial academic liberties. As for programs'

curriculum, new changes resulted in the fact that each school could develop a bigger number of elective courses or a program profile. In table 4 the respondents' answers concerning variants of program profiles are presented. It is not an easy task to fix exact profiles of JE programs, since the questionnaire was not aimed at doing this; it was primarily focused on formulating an open question about variations of industrial and thematic profiles.

In addition to the classification of answers (see table 4), it should be added that many institutions have opened more than one program.

Table 4

What is the program's profile (in %)?

Program's profile	1st group	2nd group
General / universal journalism	63	65
TV / radio / broadcasting	40	14
Print/press/newspaper/ print and Internet	31	7
Advertising/advertising and public relations/ public relations	15	3
Multimedia/Digital / Convergence / New media	9	12
Visual journalism	3	0
Management, marketing	3	0
Sports journalism	0	3
Culture journalism	0	3
Art critics	0	3
Music critics	0	3
Information in the state and commercial structures	3	0
Publishing / Design / Print production	3	3
Translation	0	3
Other profiles	40	38

More than 60% of institutions have focused their programs on the general (or universal) journalism, others are either industrially or thematically oriented. It is not surprising that the number of programs in print journalism is less than in TV, radio and broadcasting, but surprisingly multimedia and digital journalism topics are not at the top

of the list either. Many schools have programs in related areas – media management, media marketing, design. Some schools also offer programs in advertising and public relations, although they try to separate them from journalism programs, both organizationally and academically. On the other hand, there is no common position among universities and schools in evaluation of program success during the past two years after the new Federal Standard came into force. It is interesting to note that within the 2nd group, which represents non-governmental and non-core institutions a bigger number of programs represents thematically oriented profiles – such as sports, culture, art journalism, and music critics. The possible explanation could stem from their close relations with the main profile of the educational organization, which often provides a big variety of professions and education tracks. All Russian academic schools have the right to choose a program profile and teaching methods independently by their own decision.

About 44% of respondents have underlined that their educational programs are quite successful but 53% are not satisfied with their results and claim that there are difficulties. Results in two groups demonstrate that representatives of the classical universities are more satisfied with the results of educational process than those from non-governmental and non-core institutions (54% and 31% respectively).

Table 5

How would you evaluate the success of your bachelor’s program for the last two years (in %)?

Variants of answer	1st group	2nd group	Average
1. Education is quite successful	54	31	44
2. There are difficulties	46	62	53
3. Do not know	0	7	3

The main reason is related to the process of reformation of the whole high education system: according to the survey, educators were not happy

with the transition to 4 years bachelor’s format of studies and a to new curriculum with reduced teaching hours for academic courses, practical training and specializations. Another current problem is connected with the pitfalls in the secondary school education and the psychological immaturity of 16-17-year old students of the 1st year which also influence the quality of the future journalism education. Respondents were also critical about quality of modern textbooks and the lack of software in classrooms. Financing was another serious reason for educators’ dissatisfaction.

2. Careers: between high-level and medium-level demand

The issue of the industrial demand for journalism program graduates is crucial for journalism schools. The data below is based on the analysis of JE executives’ responds. In fact, most of the institutions regularly conduct monitoring of the field market demands for careers in journalism. In the 1st group of respondents this percent is close to maximum.

Table 6

Does your institution monitor the journalistic labor market (in %)?

Variants of answer	1st group	2nd group
Yes	97	79
No	3	17
No answer	0	4

According to the respondents, the understanding of the career market is usually based on sociological surveys or questionnaires of the main stakeholders: chief editors, practical journalists, graduates, media human resource departments. Besides, the situation is constantly studied through analyses of data received from different governmental and non-governmental sources, media and mass communication institutions, reports from students’ media internships, or via personal contacts.

Taking into account the results of our survey, it is possible to identify the following trends regarding the dynamics of the labor market demand. Responses to the question about the demand for journalists in regional markets were concentrated within “high” (49-55%) and “medium” (46-45%) rating. More detailed data analysis demonstrates that respondents from the 2nd group of non-governmental institutions express more confidence in the industrial demand for their graduates, 55% of them are sure that there is a high need for journalists in their region.

Table 7

How do you estimate the demand for journalists in your region (in %)?

Ranking	1st group	2nd group
High	49	55
Medium	46	45
Low	3	0
No answer	3	0

Due to the fact that until 2015 not all schools will have BA graduation, there is no full understanding whether the need for journalists with bachelor’s degree is satisfied. But we could make preliminary conclusions rising from the practice of those 25% of schools, which have moved to BA program in the first wave. More than 60% of respondents from both groups are sure about the high demand of the labor market, 33-38% have no doubts regarding medium-level demand.

Table 8

If you already have bachelor’s degree graduates, how would you evaluate the level of demand at labor market for them?

Ranking	1st group	2nd group
High	62	67
Medium	38	33
Low	0	0
No answer	0	0

The perspectives of media career needs were in the focus of the survey as well. The opinions of the two groups of journalism education executives split their opinions unequally. More than 31% of respondents from the first group assume that career needs will grow, although more than half of respondents consider that it will remain at the same level. Opinions from the second group of respondents are distributed in the opposite proportion: 62% believe that staff needs will increase, 31% understand that it will remain at the same level. Only few respondents from both groups think that the decrease of staff needs will be low, 6% in the first group and in the second one – even 3%. Thus, in average around the whole country, according to the heads of journalism schools and chairs, there would be still a career perspective for their graduates.

Table 9

How do you assess changes in staff needs for media industry in the next ten years (in %)?

Variants of answers	1st group	2nd group
Increase	31	62
Remain at the same level	54	31
Decrease	6	3
No answer	9	3

3. Competences: a switch to tech savvy skills

The most interesting data represent findings concerning the estimations of what kind of journalism professions are actually in demand. While ranking the answers, it became clear that along with traditional journalism and professions for “old media” there was a high demand for media careers for the Internet media. These two professional fields got an equal share of 46% in the first group of respondents, though respondents from the second group consider that new media professions are in higher demand than the “old” ones.

Table 10

What professions, in your opinion, are particularly in demand today at the journalism labor market (in %)?

Variants of answers	1st group	2nd group
Journalists for Internet media: reporter, editor, SMM specialist, visual editor, web-journalist	46	38
Journalists for “old media”: reporter, correspondent, news reporter, editor, columnist	46	24
TV careers: producer, editor, anchorman, correspondent, cameraman	34	38
Designers: print designer, web designer, layout specialist	26	10
Public relations: PR co-worker, PR analyst	17	10
Convergent journalists	17	7
Journalists for local newspapers: correspondent, editor	17	3
Radio careers: anchorman, correspondent	14	14
Journalists for print media: editor, correspondent, visual editor	14	17
Analytical journalism: columnists in different spheres	11	17
Photojournalists	11	0
Advertising specialists	9	3
Journalists for corporate media	6	10
Managing editor	6	3
Media managers	3	14
Sound man	3	3
Copywriters	3	6
Chief editors	3	0
Specialists in publishing	0	3
Video and sound engineer	6	3
Linear and non-linear editor	3	0
Producer for creative industries	3	0
GR director	3	0
Sociologist	0	3
Journalist interpreter	0	3

Jobs for the television sector were placed at the third position, and it is interesting to note that the second group of respondents gives to these professions the same importance as for Internet media related professions. A high demand has been found for designers' occupations, especially for jobs oriented both to print and to the web media. Public relation specialists, convergent journalists and careers for local newspapers received the same rankings by the representatives of the first group, though the second group did not rate their modern demand so highly. The explanation for such divergence could be found in peculiarities of local media systems, as well as in profiles of institutions, where journalism programs are implemented.

One of the survey questions addressed careers, which in the future might be of higher demand. The responses could be listed in the following way (data for both groups):

Internet, multimedia, universal and convergent journalists – 48

Broadcasting journalists – 15

Copy-editors – 9

PR analysts – 8

Online media designers and infographers – 8

Media managers and experts in marketing – 5

News reporters – 4

Photojournalists – 3

Media system administrators and programmers – 3

Print media journalists including local press – 3

Copywriters – 2

B-to-B journalists – 2

Media educators – 1

Stringers – 1

At the same time, academic experts anticipate the reduction of the following media careers:

Print media journalists – 21

Broadcasting journalists – 17

Photojournalists – 3

- News reporters – 2
- Advertisement and PR – 2
- Observers and columnists – 2
- Interviewers – 1
- Executive secretaries – 1
- Video engineers – 1

The next question with the descending scale 5-1 addressed professional competences in regard to practical needs, demands of employers and experience of bachelor’s training (table 11). It is worth mentioning here that the Federal State Standard in journalism education describes competences according to a diverse number of professional functions for journalists as creative writers, editors, analytics and planners, managers, as well as social project-managers and technologists (Federal State, 2009).

Table 11

Please, rate the importance of the demand of employers in regard to today’s practical needs and your experience of bachelors’ training (in %; point 5 – “the most important”)

Professional sphere and competences	5	4	3	2	1	No answer	Rating
<i>Copy writing</i>							
Find relevant issues and angles, plan further journalistic work	84	12	0	0	0	3	4,78
Gather information using adequate newsgathering techniques, be able to select, interpret and analyze information	87	9	0	0	0	3	4,71
Present information using different platforms (words, pictures, video, graphics, etc.) in accordance with media type and genre	83	12	2	0	0	3	4,65
<i>Editing</i>							
Evaluate the final version of the text	62	23	8			6	4,26
Edit different type of texts (verbal, audio, video, etc.) according to norms, standards, formats, styles and technological requirements of different media types	80	14	0	0	2	5	4,78

Professional sphere and competences	5	4	3	2	1	No answer	Rating
Select, edit, structure, package information from different sources, Internet, agencies, PR-structures, other sources, including government and non-government organizations, audiences	70	23	0	0	2	5	4,44
<i>Analytics and planning</i>							
Plan, gather, analyze content for a media project	56	23	14	0	0	5	4,14
Participate in design, planning and fine-tuning of a media project concept (channel, outlet, issue), its model and format	50	34	12	0	0	3	4,22
Develop a local media project	52	31	9	2	0	6	4,15
Participate in perspective and planned media production, plan personal journalistic work	59	2	6	0	0	6	4,25
Participate in a team media evaluation (professional reflection)	55	31	11	0	0	3	4,44
<i>Managerial work</i>							
Participate in media production; be able to carry out producing and managerial.	45	31	20	0	0	3	4,09
Be able to promote a media product, carry out its advertising and informational support	34	50	11	2	0	3	4,07
<i>Communications and social project management</i>							
Engage representatives of different social segments and all required sources in order to balance stories	58	23	16	0	0	3	4,30
Be able to interact with different sources at all stages of story building	44	27	20	3	0	3	3,94
Be able to process editorial mail (selection, analysis, preparation for publication)	47	22	22	2	0	8	3,93
Participate in planning social events (discussions, debates, etc.)	52	31	14	2	0	3	4,30
Be able to take part in organizing media actions and social projects	30	47	16	5	0	3	3,86
Plan interactive communication with audiences	69	23	5	0	0	3	4,52
Be able to provide public response of stories	37	42	11	5	0	5	3,96

Professional sphere and competences	5	4	3	2	1	No answer	Rating
<i>Publishing and technologies</i>							
Make ready materials for publication, broadcasting in accordance with technological standards	80	16	2	0	0	3	4,70
Participate in production process of a newspaper, radio and TV programs (lay-out, editing of audio and video) in accordance with modern technology	69	23	5	0	0	3	4,22

The research demonstrated that most of the executives consider the demand for creative writing, editing, publishing and skills in technologies to be the most important demand from the labor market journalism programs'. In their view, analytical, managerial, and social project management functions have lower importance. Some of communicational competences were also ranked not so highly, though the process of engaging audiences in media production and social networking has been recently actively discussed by experts and media practitioners (Van Der Haak, Parks, Castells, 2012). Anyway, the social project management competences got on the average 4 points due to the growing need for more professionals in social communication and networking.

Among key new competences the ones most frequently mentioned were those related to the use of digital technologies. That is why the questionnaire addressed some questions to examine the need for computer-based skills in software and competences to use those new skills. It turned out that the vast number of Russian journalism educational institutions have already included IT technology courses in their programs and shaped useful computer based skills for journalists' work. Moreover, the responses from the second group that represents non-governmental and private schools were similar to those from the large state universities.

The questionnaire also examined the type of software training included into journalism schools' curricula. The list of software skills was borrowed from Media Hackers survey held in March 2013 within EJTA

Revised Tartu Declaration Project. Below there are findings related to the number of schools that have included computer based skills in software, as well as the results describing what kind of related fields to use the new skills are covered, and what tasks on computers, smart phones and tablets students are able to perform.

Table 12

What software skills are included into the basic educational program of your departments, schools of journalism? (in %)

Computer based skills in software	1st group	2nd group
Windows, Linux, MacOSX or other operation system	89	90
Word or other word processing application	97	93
Excel or other spreadsheets application	86	83
Quark Xpress, In Design or other layout software	83	83
Photoshop or other image processing applications	94	86
Audition or other sound processing applications	71	69
Premiere or other video processing applications	77	76
Wordpress, Drupal or other web mastering applications	37	52
Fields to use the new skills		
Social networking (Facebook, Google+ , etc.)	89	93
Professional networking (Linkedin и др.)	34	38
Blogging	89	93
Twitter	69	83
Instant messaging (Skype, MSN, Viber, etc.)	74	79
Podcasting	57	45
File hostings (YouTube, Picasa, Flickr и др.)	77	66
Web radio	54	55
Web TV	60	55
Cloud technologies	35	36
Ability to perform the following tasks on computer		
Web browsing	94	90
Communication via Instant messaging services (Skype, MSN, etc.)	74	83
Communication via email	89	86

Word processing	91	86
Create graphs	74	86
Layout and preprint	74	83
Website content management (Wordpress, Drupal, Joomla, etc.)	37	55
Content visualization and mapping	46	48
Blog management	71	83
Posting in Twitter	69	79
Social networking (Facebook, Google+, etc.)	80	86
Social media marketing	34	55
Image processing	86	83
Sound editing	66	76
Video editing	66	3
Ability to perform the following tasks with smart phone / tablet		
Web browsing	66	79
Communication via email	69	79
Word processing	66	79
Website content management	46	59
Communication through social media sites	66	79
Blogging	54	72
Image processing	60	76
Video editing	54	66
Sound editing	54	55

Results of the survey have shown that skills to use well-known and widespread software and technological skills in general are trained in a vast number of schools, and they include Word or other word processing applications, Photoshop, Excel, etc. Training in layout software is also included into the curricula in those schools, which have programs in the newspaper production. The situation looks worse in the schools with more specific programs in web production, multimedia software and with training cross-platform oriented skills. According to the results of the survey, schools pay less attention to training in sound and video processing and in fields where these skills are used – podcasting, web radio and TV. But as far as we observed the

trends in modern journalism education, the competences on filming, recording and processing of audio, video and photo, as well as content visualization, represent the most actual industry's demands and many requirements to graduates. There also remains a need to incorporate training in the use of cloud technologies into programs for both groups of universities.

The situation in the area of the newest journalists' communication and network-specific competences and skills is even worse. Though social networking is a growing sphere in media labor market, only about one third (36%) of schools pay attention to training to work for social networks, and less than a half (44%) understand the need to train in the area of the social media marketing as one of the key innovations in media practice. Respondents have also added new envisaged positions to the list of competences in response to demands from the media market.

The short list of their suggestions includes the following:

- the ability to think convergently and produce a product on multimedia platforms;
- the ability to develop communicative skills and working in a multimedia team;
- skills to do social networking and blogging;
- the ability to understand social marketing;
- the ability to do web mastering and design;
- digital literacy;
- the ability to understand big data;
- the ability to work with data bases

Discussion and conclusion

The understanding of the survey results should involve both the assessment of developments in Russian journalism education as a response to the requests of the media industry and profession evolution in general. Sixty four high education executives have been asked to

describe the states of education in their institutions and evaluate how it meets industrial demand. Questions of the survey were aimed to discover views and attitudes of the journalism educators concerning actual academic and industrial issues: course diversity, specializations and profiles, program ratings, local demands for journalists, renovation of professional competences, approaches to changing demands for media careers. The study also demonstrated the scope of professional technological competences as understood by journalism educators and showed the current importance of tech savvy skills.

The survey proved the current trends in journalism education in the age of convergent media, describing profiles that have been announced in the programs of Russian journalism schools and in the courses, which educators themselves considered to be the most important, together with the skills and job attributes that were considered the most desirable for job candidates by media companies.

The results have indicated that Russian journalism education might be characterized by a diverse landscape of programs characterized by a vast variety of specializations and profiles. The largest number of programs provides teaching for general journalism, print and broadcasting journalism. There is nothing surprising in fact that the number of programs in print journalism is becoming smaller than in TV and radio, and that many schools provide programs in related fields – media management, advertising and public relations. However, it is worth mentioning that multimedia and digital journalism programs are not yet at the top of the list. A relatively big number of schools still focuses on classical careers for print and broadcasting, and traditional competences for reporters, correspondents, and analysts still stand at the core of the journalism education. At the same time, respondents pointed to increasing demands for Internet, multimedia, and convergent journalists, and give these professions more future perspectives than for positions in broadcasters.

Some institutions have already revised their programs and added to their syllabuses more training in technologically oriented skills in software. But scope of these programs' use remains undeveloped. While

most of schools still teach for old media companies, the majority of respondents understand that crucial trends of journalism changes are dealing with Internet and multiplatform content production and inspire new careers perspectives that would be of the higher demand in the nearest future. Making conclusion on what professions, according to the results of the survey, would be in particular demand and what programs should be offered to newcomers in journalism schools, it was discovered that a visible gap between education programs supply and industrial demand still continues to exist.

In addition, it should be noted that discussions about the status of the journalism education in Russia have been characterized by a high degree of dissatisfaction. A number of journalism school executives were not confident in success of BA programs, and there were several reasons for this uncertainty. Since most of institutions provide monitoring of market demands for media careers, their estimations of the regional needs for journalists differ and fluctuate between high and medium level, but forecasts for the next ten years are visibly lower. At the same time, respondents from schools, which started to provide bachelor's degree in the first wave, give not very high ratings for their demand at the labor market as well.

Nevertheless, most of the respondents agree that the industrial demand calls for the revision of their programs and their re-orientation to new digital professions for convergent newsrooms. The survey has demonstrated a big concern for programs and curricula renovations. In order to achieve these goals, schools should establish and support modern infrastructure and technical base, install new computers and software, use cloud technologies, and train the skilled trainers who regularly upgrade their professional competences.

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JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 21ST CENTURY: THE RUSSIAN CONTEXT

ЖУРНАЛИСТИКА КАК ПРОФЕССИЯ В ПЕРВЫЕ ДЕСЯТИЛЕТИЯ 21 ВЕКА: РОССИЙСКИЙ КОНТЕКСТ

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The new century poses a wide range of research questions and defines new approaches for research, which deal with the specifics of journalism as a field of professional activity, with the characteristics of the professional journalistic community and with the peculiar features of its representatives. The rapid development of the diverse spheres of everyday life leads to a larger scope for research, a formation of new thematic streams and a redefinition of the methodological approaches in studies of professional journalistic culture. This article analyzes journalism as a profession in contemporary Russia. Such an approach will try to fit within the existing sociologic frames. This article is focused on the skills and competencies of modern Russian journalists, their freedom and professional autonomy, and covers the issues of responsibility and ethics of service. The empirical basis of the presented article is constructed with data from an international research project titled “Journalism in change – professional journalistic cultures in Russia, Poland and

Sweden” initiated by Södertörn University (Sweden), granted by the Baltic Foundation in Sweden and realized by scholars from Lomonosov Moscow State University (Russia), Södertörn University (Sweden) and Wrocław University (Poland) in 2011-2014.

Key words: *journalism as a profession; Russian journalists; professional skills; professional autonomy; responsibility; norms of conduct.*

В первые десятилетия 21 века стремительное развитие различных сфер общественной жизни приводит к расширению исследовательских горизонтов, в частности открывает новые перспективы в изучении профессиональной журналистской культуры. Возникают новые направления исследований и новые подходы, пересмотру подлежат существующие концепции. Данная статья описывает журналистику как профессию в современной России. Эмпирический материал – результаты комплексного международного исследования «Журналистика в изменении – профессиональные журналистские культуры в России, Польше и Швеции», реализованного учеными МГУ имени М. В. Ломоносова, университетов Сёдерторна (Швеция) и Вроцлава (Польша) при финансовой поддержке Балтийского фонда в Швеции, – позволяет говорить о навыках и компетенциях современных российских журналистов, рассматривать вопросы профессиональной независимости, ответственности, описывать проблемы профессиональной этики.

Ключевые слова: *журналистика как профессия; российские журналисты; профессиональные навыки; профессиональная независимость; нормы поведения.*

Frameworks of the research discourse

The Oxford dictionary of sociology defines *profession as a form of organization or a type of work orientation* and names the crucial

characteristics of each profession – “some central regulatory body, a code of conduct, careful management of knowledge in relation to the expertise which constitutes the basis of the profession’s activities, control of members, selection and training of new entrants (Scott and Marshall, 2005). Sociological literature in the Russian-speaking research community offers definitions, which include both the organizational and human dimension of a profession. It is described as a) the profit-oriented labor activity based on theoretic knowledge, empirical experience and practical skills filled in with functional significance and b) as a large group of people joined by a common labor activity (Gritsanov, 2003).

It seems reasonable to combine the aforementioned visions of *profession* because this makes it possible to discuss its typological features and – at the same time – to rely on empirical data, which reflect the complexity of concrete professionals’ daily practices. D. McQuail in his recent work “Journalism and society” considers *journalism as a profession* a unifying approach in a great variety of already existing research approaches (cultural, economic, political, social etc.) aiming to study the phenomenon of journalism as a whole. Following his idea, let us analyze this concept as it appears in the modern Russian context – the main criteria being the basic skills of media professionals to form community, the social status of the profession, professional autonomy, and the norms and standards of professional conduct (McQuail, 2013).

The social profile and the structure of the profession

As it was written (Anikina, 2012), one problem in the Russian context is the problem of figures. Calculations from the mid-2000s describe approx. 150 000 journalists working in the media industry. It is possible that the journalistic community is divided into homogeneous parts according to medium type. The proportion of registered media numbers

was kept secret during the conducted survey. Official statistics from the reports of the Federal Agency on Press and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation show that before the survey (in 2011) there were more than 90 000 registered and re-registered media: 67 727 printed media, 21 234 audiovisual media and 1 564 news agencies. Within the frames of “Journalism in change” project professionals representing diverse media types were studied as presented in Table 1. The sample was constructed from 500 practicing journalists working in 6 federal districts (out of 8 that Russia has) excluding the Siberian and North Caucasian federal districts (respondents live in the Central, Southern, North-Western, Volga (Privolzhskiy), Ural and Far Eastern regions of Russia)

Table 1

Media type

	Number	Per cent
Print media	335	67
TV and radio	105	21
Online media	40	8
News agencies	10	2
Production companies	10	2
Total	500	100

Respondents represented different types of media companies as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

In what type of media company are you currently working?

	Number	Per cent
National newspaper/big city newspaper	110	22
Specialized magazine	66	13,2
Regional newspaper/local newspaper	63	12,6
Popular/weekly magazine	58	11,6
TV-channel – public service/state	43	8,6
Online publishing company	40	8
TV-channel – commercial	38	7,6
Other newspaper/magazine	21	4,2
Radio-channel – commercial	18	3,6
Production company for radio/tv/film	10	2
News agency	10	2
Free newspaper	8	1,6
Production company for print	8	1,6
Radio-channel – public service/state	7	1,4
Total	500	100

Men and women from three age groups were studied in this project. The proportion of age groups in relation to the gender of the respondents is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Age and gender of Russian journalists

Age	Female (% in relevant age group)	Male (%in relevant age group)	Total (% of all)	Number
- 35 years	70,9	29,1	69,4	347
36-50 years	59,8	40,2	23,4	117
51- years	47,2	52,8	7,2	36

The gender transformation within the journalistic profession was discussed in the last few years – the profession is evidently becoming a female one. This is seen also in the gender balance of practicing media professionals.

Table 4

Are (Have) any of your relatives working (worked) as journalists?

	Number	Per cent
No	355	70
Wife/husband	68	14
Parents	39	8
Other close relatives	4	1
Children	34	7
Total	500	100

It is possible to conclude that in general, journalism is not a hereditary profession or a family job in Russia (see Table 4) – 10% of journalists are linked to their profession through a husband or wife while less people declare that they have parents or some other close relative in journalism. Two-thirds of the respondents confirmed that they did not have any relatives among journalists. The obtained information indicates that there is an absence in the succession of professional development or an absence of inheritance in such career building models. At the same time, however, this could indicate that journalists in modern Russia could potentially create their own professional strategy without any prescribed pattern.

*Table 5***What kind of main employment do you have today?**

	Number	Per cent
Regular employment in a media company	364	72,8
Freelance/your own company	77	15,4
Temporary employment	54	10,9
Temporary job agency	1	0,2
Other	4	0,7
Total	500	100

Following the proposed sociologic scheme of profession description, it is possible to define such formal characteristics of the profession as forms of employment spread among journalists in Russia. The conducted study clarifies that new forms of employment continue developing in our country (Table 5). The Russian journalistic community still stays quite traditional – the majority of respondents (69%) declare that they have regular employment within a media company. Freelance is spreading actively. Only every tenth respondent has temporary employment working within the frames of concrete projects or replacing colleagues. The most atypical method for finding a job in journalism in Russia is to use job agencies.

As the data show the majority of Russian media professionals have regular employment and work hard in their newsroom (Table 6).

*Table 6***How many hours do you work as a journalist
in the course of an average week?**

	Number	Per cent	Average working day (hours/week)
Full time job	341	68,2	45,7
Part time job	159	31,8	19,1

Two-thirds have full-time jobs and spend a bit more time at work than is prescribed by Russian labour law (40 hours per week). Those who have part time jobs (more that 30%) spend normally half a day occupied with professional duties. It is worth mentioning that the general results of this field are confirmed by other survey data.

Skills, training and knowledge in journalism in Russia

McQuail names training and skills as important criteria in defining a *profession* (McQuail, 2013). By estimating training and knowledge level as important features of profession, we can add that the majority of Russian journalists possess a high level of education (Table 7 and 8).

Table 7

What is your highest level of education?

	Number (N=500)	Per cent
University or other higher education	478	95,6
Secondary school	22	4,4
Primary school	0	0

Table 8

Do you have a special education in journalism?

	Number (N=500)	Per cent
Yes, on an academic level	373	74,6
No	81	16,2
Yes, on a non-academic level	30	6,0
Yes, professional training in media	16	3,2

This data is supported by other similar research projects results (Pasti, 2011). The results confirm that media representatives without a specialized education in journalism and mass communication do not form a significant part of the journalistic community.

Under modern conditions, skills are quite often seen through the lenses of technological and technical skills, obtained by people and demonstrated in their daily work. The previous decades made the concept of *multiskilling* one of the most discussed and acute in the fields of journalists’ work. According to the “Journalism in change” project, Russian journalists are not multiskilled in the complete sense of this term; in many cases, they do not name themselves *multiskilled* and express diverse attitudes towards this characteristic (Table 9).

Table 9

**Attitudes in relation to “multiskilling” in the journalistic work
(mean on a scale 1-5, 1 – “not important”, 5 – “very important”)**

	Mean	Number of answers
Multiskilling means more space for creativity	3,64	490
Muiltiskilling gives more power to the individual journalist	3,56	478
In the future, more journalists will be multiskilled	3,53	477
Journalists in my media organization are expected to be multiskilled	3,34	494
I feel like a multiskilled reporter	3,18	490
Multiskilling will decrease the quality of journalism	3	473

Calculations made on the basis of these obtained results suggest that generally one journalist works for 1,5 platforms in order to present his or her text (TV, radio, print press, online medium etc.). Journalists tend to agree with the idea that the ability to use diverse technologies and to work for different platforms helps them discover the creative potential of a

concrete professional and gives them the chance for personal development. In addition, it is possible to predict the multiskilled future of the profession.

The idea of a *universal journalist* realizes itself more evidently in the allocation of professional roles taking place in the Russian media (Table 10).

Table 10

Professional roles in the newsroom

	Number	Per cent in each role
Reporter	267	53,4
Editor	155	31
Commentator	97	19,4
Subeditor/layout	81	16,2
Online editor	63	12,6
Editorial writer/columnist	52	10,4
Photographer/cameraman	47	9,4
Researcher	34	6,8
News anchor	29	5,8
Producer(radio/tv)	26	5,2
Working with ads	21	4,2
Economy/management in the company	10	2
Other roles	1	0,2
Total	883	176,6

* Each respondent could give maximum three alternatives. Total 500 respondents.

Quite often, each person in the newsroom plays more than one concrete role. The spectrum of the studies included mostly so-called traditional roles typical for classic media. More often than not, respondents work as reporters (53,4%) and one-third work as editors. Links with the segment of online media cause quite a significant amount of professionals to work as online editors (12,6%). Generally speaking, the division of duties in the standard newsroom in Russia is still close to the classical one described in the theoretical works on journalism and reflected in Russian law on mass media – the main direction

of these works is creative, with texts, editorial work and organizational activity (Prokhorov, 2007, Law of Russian Federation on Mass Media, 1991).

Journalism as a profit-oriented profession

The inconsistency of modern Russian journalism, to a certain extent, demonstrates itself in the discussion of financial matters, which are traditionally quite a sensitive and difficult topic in sociological studies.

Obviously it is difficult to compare the financial conditions of journalists working in different media, located in diverse regions of the country. Nevertheless, it seems possible to make some generalizations (Table 11).

Table 11

Is it possible to manage on with the income you receive as a journalist?

(one alternative)	Number (N=500)	Per cent
Yes, I can provide all necessary things	200	40,0
Yes, I can survive	108	21,6
Yes, I can do well and provide extra things	83	16,6
No, I have to get money from other jobs	70	14,0
No, journalism is only a minor part of my income	39	7,8

These results demonstrate that journalistic activity provides professionals with sources to live, providing a sufficient income to a significant portion of the studied Russian media professionals. Only one-fifth of the respondents estimated incomes from journalistic work as a small part of their incomes in general. For the rest, journalism allows them to survive. For a small amount, it is a way to obtain extra income (16,6%).

It is remarkable that at the same time, in general, respondents do not suggest that money is the main reason for them to enter this profession (the average score of motivation for this profession is not the highest but it is significant was estimated 4,07 out of 5).

Journalists do not consider money the main attractor to enter into the profession. But at the same time they describe this factor as important when choosing a concrete media company to work for. This can likely be explained by the difference between general estimations and individual decisions.

The mission of the profession and the social functions of journalism

Modern Russian journalists adapted several principles typical of Western journalistic cultures. Data clarify that objectivity and impartiality as professional standards have high scores among others (Table 12).

Table 12

How important are the following professional duties for a journalist in your country?

(mean on a scale 1-5, 1 – “not important”, 5 – “very important”)		
Journalist should...	Mean	Number of answers
...be a neutral reporter	4,38	496
...provide information objectively	4,30	487
...stand free of special interests	4,26	488
...bring forward various opinions	4,26	492
...criticize injustice	4,02	492
...educate the public	3,96	483
...represent diverse social groups	3,88	486
...stimulate new ideas	3,79	485
...simplify and explain	3,53	488
...control public authorities	3,50	486
...influence public opinions	3,49	492
...tell the truth regardless of the consequences	3,28	493
...mobilize people to act	3,18	475
...ensure that the media business does well	3,17	482
...investigate government claims	3,03	486
...provide entertainment	2,81	456

The idea of journalism as a segment of creative industries was confirmed during the conducted study. The task to formulate new ideas was marked as significant by respondents.

The control of authorities, social participation and mobilization were not strongly supported by Russian journalists during the study. To certain extent these results are confirmed by other projects' data (Hanitzsch et al., 2010) and described earlier (Anikina, Johansson, 2013). At the same time, journalists are not ready to educate the public or to provide entertainment – the first option is in the middle of the list, the second is the last according to the data. The intention to educate society is weaker than it was during previous decades when this niche was better developed than currently. Today we see a gradual revival of enlightening and educational media but this revival has not seriously changed the professional consciousness of journalists. Yet, it is not as brightly seen in the respondents' evaluations as it could be. The role of entertainment's weak position is possible due to a kind of tiredness from the light, entertaining character of journalism of the previous decades in Russia.

Ethics of the profession

Theoretically speaking, journalism as a profession was realized as a socially oriented activity that should attract people with a reflected and evident social-civic position. The social functions of journalism and mass media are studied carefully and described in details. The current situation in Russian society makes us look at political interests, as well as the social and political activity of Russian journalists.

It is possible to see here, which is typical for all respondents and described in methodological literature, a fear to answer so-called sensitive questions. But this appears a bit strange if we speak about such public and socially oriented people as journalists. However, a quick glance back to the history of the country and its citizens could give some explanations of this unwillingness to discuss political questions.

Such a position does not exclude the opportunity for journalists to be a part of the political process in Russia. More than a half of the respondents (50,2%) see the chance to become active in the political sphere (Table 13).

Table 13

**Is it an alternative for you to be active in politics
(voluntary or as employed)?**

	No	Perhaps	Yes	Don't know
Number (N=500)	209	193	58	40
Per cent	41,8	38,6	11,6	8

This fact reveals the debate about media as the space for symbolic capital existence, the field where it is possible to obtain and convert the capital of publicity (Fomicheva, 2012). This also makes us consider what is the core and what are the goals of journalistic activity, as they are perceived by media professionals. The idea of journalism as a social lift, described in different works and studies (e.g. in the articles of S. Pasti), is closely connected to the opportunity to enter politics discovered in the Russian segment of the “Journalism in change” project, which deals with the future seen by Russian journalists (see further paragraphs).

The dominance of relativism as the base of perception and reflection on the world of journalism in Russia leads to a weakening of internal relations in the professional community. The necessity to elaborate on the system of common ethical rules and standards is described by Russian journalists as insignificant – an average mean is 3,71 out of 5. This score is the highest in the survey segment dedicated to the ethics and politics of journalism, but it is not high if we look at it separately, and it is lower than in Sweden and Poland. Previous studies of the journalistic community gave similar results – traces of relativism ideology were discovered in the Russian section of the “*Worlds of Journalism*” study (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). It is possible that soon the shift to new ethical paradigm described by experts (The Handbook of Mass Media Ethics, 2009) becomes evident also in Russia.

Autonomy and independence in journalism as a profession

In the modern international discourse autonomy is interpreted as a crucial part for the professionalization of journalism (Hallin, Mancini, 2004). The results of Russian surveys prove that Russian journalists feel themselves independent in the main aspects of daily work in such aspects as the selection of plots (69,2% of respondents feel free to define the angle to present the story), the stories' coverage and managing personal working time. According to the obtained information, less freedom is given to Russian journalists in choosing a story to cover. In general respondents to certain degree demonstrate the attitudes and changes in attitudes of Russian society as a whole (Levada Center, 2013) – some of the feel independent is several spheres of professional activity.

Among the factors influencing the daily journalistic work state, the influence on the media system and journalism is scored 2,79 of 5 (Table 14). The influence of political affiliation on subjects' selection is stronger according to Russian journalists' evaluations (3,26 out of 5).

Table 14

Different factors influence the selection of subjects in the daily work of your media organization. How could you evaluate the significance of the following factors in the work on your news organization?

(Give your opinion on a scale 1-5, 1 - “insignificant”, 5 - “very significant”)	Mean	Number of answers
The editorial policy of the media company	4,13	493
Audience interest	4,02	494
Professional interest of the journalist	3,89	492
Needs and interests of society	3,7	477
The political connection (affiliation) of the media company	3,26	467
Those who advertise in the media	2,95	439
Strong political actors outside the media company	2,79	447
Economical power outside the media company (big companies etc.)	2,53	424
Other	3,05	22

The reasons for a dependent position, which journalism has today, are quite often complicated and different. Several actors within and outside the professional journalistic community play their roles. The question about influence posed during the survey reveals some contradictions in journalists' consciousness. Respondents perfectly see problems connected to the commercial nature of modern media production such as threats descending from journalistic circles and the State (Table 15).

Table 15

**The independence of journalism can be influenced by different factors.
How do you evaluate the influence of the following factors?**

(Give your opinion on a scale 1-5, 1 - "insignificant", 5 - "very significant")	Mean	Number of answers
The owners demand for profits	3,86	495
Weak professional ethics	3,79	488
State influence (laws and ownership)	3,78	491
Political influence in media companies	3,65	485
Increasing work tempo	3,56	494
Threats against individual journalists	3,34	482
Advertisers influence on content	3,3	487
Source activity (PR/lobbyists)	3,2	462
Foreign ownership	2,8	469

Leading positions belong to such factors as the commercial demand of media owners, lack of common ethic standards and state influence. This set of factors is explainable in a certain sense. The state fixes the rules and proposes juridical frames of professional journalistic activity (it is hardly possible to underestimate this factor on both general and concrete aspects). If we look at the state as a media owner the situation would be clear as well. It is worthwhile to stress that as the survey shows, journalists are worried about ethics. Further analysis shows that this reflection in many cases does not go far and does not lead to any consequences such as the formation of stable and respected codes or their further realization.

The same situation was discovered by Finnish researchers and named the paradox of “marriage of liberalism and authoritarianism” (Pasti, Nordenstreng 2013: 244). It is notable that some coincidence with other previous studies is obvious here.

The paradox concerning the commercial orientation of media companies in conditions of strong state influence realizes itself in the hierarchy of the obstacles journalists face in media companies (Table 16). As well decreasing the power of advertisers, as seen in the data, the source of information unexpectedly appears as a weak factor here.

Table 16

How often do journalists at your media company face the following obstacles?

(Give your opinion on a scale 1-5, 1 – “never”, 5 – “very often”)	Mean	Number of answers
Economic interests of the media company	3,02	454
Limits in the editorial policy of the media company	2,85	479
Political interests of the owners of the media company	2,7	446
Pressure from political actors outside the media company	2,51	429
Pressure from the sources of information	2,5	441
Pressure from advertisers	2,46	434
Other	0,3	447

In reviewing the described results it is possible to say that it is quite early to speak about de-professionalization in the wider context of debates about future of journalism (Nygren, Degtereva, Pavlikova, 2010; Curry, 2013). On the contrary, the conducted study lets us see journalism as profession in the modern interpretation of this term and define specific features of the profession representative in Russia. Some shifts in working with information, professional epistemology and journalism ethics are seen, while some contradictions in the perceptions of personal conditions and general professional contexts could be discovered. To a certain extent, a negative prognosis about journalism seems

reasonable. However a generally professional approach is still an adequate instrument to analyze journalism in Russia.

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INTELLECTUAL JOURNALISM VS COPY-PASTE JOURNALISM

ИНТЕЛЛЕКТУАЛЬНАЯ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКА ПРОТИВ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ COPY-PASTE

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“Journalism of facts” gives its place to journalism of ideas. The excess of information in global communication systems leads to the necessity for “protocols of access to meanings” of informational messages. Intellectual journalism is the answer to this demand since it has the necessary potential to create a socially important world view and to accept digital technology challenges associated with the production and broadcasting of information in a social medium. “Personological turn” in the field of mass communication is the revival of journalism in a new social status to represent the basic life values of society.

Key words: *crisis of journalism; informational rationality; media person (homo mediatuus); intersubjective communication; ethical standard; is-ought problem (“Hume’s Principle”).*

«Журналистика факта» уступает место журналистике мысли. Избыток информации в глобальной системе коммуникации порождает потребность в «протоколах доступа к смыслу»

информационных сообщений. Ответить на эту потребность должна интеллектуальная журналистика. Она обладает необходимым потенциалом создания социально-значимой картины мира, способна ответить на вызовы цифровых технологий создания и транслирования информации в социуме. «Персонологический поворот» в массовой коммуникации означает возрождение журналистики в новом социальном статусе как выразителя основных жизненных ценностей общества.

Ключевые слова: кризис журналистики; информационная рациональность; медийная личность (*homo mediatius*); интерсубъективная коммуникация; этический стандарт; «принцип Юма».

Blogs, Facebook, and Twitter have become the public stage for information agenda development. Any communicant who does not possess any ideas regarding the standards of professional social network communication is now an outsider. “Journalism of facts,” which is the current trend of the digital media age, begins with the devastating criticism of the social status of journalism. Withdrawal from the stage of media and journalistic “death” is often seen as the next step in the evolution of media systems. One of the International Media Forum 2013 participants said that “Journalism is a set of strictly technical functions: to cover the event in time and to post it to the news feed” (Romendik, 2013). However, demands for analytical information and valuable content refute those statements. An information analysis of main political events forces mass communication theorists and practitioners to turn back to researching journalistic phenomenon in the contemporary media space.

According to Pekka Pekkala, who is a freelance writer, Visiting Scholar at USC Annenberg, and writing a book titled “*How to Keep Journalism Profitable*”, copy-paste journalism will become extinct. “From a journalistic perspective, this is both good and bad news. The bad news is that fewer stories are needed overall as more and more people cut out the middleman and go straight to the source. This means fewer jobs

in traditional media. So if you notice yourself writing the same stories as everyone else, or even worse, using copy-paste more than before, run” (Pekkala, 2013).

The anarchy in covering the Boston terrorist attack by the mass media, for example, led to the conclusion for a radical redesign of print media and journalism overall. USC Annenberg assistant professor Mike Ananni even suggests “silence and timing” tactics to mass media during the time of informational chaos to produce balanced and professional conclusions and statements (Ananni, 2013). Participants of the international digital journalism conference “News: Rewired” propose five online standards and ethics pointers for journalists: Accuracy over speed, Transparency, Adding value, Corrections, Dealing with trolls. (Five Online Standards and Ethics Pointers for Journalists, 2013). Following these pointers can guarantee the delivery of not only social implications but also the meanings of such events to society. “Social media has turned breaking news into a minefield of rumors and false reports, further muddying the waters of truth in a situation that is inherently uncertain” (ibid).

According to researchers, it is the semantic registration of an event that distinguishes journalist writing. The mode of chronicler or screen reporter backs down before the journalist’s role of a social values navigator does. Intellectual journalism is destined to create a “...structural field of forces where intellectual activity goes on” (Collins, 2002).

Intellectual activity in the age of digital media acquires its own new features. Among the discoveries of modern science there are some which are based on classical or, in accordance with M. Weber, on “instrumental rationality” where reality represents the result of thought and empirical experiments. In the 20th century this type of rationality defined by the Modern Project collided with a new type of rationality called “informational”.

Keeping the “ratio-“ part of the word intact, the new rationality opens up its horizons for all, previously unthinkable, epistemological experiments on reality. The “informational rationality” in its various forms legalized the relativity of knowledge accuracy and the

superiority of subjective properties of cognition. Information in the form of text, digital code or message of various media is capable of expressing an author's personal opinion about the surrounding world. Now it is a tool by which to create new realities in mass communication channels. The communicative system of production, processing and broadcasting of information, which is being developed to its extent in variability, has become the foundation for the creation of media space – new locuses of mankind's existence at the turn of the 21st century.

The phenomenon of the late 20th century: information, as a category to structure all types of motions in nature and society on a content level, is no longer only a message or a signal of change. It has rather evolved into a self-sufficient substance, such as matter and energy. Modern researchers of the virtual reality of computers have established a direct link between information and “matter,” allowing us to speak about the symptoms of yet another “Crealithic revolution” in the social history of mankind. “If Neolithic revolution is about implements, then Crealithic revolution is about substance. Information and equipment have been evolving from tools to living environment of mankind” (Kutyrev, 1998).

Media self-reflection and self-identification has become the ontology of existence for modern society, and an individual with unauthorized access to communication acquires the status of “homo mediatus” (Vartanova, 2009).

The overflow of information changes both the nature of cognition and the social medium self-organization system. Classical Cartesian human cognition with logical deduction and formal reasoning is replaced by “Chance” – the way of a chaotic, non-logical “mosaic” (according to French sociologist A. Moles) with the actualization of existence (Moles A., 1974).

The mass media creates irrational world views distant from mankind's actual existence in the social medium. Empirical knowledge, speculations and metempiric breakthroughs in the understanding of material and the environment of spiritual living become equally important themselves as the material and environment of spiritual living of modern mankind.

The effect of communicative activity exists precisely in the fact that various realities are created at the level of mundane consciousness and a scheme of various modes of mankind's existence and living environment is set up. Existing with media places a person in a situation where he can optionally follow the rules of logic and objectivity concerning the concept of reality reconstruction. His self-expression is a way to show the intellectual triumph over and the manifestation of the limitation of knowledge.

Communication media has become the means of creating behavioral patterns, and schemes for personal lingual and intellectual self-organization. These schemes or sociocultural patterns of everyday life, or reality, happen to be as equally important as the state of material and the environment of spiritual living. Common sense constructs and situates acts as masses of the principle of socialization. New consensus forms of collective interaction emerge, which are based on the transformation of behavioral patterns in a process of informational interaction among individuals.

New social status roles and new social interactions unauthorized by authorities emerge in communicative reality, which can either harmonize or disharmonize the social system. Public sphere dynamics are changing: the communication of individuals is moving into the media sphere localized by interests, activity, hobbies, etc. and making the social medium more fragmented. Key factors and differentiation criteria are ethical (axiological) and cognitive variants of activity, thinking of a "media" person (person within the media), i.e. within informational interaction.

One feature of the global information age is the dominance of the new dynamic ontology of reality. Time and space have become a unified whole, structured by communication. The phenomenon of simultaneity exists in the perception of existence in time, as an event can be reached only through process and as a result of communication. Digital technologies of content production and distribution multiplied this chronotope effect many times by making toposes big and small, or "fragmenting" or "stretching" the time, consequently creating a special

communicative space called by Polish sociologist Zigmund Bauman the “Liquid Modernity” (Bauman, 2008).

Throwing the enormous informational capacity of objects instantly into channels of mass communication leads to drastic changes in the basic dynamics of communication. The logical hierarchy of knowledge has been replaced by a discrete nonlinear hierarchy based on an intuitive association of concepts and images. Familiar to the eyes, texts are being excluded more and more from the communication process. Those texts created a logical and organized thinking process, which resulted in some form of algorithm to deal with perceived reality. There exist new forms of audiovisual and hypertext computer communication, instead of just print texts. Mankind has entered the age of dominance by communication devices, which has its limitations concerning the balance of senses and emotions for the perception of reality. Sound, color, and even smell have become the elements of a world view recreated by mass communication. Texts and illustrations are accompanied by earlier unessential accidental features like variety of font typefaces and colors, which increase the level of semantic and esthetic perception. Paralinguistic means play a more important part in the process of text creation than before. With the development of information technology, forms concerning the reflection of reality become more and more diverse, and correlation between content and formal structures of recreated images and schemes become more complicated.

The representation of the human existence is even more complicated; iconic and symbolic systems are not only limited to epistemological and rational ways of reality comprehension. An immediate translation of information from one sign model to another is possible only with the help of a constantly updated “database” responsible for matching the semantic and sociocultural fields of communicants. The “media” person finds himself in a situation of cognitive dissonance caused by a borderless communication space and physical limitation in time for its exploration. Updating a personal “database” is an intellectually intensive and time-consuming process, but since the “media” person himself is a part of

the “database” for other communicants, it is necessary to perform such updates for successive informational interaction.

The digitalization of information flows causes the occurrence of neo-figurativeness in the subjective communication space: change of subject-object relationships, appearance of “Media Elite” and “New Pooors”, who have limited access to premium-class digital products (according to researches of RUNET – Russian segment of the Internet). It is also possible to believe that the emergence of individual consciousness, being the only indisputable human property, has become the subjective prerequisite for neo-figurativeness. Individualistic values are considered to be at the core of the European civilization development.

The cognitive, normative, and axiological representation of reality is unconceivable outside of communication or dialog with the world. According to modern scientists, alongside with the existence of possibility and existence of “here and now,” the concept of co-operation, co-existence, and dependence of the existence of “the others” takes the leading position. Communicative reality as a means of media self-identification of a human being is “... first of all, the reality of intersubjective communication” (Arshinov, Laitman, Svirsky, 2007).

In a mass communication multidimensional world, where reality is created and reconstructed, all subjects alternately play the same roles: creators, virtual witnesses or virtual users. The relationship of roles may differ according to the way schematic reality is developed or self-evolved: from passive observation to interactive participation in real events. The position of each individual in the process of communicative interaction turns out to be the subject and object simultaneously, while the energy of personal intention is dissolved in anonymity and impersonality of the created meanings. On the one hand, communicants should be of great importance in the act of self-expression, but on the other hand, “the presentation” itself, without its author’s name, is more important.

Anonymity, impersonality, and virtuality are drastically enhanced in the world of information technology. Individual and socio-collective aspects of interaction are in constant contradiction with each other. The dominance

of the social and the collective immediately elicits an individual response by message. All subjects of communicative interaction, i.e. individuals, collective entities (art groups, associations of various legal and social status), and social institutions (print media, broadcasting corporations and media holdings) are forced to constantly bill themselves as unique and different from the others, thus breaking similarities and anonymity

While mass communication is the “meeting place” for various cognitive paradigms and objectives, cultures and ethical values give birth to a special sociocultural phenomenon – a virtual reality that is more important and more accessible for communicants than their living environment. Signs and information, text and hypertext, and “simulacra” of culture that mediate social processes become real in virtual reality. Actual reality with real people and situations is no longer the only initial object and subject of reflection for communication media. Signs, symbols, and images accumulated by human experience prove to be self-sufficient for the reconstruction of an imaginary virtual reality.

The main point of the ontological paradox is in the fact that this imaginary virtual reality has become a tool and a means of change for the general society and every member of the society. Objects with enormous information capacity, such as periodicals with millions of copies, multi-channel broadcast media, and global computer networks led to the recognition of virtuality as a full-fledged ontology. The reality concerning the substance of relations and not of things characterizes, in the first place, the sociocultural space of mass communication. Relationships of people, intricacies of opinions and views, even the image of the real world become the new reality. The “media” person has found himself immersed in the “animate” human-like space of images, behavior patterns, and values where signs of the material world and material relations compete with each other. And the person himself, being free in his media self-fulfillment, has been turned into a product with its price and its additional value for someone else.

Journalists of the digital age work in conditions of severe market, ideological and sociocultural competition. Their choice of personal com-

municative strategy is not dictated only by their material considerations and ambitions. The dichotomies of “social-individual” and “moral-material” have the potential production and reconstruction of social meanings in the field of specialized, socially important journalism.

Multimedia and convergence of information production technologies present a dilemma for journalists: what is more important – mastering technical skills or skills of analysis and evaluation? Under conditions of information, competition is necessary to perform all of the work in accordance with the moral and ethical standards of the profession.

Freedom of speech and scope of “written and unwritten” law bring into focus the necessity of abidance by the rules of professional conduct on information highways. Contemporary information technology along with the development of social communication enhance a thousand fold the “publicity syndrome” of any statement. Interactivity provides opportunities to expand the scope of a topical issue and to involve “the masses” in solving the high-profile issues. However, such co-operation in mass media brings to public attention even the flow of “draft” sketches of communicative acts not intended to be seen by the public. “Public intimacy” (in accordance with the Russian State Humanitarian University professor M. Krongaus) becomes the global means of self-presentation and self-expression existing far from constructive public dialogue.

Social dynamism along with the escalation of social diversity forces journalists to provide not just public self-reflection, but to raise that self-reflection to an objectified social outcome. New approaches to the culture of communicative self-regulation are required.

The redesign of journalism requires a drastic “personological turn” in the balance of power among personal spheres. Specifically, it is necessary to get back the monopoly of professionals who are concerned with the strategy of socially important information distribution. Concerned by “catastrophes of informational interaction of consciousnesses” theorist and ideologist of the information society, M. Castels, proposes a search for “protocols of meanings” which are “... independent of general practice communication bridges between personified hypertexts” (Castels,

2007). Only professional journalists are qualified enough to provide full access to the “protocols of meanings”.

This truth is confirmed by the resulting scandal caused by publications regarding the U.S. National Security Agency’s espionage activities. Classified information from Edward Snowden has been delivered with an aspect of social importance to uphold human rights by “The Guardian” journalist Glenn Greenwald. This journalist’s standing has become the hot topic for serious political debates in parliaments and governments all over the world. Alongside with the statements about “retirement” or even “death” of journalism, there are a lot of other statements and evaluations concerning the role of journalism. Jeff Jarvis in his post “All journalism is advocacy (or it isn’t)” wrote: “The god term of journalism – the be-all and end-all, the term without which the enterprise fails to make sense, is the public” (Jarvis, 2013). The qualities and strengths of journalistic work are especially highlighted: “In so doing, Greenwald and the Guardian exhibited the highest value of journalism: intellectual honesty” (ibid).

Information provided by journalists is indeed a unique cultural and semiotic construct, which produces and distributes the socially important meaning of events. Authors of these messages do not merely reconstruct the fragments of reality; they make interpretations and form the points of social importance. Media events are presented in the light of personal perception by journalists, emotionally colored and with intellectual appeal. Such texts are highly demanded by the public because they are more than just facts. They are an interpretation of facts within the specific frame of reference and values.

“I believe that the future of journalism will be focused towards more individual and less corporative features and characteristics”, writes Jordi Corominas i Julián in “Revista de Letras” (Corominas, 2013).

While getting a massive overall education in the school of western technologies of democracy and tolerance, it is useful to follow the traditions of Russian journalism. The ontologically significant tradition of Russian perception of the outer world is panethism: “... highlighting the moral evaluation of people and their actions, evaluation of

events which include social and political ones” (Emelyanov, Novikov, 1995).

Truth without good deeds and justice is not considered the truth. Information itself is not that important in the process of cognition, as it happens to be for any educated person of the western countries (i.e. not Russian). The revelation of the meaning is more important because you should not simply know something, but also understand and be knowledgeable.

For example, the editor of the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (“*The Independent Newspaper*”) K. Remchukov in his article “*Horizontal People*” speculates on the bitter truth concerning the young, modern intellectuals of Russia and difficulties of social growth for businessmen (Remchukov, 2013). The lack of social mobility, the inability of climbing up the social and career ladder, is revealed as a stage of social drama. According to the author, the solution of this problem is in the social activity of people willing to cross the “horizontal of despair” and their ways of “vertical climb”.

In accordance with the traditions of Russian journalism, public text always has heuristic functions with an urge for contemplation. It should be filled to its maximum with documentary and artistic images and be based on a synthesis of symbolic forms and a means of expression. A text should have heuristic capabilities of expression, conveying the meaning alongside the capabilities of the joint discovery of the meaning during the dialogue process between communicants. As it is stated by M. Bakhtin, understanding the meaning “... should be at the exit of the text, at the borderline of texts, in a venture of a dialogue with a nontextual author of the text, with the endless cultural context” (Bakhtin, 1972).

The journalist’s procedure of reality reproduction always has a sociocultural and ethnopsychological component of interpretation, ethical and moral statements that contain knowledge. Communicative and sociocultural aspects of adequacy and credibility are bound to take into consideration cultural and historical forms of people’s mentality and rootedness in the traditions or transitivity of moral values and norms. As never before the intellectual work of journalists should implement the

methodological idea called “the Hume’s principle” – a “logical banning to produce a judgment of obligation from a judgment of fact”.

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MULTIMEDIA TEXT IN JOURNALISM: AN ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN MASS MEDIA

МУЛЬТИМЕДИЙНЫЙ ТЕКСТ В ЖУРНАЛИСТИКЕ: АНАЛИЗ РОССИЙСКИХ И АМЕРИКАНСКИХ СМИ

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This article presents the results of a complex analysis of the multimedia content of U.S. and Russian media outlets. The research aims to distinguish specific features of multimedia stories as a new type of media text. The results of the research point to the fact that multimedia, as a special technique for presenting information, can be used in various genres. The author challenges the myth that multimedia cannot be used in the creation of analytical journalistic materials.

Key words: *multimedia journalism; multimedia text; polyphony of reality; multimodality of perception.*

В статье даны результаты комплексного анализа мультимедийного контента российских и американских СМИ. Проведенное исследование направлено на выявление специфических черт мультимедийных историй как нового типа медиатекстов. Результаты работы указывают на то, что мультимедиа как

особая техника подачи информации может использоваться в разных жанрах. Автор также пытается развеять миф о том, что мультимедийность не может использоваться при создании аналитических журналистских материалов.

Ключевые слова: мультимедийная журналистика; мультимедиа; полифония реальности; мультимодальность восприятия.

Introduction

Contemporary mass media are trying to convey their messages using a variety of sign systems. Technical innovations in the field of communication have affected the media immensely. Traditional media develop Internet versions and upload various content in order to follow the trend and keep pace with rapidly developing online portals. As a result, we see the emergence of a new field — internet journalism. It has the same functions as the mass media during the “pre-digital age”, however, it uses new expressive means.

Multimedia have become a common feature of media products in the online era. At the same time, not all works published on the web-pages of mass media outlets can be described as multimedia. We find there a lot of static texts and illustrations, which are very much the same as in analogue print media. Real multimedia content is characterized by several distinct features: modularity, interactivity, hypertextuality, non-hierarchical structure and a combination of a variety of sign systems (Van Dijk, 2004).

Although multimedia journalism is a widespread topic in media studies, there are very few research studies that adopt a profoundly theoretical approach to these phenomena. Most academic studies are devoted to technical characteristics of multimedia. There is, however, another problem. A number of theorists and practitioners express certain skepticism towards multimedia products. Some of them even compare

such products to a segmented patchwork, united only by the Internet. However, this is entirely untrue and contradicts the very concept of multi-media.

In order to achieve a deeper understanding of multimedia as a phenomenon used in journalism, we turned to different multimedia stories published on the web-sites of Russian and U.S. media. Our attention was drawn to this format in particular as it is gaining popularity and, according to many practitioners, represents the height of the creative endeavor in any convergent newsroom.

Hypothesis and methodology of research

Before starting research, we developed the following hypothesis:

Multimedia materials are oriented towards the reproduction of the so-called “polyphony of reality” and are designed with regard to the special feature of human perception called multimodality.

We will attempt to define these two terms, which have not as yet been introduced into the theory of communication.

Polyphony of reality is a characteristic of the objective world, which disseminates information using different channels (visual, auditory, tactile, gustatory and olfactory).

This specific characteristic of the objective world has never previously been described terminologically, but it has been noticed by many scholars from different fields of study. We should note that the famous Soviet psychologist A. N. Leontyev spoke of a phenomenon close to this one. He introduced the term “image of the world”, which he defined in the following way:

“The world doesn’t consist of light, colors, vibrations...warmth, cold... It has its’ characteristics and is represented in these properties... only in the process of world perception through these modalities ... i.e. not as a complex of sensations, but as a reality, which “speaks” of itself in the languages of these sensory modalities” (Leontyev, 1975).

It should be stated that the term “polyphony” has a long history and has been used in different fields before it was introduced to the field of communication studies. Obviously, initial usage was connected with musicology, where this term had the following meaning:

“Polyphony – a type of harmonized music, which is based on the simultaneous development of two or more melodies (voices)” (Vasyukova, 2001).

From the field of musicology the term was introduced in literary studies. In his famous work the theorist M. M. Bakhtin defined a polyphonic novel as a novel, which is dialogical and presents “several independent voices” (Bakhtin, 1994). Later, the term attained a broader philosophical status and gradually was adopted by communication scholars. Nonetheless, usage of the word is still random.

The term multimodality of perception is more widely used in research and is a common notion for contemporary psychologists. It can be defined as follows:

Multimodality of perception – the capacity of human beings to receive information about the outer world using all end-organs (visual, auditory, tactile, gustatory and olfactory).

Elaborating on our hypothesis, we should make a significant clarification. In the world of media addressing several senses at one time is not a novelty. The case of TV, for example, can be considered a prototype of multimedia. Furthermore, even print texts with descriptive writing may appeal to several senses, although only through recourse to imagination. In short, multimedia is not unique in this respect. We should also note that multimedia has a long history, and that the combination of sound, image, text etc. has been used for decades in culture and communication. However, contemporary digital multimedia products have several advantages and differences in comparison to older forms. They allow the interactive usage of these products and produce a stronger immersive experience¹.

¹ The article is based on a wider research study, where print media with descriptive writing and multimedia were analyzed in order to prove that both forms may convey polyphony of reality and may address different senses.

In order to test the hypothesis above, and to consider different aspects of multimedia in journalism, we conducted a complex analysis of ten multimedia stories: 5 materials from the Russian news agency *RIA novosti* and 5 materials published on the site of the U.S. newspaper *The New York Times*. All of them corresponded to the regular definition of a multimedia story: journalistic material presented in a non-linear form with the use of various media platforms – verbal text, audiovisual means – which thus create a multidimensional picture of the event or topic covered (Loseva, 2010).

The specific choice of empirical material was determined by several factors. We wanted to show that multimedia materials can be used on various media platforms. The use of multimedia means is not confined to a specific media type. The online environment allows any kind of media outlet to create stories using multimedia storytelling. The influence of convergence on different media leads to the fact that newspapers, wire agencies and TV channels use the same multimedia genres such as audio slide shows, photo galleries etc. The usage of one special format in all the cases (in each multimedia story) helps avoid methodological difficulties. We should note that in our research study we are analyzing the **online content** of newspapers and a wire agency. All the materials represent a media text, and thus justify a comparison of the two.

The inclusion of materials from a foreign media outlet is connected with the fact that in Russian contemporary media practice multimedia stories are not that widely used.

The total number of materials can be explained by the main goals of our research, as we were charged with conducting a very thorough analysis of each media text and finding marked regularities in their creation. Each journalistic material was analyzed with regard to the topic it touches upon, its genre, its composition, the particularities of the disposition of different elements of the story on the web-page, and the meaning of each part of the story.

The second stage of analysis was concerned with the polyphonic nature of each multimedia product. We tried to define what means are used to convey different kinds of sensory information (visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory and tactile). All the data were documented in Table 1.

Table 1

Matrix of the research work

Means of conveying	Sensory impressions				
	Visual	Auditory	Gustatory	Olfactory	Tactile
Audio	-	3*	-	-	-
Video	6	4	-	-	-
Photo	5	-	-	-	-
Infographics	6	-	-	-	-
Verbal text	6	5	4	2	3

**The numbers signify how many different sensory impressions were conveyed.*

Results

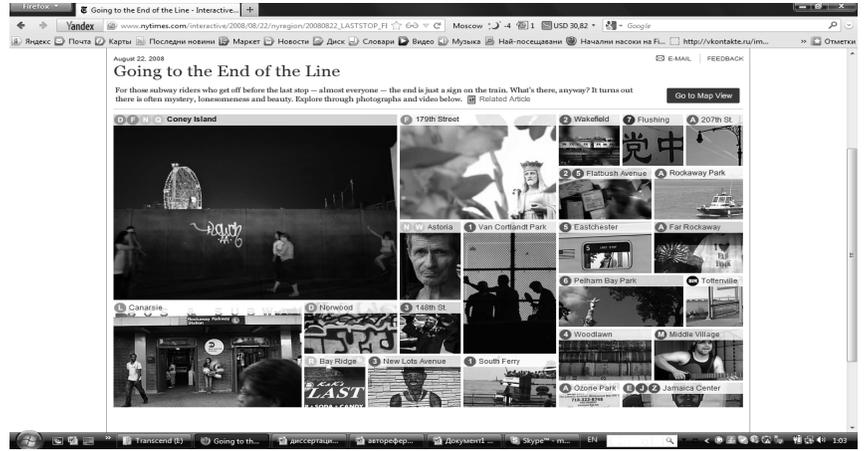
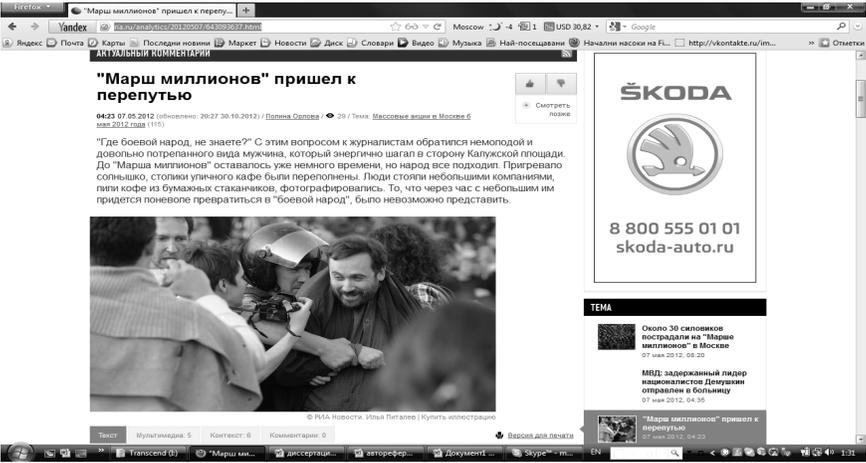
Analysis of ten selected multimedia stories from the newspaper *The New York Times* and the news agency *RIA novosti* allowed us to prove our hypothesis; however, it was specified and made more exact. We also managed to come to another very important conclusion. As the analysis shows, multimedia content preserves all the features of a journalistic story regardless of its novelty and apparent unconventional method of information presentation.

Moreover, we prove that multimedia materials can be used in various genre forms. Despite its evident orientation towards entertainment, multimedia content may be used in an analytical manner. This was shown in the analysis of both U.S. and Russian media texts. It also should be noted that not all genres are equally convertible into a multimedia material. For example, a feature story may be visualized easily. However, a report from a press conference may not represent good material for a multimedia piece. Besides, it is important to highlight that the composition and structure of a multimedia story are highly dependent on the specific features of the concrete story, as reported. There are no universal solutions when it comes to

constructing a multimedia piece. For instance, one story may consist of two photo-galleries, one embedded video and one static photo and another story may be comprised of four separate photos, one video and an audio podcast. This also applies to the representation of the story on the web-page.

Figure 1

The structure of different multimedia stories from The New York Times and RIA novosti



As we can see from the figures above, the interfaces and the composition may be different: very standard and straightforward or more complicated and whimsical.

We also found out that the usage of multimedia leaves an imprint on the methods of the journalistic work, the structure of a material and the expressive means used. All the media texts analyzed had distinct features. Their design was based on a modular principle, in addition to which they were highly interactive.

It should be stated that work with multimedia content requires from a journalist not only special technical skills, but also the ability to visualize information, to see this or that situation in various dimensions, bearing in mind the strong and weak points of each medium (verbal text, audio materials, video clips and photos). This brings to the fore the role of a multimedia editor, who should possess the above-mentioned skills and qualities, but also should be able to formulate the correspondent's task in a clear manner and to construct a multimedia story in a professional way. In this respect a multimedia reporter or editor is well served by having a directorial vision. In the course of our research we came to the conclusion that multimedia materials bring together the expressive means of all previous types of mass media (print text, radio material, TV report) and are oriented towards information visualization.

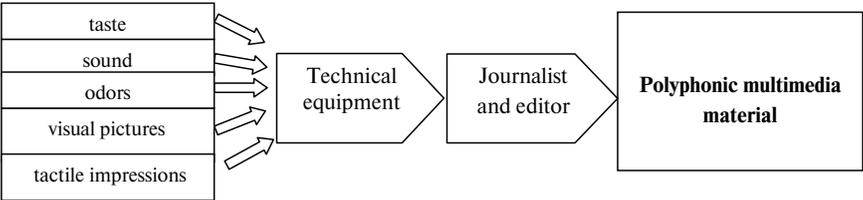
Another important point that, although multimedia journalism changes the specific characteristics of journalistic work, transforming the creative process immensely, it is oriented towards the same basic rules that are common for quality journalism in general – accuracy, objectivity and information balance.

Analysis of empirical material from the U.S. publication *The New York Times* showed that foreign media are more experienced in creating multimedia content (this is evident based on the comparative analysis of the structure of the materials of *RIA novosti* and *The New York Times*, their content, etc.) As a result of different experimentation, we may see the emergence of different hybrid-genres. However, their analysis was not included in the list of our goals.

Polyphony of reality as a special feature of the objective world is conveyed with the help of various multimedia techniques. At the same time the very products conveying polyphony become polyphonic. This process is quite complex. At first the whole variety of sensory impressions is transformed to a digital format with the help of special equipment (video recorder, sound recorder, photo camera, etc.) After the digitalization of the impressions, we receive something that can be called a digital imprint of reality. Then the editors and journalists select the most interesting material and construct a multimedia material. As a result, a whole variety of sensory impressions is transformed into a new media material and coded in different sign systems.

Figure 2

The process of creating multimedia content



You may note that the following scheme could be applied to works created previously on TV. But if we analyze the process of multimedia creation, we may see some differences. They are quite obvious if we look at the process of creating multimedia products in contemporary convergent newsrooms. With the advent of new technologies, multimedia editors and multimedia reporters have managed to create stronger immersive experiences for the audience.

It should be stated that multimedia materials still cannot reflect the whole variety of impression a person faces in everyday life. For example, gustatory and olfactory impressions can be expressed only in the text and reproduced by the imagination. However, this doesn't contradict our hypothesis. Multimodality of perception doesn't mean that we always

use all five senses. In this case, “multi” means many, i.e. more than one. The same applies to polyphony of reality, which implies that the world around us consists of different sign systems. Clearly, multimedia doesn’t use all sign systems, but it definitely uses more than one, employing a variety of sign systems.

The reproduction of the polyphony of reality is not a goal in itself, but a means to achieve specific results. Multimedia materials create a sense of presence for the Internet user. Besides, a multimedia story in most cases cannot be created without on- the-spot reporting, which means that journalist must go to the place where the story unfolds. One may argue that this all applies to any kind of reporting. But we assert that, with the advent of the Internet, journalists tend to use more and more wire services in their work and archive footage instead of primary sources and exclusive video materials. Multimedia stories imply that journalists need to turn to primary sources, which makes the material more objective and emotionally charged.

Having analyzed all the journalistic texts, we found that the reasons for turning to multimedia as a technique may differ significantly. We identified six basic reasons:

1. Forming a feeling of presence at the scene;
2. Achieving empathy;
3. Achieving the “hook” effect;
4. Telling a complicated story using a technique easy for perception;
5. Underlining the factual accuracy and trueness of the story;
6. Highlighting the story is exclusive.

The last motive is used not in all multimedia materials, as some of them are created with UGC (user generated content).

In our research we also came to challenge the myth, that multimedia may not be used for creating profound analytical materials. If a journalist wants to create a high-quality piece of content and is guided by the principles of balance, objectivity and completeness of information, then he may use multimedia technique to achieve this goal.

In conclusion, we note that in contemporary Russian internet journalism multimedia is used mainly for entertainment purposes. However, as the results of our next paper will show, multimedia as a technique may be used for creating high-quality content in various genres for the achievement of different results. An orientation towards the reproduction of the polyphony of reality allows the journalist to show the Internet user not only how to make snapshots of life, but also how to capture things that lie beneath the surface.

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