

Faculty of Journalism
Lomonosov Moscow State University

National Association of Mass Media Researchers

World of Media

Journal of Russian Media and Journalism Studies

2016

Edited by Elena L. Vartanova

Moscow, 2016



Elena L. Vartanova (ed.)

World of Media

Journal of Russian Media and Journalism Studies

Editor-in-chief: Elena Vartanova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Executive editor: Anna Gladkova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Editorial board:

Alexander Chernov, Cherepovets State University, Russia

Iosif Dzyaloshinsky, National Research University – Higher School of Economics, Russia

Boris Lozovsky, Ural Federal University, Russia

Mikhail Makeenko, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Anatoly Puyu, St-Petersburg State University, Russia

Svetlana Bodrunova, St-Petersburg State University, Russia

Galina Schepilova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Lyudmila Shesterkina, South Ural State University, Russia

Olga Smirnova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Dmitry Strovsky, Ural Federal University, Russia

Yassen Zassoursky, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Irina Zhilavskaya, Sholokhov Moscow State University for Humanities, Russia

Janusz Adamowski, University of Warsaw, Poland

Patrik Åker, Södertörn University, Sweden

Nico Carpentier, Free University of Brussels, Belgium

Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska, University of Wrocław, Poland

Michael Freund, Webster University, Vienna, Austria

Gregory Goldenzwaig, Södertörn University, Sweden

Daniel C. Hallin, University of California, San Diego, USA

Galiya Ibrayeva, Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan

Henrikas Iouchkiavitchious, Adviser to Director-General, UNESCO

Paolo Mancini, University of Perugia, Italy

Denis McQuail, University of Southampton, Great Britain

Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, Humboldt University, Germany

Hannu Nieminen, University of Helsinki, Finland

Katja Lehtisaari, University of Helsinki, Finland

Kaarle Nordenstreng, University of Tampere, Finland

Pal Tamas, Institute of Sociology – Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Jens Wendland, FRDIP Institute, Germany

Editors: Ivan Aslanov, Zarina Guseynova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Designer: Elena Sirotna, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Cover designer: Arina Balantseva, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Assistance in editing English language texts was rendered by Professor Julie de Sherbinin, Colby College (USA), and Colby students who interned at the Faculty of Journalism, MSU, through support from the Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement, William Qualey and Megan Labbe

First published in 2016 by the Non-Commercial Partnership “National Association of Mass Media Researchers” in cooperation with the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University

Printed in Moscow, Russia
9 Mokhovaya, Moscow, 125009, Russia

ISSN 2307-1605

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

© 2016 Elena L. Vartanova, for selection and editorial matter
individual chapters © the contributors

Editorial Scope

The journal *World of Media* is affiliated with the National Association of Mass Media Researchers (NAMMI).

The journal *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
- Business journalism

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: (Shoemaker, 1991: 115–120).

The manuscript should be typed in 1,5-spacing on one side of the paper only, using Times New Roman 12 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 or .docx) should be sent to the e-mail address **worldofmedia@mail.ru**

The submission deadline for *World of Media-2017* is **September 15, 2016**.

Examples of References:

- **Books in English:** Shoemaker, P. J. (1991). *Communication Concepts 3: Gatekeeping*. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage.
- **Articles in English:** Althusser, L. (2000) Ideology Interpellates Individuals as Subjects. *Identity: A Reader*. London: SAGE Publ. p. 31–38.
- **Books in Russian:** Korkonosenko, S. G. (2011) *Vvedenie v zhurnalistiku* [Introduction to Journalism]. Moscow: KnoRus.
- **Articles in Russian:** Vartanova, E. L. (2012) O neobkhodimosti modernizatsii konceptzii zhurnalistiki i SMI [On the Need to Update the Concepts of Journalism and Media]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Seriya 10. Zhurnalistika*. 1. p. 7–26.
- **Book chapters:** Mcchesney, R. U. S. (2000) Media at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. In: McChesney, R. W. & Scott, B. (eds.). *Our Unfree Press: 100 years of Radical Media Criticism*. New Press. p. 60–75.
- **Internet source:** Olkhovaya, T. (2015) *Innovatsionnaya zhurnalistika – pervii shag na puti k innovatsionnomu obshchestvu* [Innovation Journalism: The First Step Towards an Innovative Society]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.regionpr.ru/page402.html> on [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

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**

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE	7
----------------------------	---

LEAD ARTICLE

Characteristics of the Content of Russian Local Newspapers (Sociological Study) <i>Luiza Svitich, Olga Smirnova,</i> <i>Alla Shiriaeva, Mikhail Shkondin</i>	13
---	----

ARTICLES

State Informational Contracts as a Mechanism of Control of Regional Media Markets in Russia <i>Olga Dovbysh</i>	63
---	----

Coverage of India on the ABC, CBS and NBC Evening News Programs, 1969–2000 <i>Anthony Moretti</i>	87
---	----

Lobbying for Social Change: A Challenge <i>Olivier Arifon</i>	119
--	-----

Cognitive Potential of Framing and Attribute Agenda-setting Theories (Exemplified by “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” Coverage of the Conflict in Southeast Ukraine) <i>Alexander Kazakov, Boris Shestov</i>	147
--	-----

The Transformation of Popular Science Journalism <i>Alla Teplyashina, Natalia Pavlushkina</i>	167
--	-----

Russian Media in Teleological Perspective as a Methodological Challenge: Reconstructing Goals for Understanding Effects <i>Viktor Khroul</i>	191
---	-----

CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Participation of the Public in Social Development: the Role of Media <i>Iosif Dzyaloshinsky, Marina Dzyaloshinskaya</i>	209
---	-----

REVIEW

Media System Aspects of Synergy Analysis (Review of the Book “Media System of Russia”) <i>Irina Demina, Mikhail Shkondin</i>	237
--	-----

CONFERENCE REPORT

Report on the Annual Conference of the International Media Management Academic Association (IMMAA) in 2015 <i>Anna Gladkova</i>	247
---	-----

EDITOR'S NOTE

Dear authors, reviewers and readers of the *World of Media* journal,

It gives me a great pleasure to welcome you to the current edition of *World of Media*, for which I have acted as editor-in-chief.

This journal has been published since 2009. Since then it has proved to be an effective platform for sharing knowledge, ideas and experiences among Russian scholars and everyone interested in Russian media and communication studies. The journal's close affiliation with the *National Association of Mass Media Researchers (NAMMI)* makes the journal an important means of establishing common academic ground for Russian researchers today.

In *World of Media* we strive to publish articles of the highest quality that present outcomes of original research, both empirical and theoretical. The rigorous blind peer-review process and the meticulous care taken in editing and production by the staff at Lomonosov Moscow State University ensure the journal's place as a premier venue for scholarly publishing in media and journalism.

We are fortunate to be supported by a highly professional editorial board from Russia and foreign countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Kazakhstan, Poland, Sweden, and U.S.A. Their professional expertise and deep knowledge of the subject ensure that the articles accepted for publication are of a high quality and originality. For the last few years we have also had pleasure of collaborating with students from Colby College (U.S.A.) in editing English-language texts for the journal under the supervision of Professor Julie De Sherbinin. Let me express my sincere gratitude to editors, reviewers, publishers and other supporters who work on *World of Media* and contribute to its development.

In 2016, we decided to change the traditional structure of the journal, moving from the division of articles into particular theme clusters to a more generalized structure (editor's note, lead article, articles, contemporary debate, reviews and overview of the latest events in the field of mass media and communications, i.e. academic conferences, forums and much more). We believe that this type of structure is more compatible with the journal's aims and research policy and hope that the authors and reviewers will favor this change in the structure of the journal.

The current issue features one lead article – *“Characteristics of the Content of Russian Local Newspapers (Sociological Study)”* by L. Svitich, O. Smirnova, A. Shiriaeva and M. Shkondin (Lomonosov Moscow State University), which analyzes newspapers in medium-sized and small towns in Russia, discussing their themes, problematics of publications, data sources used, genres, headlines and much more.

The articles included in the *World of Media 2016* edition represent both empirical and theoretical research conducted by authors from various cities and institutions. The paper *“State Informational Contracts as a Mechanism of Control on Regional Media Markets in Russia”* by O. Dovbysh (Higher School of Economics) discusses state informational contracts as a tool of alternative financing in Russia. O. Arifon (Free University of Brussels) examines different methods of lobbying and proposes indicators to evaluate the efficiency of NGOs' campaigns in his paper *“Lobbying for Social Change: A Challenge”*. A. Kazakov and B. Shestov (Saratov State University) reflect on the way newspapers in different countries cover the conflict in southeast Ukraine and underline the role of framing and agenda-setting theories in this coverage (*“Cognitive Potential of Framing and Attribute Agenda-setting Theories (Exemplified by “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” Coverage of the Conflict*

in southeast Ukraine)”). A. Moretti (Robert Morris University) offers a comparative analysis of the coverage of India on the U.S. evening news programs in his study “*Coverage of India on the ABC, CBS and NBC Evening News Programs, 1969-2000*”, showing that a strong majority of stories suggested India was either not safe or not stable; thus, bad news dominated, regardless of whether the U.S. administration had favorable or unfavorable relations with its Indian counterpart. Researchers A. Teplyashina and N. Pavlushkina (St. Petersburg State University) speak about deontological values of popular science journalism in their paper “*The Transformation of Popular Science Journalism*”. Last but not least, the study by V. Khroul (Lomonosov Moscow State University) “*Russian Media in Teleological Perspective as a Methodological Challenge: Reconstructing Goals for Understanding Effects*” touch upon issues of media effects, a teleological approach to journalism, teleological normative models of social dialogue optimization and much more.

The contemporary debate section features a paper by I. Dzyaloshinsky and M. Dzyaloshinskaya (Higher School of Economics) “*Participation of the Public in Social Development: the Role of Media*”, which discusses the so-called transfer from media support to media collaboration and its role in the organization of public participation in social development.

The issue also includes a review of the recently published monograph “*Media System of Russia*” edited by E. Vartanova (Lomonosov Moscow State University), which was produced by M. Shkondin (Lomonosov Moscow State University) and I. Demina (Baikal State University). Finally, the issue includes a report about the annual conference of the International Media Management Academic Association (IMMAA) organized in Moscow in 2015. The report was prepared by A. Gladkova (Lomonosov Moscow

State University), secretary of the local organizing committee and member of IMMMAA's advisory board.

Our aims for the next edition remain straightforward: to process and review manuscript submissions in a timely fashion, to publish as swiftly as possible the results of recent communication and mass media research, and to encourage the submission of thought-provoking and interpretive articles. Additionally, we welcome the more experimental ideas of younger scholars and hope to expand our international outreach.

Lastly, I thank all of the submitting authors who have toiled in the production of their work and chosen *World of Media* as the journal in which to publish.

*Best regards,
Professor Elena Vartanova,
Editor-in-Chief,
Lomonosov Moscow State University*

LEAD ARTICLE



CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTENT OF LOCAL RUSSIAN NEWSPAPERS

КОНТЕНТ РОССИЙСКИХ МЕСТНЫХ ГАЗЕТ

***Luiza G. Svitich**, Doctor of Philology,
Senior Researcher, Chair of Periodical Press,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
svitichb@yandex.ru*

***Луиза Григорьевна Свитич**, доктор филологических наук,
старший научный сотрудник, кафедра периодической печати,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
svitichb@yandex.ru*

***Olga V. Smirnova**, PhD in Philology,
Associate Professor, Chair of Periodical Press,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
smirnova.olga@smi.msu.ru*

***Ольга Владимировна Смирнова**, кандидат филологических наук,
доцент, кафедра периодической печати,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
smirnova.olga@smi.msu.ru*

***Alla A. Shiriaeva**, PhD in Philology,
Associate Professor, Chair of Sociology of Mass Communication,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
kafsoc@yandex.ru*

Алла Александровна Ширяева, кандидат филологических наук,
доцент, кафедры социологии массовых коммуникаций,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
kafsoc@yandex.ru

Mikhail V. Shkondin, Doctor of Philology,
Professor, Chair of Periodical Press,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
skond@mail.ru

Михаил Васильевич Шкондин, доктор филологических наук,
профессор, кафедра периодической печати,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
skond@mail.ru

This article presents the results of content analysis of newspapers in small and medium-sized Russian towns. The study focuses on themes, problems in publication, and communicative characteristics of content: subjects and objects of publications, subjects of opinions, used data sources, genres, headlines and illustrations as ways to attract readers' attention. The results obtained are compared to the findings of the earlier opinion survey of editors involved in the respective aspects of editorial activities. The analysis showed that the thematic and genre diversity of periodicals is rather wide and corresponds to their functional specifics. But the editors' vision of the desired content model is not implemented in full, and this is mainly connected to the economic conditions of editorial offices, limited human resources, and lack of employee professionalism.

Key words: *local press, media space, thematic model, communicative characteristics of media content, newspapers' genres.*

В данной статье представлены результаты контент-анализа газет в малых и средних городах России. Исследование сосредоточено на выявлении тем и проблем в публикациях, а также на коммуникативных характеристиках контента: субъектах и объектах публикации, субъектах мнения, источниках информации, жанрах, заголовках и иллюстрациях как инструментах привлечения читательского внимания. Полученные результаты сопоставляются с выводами ранее проведенного опроса главных редакторов. Анализ продемонстрировал, что материалы прессы обладают широким тематическим и жанровым разнообразием, которое связано с функциональной спецификой изданий. Однако редакторское представление о желаемой контент-модели не реализуется полностью, и это во многом связано с экономическими условиями, ограниченностью человеческих ресурсов и недостатком профессионализма сотрудников.

Ключевые слова: *местная пресса, медиaprостранство, тематическая модель, коммуникативные характеристики медиаконтента, газетные жанры.*

Methodological Base and Program of the Study

The Periodical Press Chair of the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University is cooperating with the Laboratory to study current challenges of journalism and implement the project “Newspapers of small and medium-sized Russian towns in the 2010s.” The study has been performed in two stages. In 2013-14

editors and journalists were surveyed¹, and in 2014-15 an analytical study of newspapers and their general content in medium-sized and small towns was performed.

The importance of the project was substantiated both in general and in detail in articles and through the authors' publications (Svitich, Smirnova, Shiriaeva, Shkondin, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, etc.). Below are the main arguments in brief.

The importance of such a complex study is connected to the fact that medium-sized and small towns traditionally have been of great importance to Russia. They are important not only for urban agglomeration, but for suburbs, because they are the centers of social, business and cultural life in the region. Municipal bodies, cultural, educational, medical and trade establishments and institutions, as well as transport infrastructure are located in cities. Medium-sized and small towns are the custodians of Russian history, folk culture, crafts, traditions and customs. Unfortunately, many cities are now in poor economic condition.

The local newspaper editions have their niche in a functional and thematic respect. First of all, they deliver information on local events to their audience. Currently, the localization is mostly performed through local media: regional, urban, and district. City editions play an important role in the lives of small and medium-sized towns. Nothing can substitute them in this respect. Sometimes

¹ During the first stage of the study, editors and journalists of 66 newspapers in 26 administrative units of all Russian Federation constituent entities were polled. The standpoints and orientations of employees involved in the production of newspapers of small and medium-sized Russian towns were analyzed: functions, content, genre structure; convergent processes; relations with audience, founders and owners; status and economic conditions of editions; situation with human resources; problems and prospects of local press development (project managers: O.V. Smirnova and M.V. Shkondin, authors and supervisors of procedures L.G. Svitich and A.A. Shiriaeva).

they are the only source of information about town and district life. Local news' interest in them is a prerequisite for their particular usefulness and viability.

In provincial towns local newspapers *carry out the vital mission of preserving journalism, keeping it close to communities, respecting their needs and desires, and ensuring journalistic content is oriented on basic Russian values*. Local newspapers are expected and able to operatively inform their communities about local problems and engage civil society in the discussion of such problems and possible solutions.

The main focus of the study was the content of local editions. Local editions accomplish the very important tasks of local community consolidation, and developing the economic, social, and cultural potential of towns and districts. They also serve to foster solutions to certain problems relevant to their readers – a task in which they are successful. A detailed analysis of their practice, including the analysis of their content in comparison to the results of the editors' and journalists' survey can improve efficiency of such newspapers.

The content was an *object* of the study at the second stage of the project.

The study *aimed* to analyze the basic characteristics of the content and layout of specific varieties of newspapers.

The implementation of functional and content models of these editions results in the creation of a *media picture*. Presented to the audience, they serve to reflect the main aspects of daily living activities of particular social and territorial locations (activities of local authorities, self-administration, economics, culture, education, social support, leisure and household, etc.), activities of main establishments, institutions and production facilities; lives of different social strata and groups; and the most acute and important problems, taking into consideration the current situation of the towns and the status of their citizens.

The concept of “media picture” has been widely used in the scientific environment lately. As stated in medialogy works, a media picture developed by mass media is a comprehensive formation. It must have certain important characteristics (see, for example, Rogozina, 2013). These characteristics are primarily related to the diversity and relevancy of the presented reality. The main object of media picture is to prevent any distortion of facts, phenomena or processes. When full and objective, the presented media picture minimizes inconsistency between the audience’s real vision, in this case about the city life, their daily experience, and the way it is presented in media. Experience and knowledge, which are formed in the course of daily living activities, subject to adequate presentation in media pictures developed in periodicals, help to diversify the behavioral patterns of the representatives of local governing authorities and citizens for the purpose of their positive influence on the town and community life. Its most important effect is informational and educational (Rogozina, 2003; Shkondin, 2013). Its value-oriented role is not less important.

Media picture is developed based on the *media content* offered to audiences. This term has been widely used in modern communication, science, and medialogy. The terms “media content” and “media product” were separated because they are frequently erroneously used as synonymic, which demonstrates that the typology of media content has been developed (Kolomiets, 2014).

Various areas of journalism, genre forms and the kinds of journalist content have been differentiated (Lazutina & Raspopova, 2011), which is very important in the context of our study. Media content offers integrity and plurality. In media content the needs, values, and standpoints of various participants of informational and communicative processes – namely: journalists, heads of editorial offices, founders, owners, and audience (not only as consumers

of information, but as participants of content production) – are always reflected, though to a different extent. This is an important methodological provision, which allows us to adequately interpret the results of the media content analysis of researched newspapers.

The metafactors, which have globally changed the media content, are processes taking place across the world, the country, and the media system (Vartanova, 2013), including the digital revolution (Smirnova, 2013). The factors that determine the process of developing the content of particular editions are the level of professionalism of journalists, the mastery of new digital technologies, the level of professional independence, the access to data sources, and the quality of editorial management. The environment, in which the content of particular mass media is developed, is also important, particularly the economic condition, human resources, the administrative condition, and the material and technical base. Such factors and conditions must be taken into account to adequately interpret the results of media content analysis, in our case – the content of municipal newspapers.

The cumulative media content comprises constant flows of media texts of various types (separate publications), which are the atomic elements of media content. The concept of media text, as well as media content, are principal in mediology. Currently the theory of media text claims to occupy an independent niche in general textology, which has long-standing traditions and refers to the study of text formation principles.

The works of T. G. Dobrosklonskaya, in which the researcher goes far beyond the main research aspect and media linguistics (Dobrosklonskaya, 2005), as well as M. V. Chicherina, who studies media text in the context of media education issues (Chicherina, 2007), were very useful for the development of this study's methodology. Another important characteristic of media text with respect to

media picture and media content is its relevancy to described facts, phenomena, and processes (Misonzhnikov, 2000; Lashchuk, 2011).

In theoretical publications devoted to media text, its types and characteristics are differentiated according to the distribution channel, functional and pragmatic role, sign and genre form, authorship type and other aspects. The available theoretical base allows its efficient use not only for media texts formation, but for applied media research, in particular, the one we perform.

Using available approaches, in the present study we set the *objective to study the following parameters of texts*, published in newspapers of small and medium-sized towns: theme, problem, locality, genre structure, authors' team, opinion subjects, sources of data used in publications, objects of publications, character of headlines, character of illustrations, theme and genre of formal materials, type, and character of advertising materials.

As we know, media text is studied using qualitative and quantitative strategies. Since the objective of this study was to analyze the content of newspaper texts of small and medium-sized towns as an instant flow of information within a certain period of time, the methodology of content analysis was chosen as the most relevant because it was logical, systematic, offered accurate measurements and was able to process large quantities of texts (Semenova & Korsunskaya , 2010; Barsanova , 2006; Pashinyan, 2012).

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was supplemented by a text analysis of particular editions (case study).

A publication was determined as an analyzed unit, the frequency of a publication's appearance with set parameters (not taking into account the occupied print space) was determined an accounted unit.

The *sampling* was made on the basis of newspapers, the employees of which had taken part in the opinion poll during the first stage of the study. The participation of different regions and administrative units

of the Russian Federation was pursued – editions from nine regions and republics, as well as from six federal districts were represented in the study. Newspapers with different frequency and founders' types (state, municipal, private) were chosen. As a result, 10 newspapers, published in 10 towns, were analyzed during the study, including 4 newspapers of medium-sized towns and 6 newspapers of small towns (fewer than 50 ths. people) in the percentage composition, comparable to the sampling for the survey of editorial staff.

All publications of the chosen newspapers for the period of October – December 2013 were coded. This was the particular period when the survey of editors and journalists was conducted. The aim was to compare the results of content analysis to the data obtained during the editorial staff survey as correctly as possible. In general, 17,362 text and illustrative materials were coded. According to the content structure, 22.4% of editorial and journalistic publications, 9.7% of formal materials, 13.2% illustrations and 46.7% of advertising materials were presented.

Thematic and Problematic Structure of Content

The concepts of “media picture” and “media text” were methodologically important in this stage of the study. The analysis of the first stage's results – the editors and journalists survey (Svitich, Smirnova, Shiriaeva, Shkondin, 2015) – showed that editors and journalists were well aware of the problems in their towns and the interests and needs of local residents; that was why they set forth the dominants in the **content and thematic model** of editions in accordance with the most important, including adverse, aspects of life in small and medium-sized towns, which is natural, taking into account the real conditions in such towns (*Table 1*).

Table 1

**The answers of editors and journalists to the question:
 “To what extent is the coverage
 of the below topics important in your newspaper?”
 (in % of the total number of respondents)**

Results of content analysis (in % of the number of publications)

Topics <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Opinion survey results		Content analysis results	
	Highly important topic, %	Rank	%	Rank
Housing and utilities infrastructure, condition and performance of utilities	86	1	7.5	9
Construction, repair of roads, other utilities	81	2	1.8	22
Construction, repair of municipal housing	79	3	2.0	21
Performance of municipal authorities	76	4-5	12.4	2
Health care sector (availability of medical institutions, human resources, remuneration, equipment, quality of health care services, etc.)	76	4-5	4.4	12
Transportation services, town traffic performance	74	6	2.9	17
Education sector (availability and status of educational establishments, human resources, quality of education, development of vocational training, etc.)	71	7-8	8.8	6
Social support (pensioners, disabled citizens, large families, etc.)	71	7-8	6.6	8
Police performance, fight against crime	67	9	10.6	4
Development of industrial sector, production enterprises, medium and small-sized business	66	10	4.3	13
Urban economy in general	63	11	2.5	19

Topics <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Opinion survey results		Content analysis results	
	Highly important topic, %	Rank	%	Rank
Cultural sector (availability of cultural establishments, human resources, material and technical, financial conditions, etc.)	61	12	9.0	5
Environment, provision of public amenities, landscaping of towns	60	13	2.9	18
Employment, development of the labor market, creation of new jobs	56	14	1.3	23
Local (municipal) self-administration	54	15	5.7	11
Family issues, parenting	50	16	6.2	10
Moral and ethical issues	49	17-18	3.3	14
Youth issues	49	17-18	3.1	15
Sports, physical education, leisure, tourism, and recreation	48	19	16.2	1
Agriculture, backyard farming	46	20	3.1	16
Accidents, criminal cases	44	21	10.8	3
Performance of commercial institutions (availability of goods, price policy, trade culture, etc.)	39	22	2.4	20
History, ethnography, folk crafts, touristic potential of the town	38	23	7.5	7

If we analyze the first indexed “very important topic” in the thematic model, we see that the editorial staff considers the below topics related to the everyday life of a town and its residents as high-priority (from 60 to 86% of responses): housing and utilities, construction and maintenance of municipal housing, roads, performance of municipal traffic, environment, provision of urban amenities, social support, employment and finances, human

resources for educational, medical and cultural institutions, that means that these are particularly the topics, which the residents of such towns consider urgent and challenging and which must be in the focus of newspapers. The editorial staff also acknowledges the importance of activities of local authorities, law enforcement agencies and the fight with crime. Urban economy, the development of the industrial sector, production enterprises, small and medium-sized businesses, employment, the development of the labor market, and the creation of new jobs also belong to the category of strategic issues, because of the crisis situation in such sectors in small and medium-sized towns.

Nevertheless, the comparison of the vision of editors and journalists of such newspapers about the expected (normative to a certain extent) thematic model with the findings of content analysis study, meaning with the actual content, definitely reveals considerable discrepancies between the model and the actual content structure for a number of thematic positions. The content analysis revealed that the first positions were occupied by publications on the local authorities' activities, which were ranked high in the thematic model characterized by the editorial staff, but were not of the foremost priority (4-5 position). This can be explained by the newspapers' proximity to local authorities and the orientation on the implementation of their program, though it is not rare that local authorities "usurp" media resources, converting them into a tool for information servicing to its agencies.

If we combine such positions of the codification system as "leisure" (8.3 %) and "sports" (7.9 %), as it was in the questionnaire for editors and journalists, we see that this topic dominates among others and accounts for 16.2 % references. At the same time the leisure topic was ranked only 20-th among the most important topics. The third place in the actual content was occupied by the

criminal theme, which was placed on the 22-nd position in the desired model. The reasons are obvious. Publications on leisure and criminal cases traditionally attract readers' attention, so the editorial board, which experiences a difficult economic situation, cannot ignore them, though such topics should not dominate in newspapers of general content.

Considerable discrepancies can be seen with regard to other aspects of newspaper content. The topics which occupied first three positions in the editorial staff vision of the thematic model (housing and utilities, construction and maintenance of municipal housing and roads), were found on positions 9, 21 and 22 in the actual content. We must add also transportation services thereto (positions 6 and 17, respectively).

A clearly insufficient amount of attention is devoted to social issues (social support, employment, industrial issues, economics), which are of particular concern among residents and which have been considered very important by editorial staff members.

There are also some "positive discrepancies". Journalists undeservingly placed history, ethnography, folk crafts and touristic prospective of towns on 23rd position among important topics, but these topics occupied the 7th position in the actual content. More attention is devoted to the cultural sector than it was considered necessary by the newspapers' personnel (12th position in the survey and 5th in the content).

A more detailed analysis of the edition types reveals that their content also differs. The content of *medium-sized towns* includes three times more publications on criminal cases and accidents and, hence, the activities of law enforcement bodies, than the content of newspapers of small towns. This is natural, since the bigger the town is, the more offenses are committed. Besides, this can be explained by the fact that editions in medium-sized towns are more

commercialized, as their founders are more often private persons, compared to small towns. Their editors are more inclined to take advantage of such interests of their audience.

In general, the comparison of content with the thematic model, which was developed based on the opinions of editors and journalists of newspapers of medium-sized towns, showed that there was a significant inconsistency with the actual content of newspapers, if we compared ranks. It is especially the case for housing services and utilities, and conditions of transport and roads. This means that editors do not have the opportunity to implement their priorities in practice, which is caused, among other factors, by the financial condition of newspapers and the necessity to serve the audience's interests more than the actual needs of residents.

The study showed that newspapers of *small towns* are closer to their audiences, as well as to their founders – local authorities. The performance of local authorities, which act as newspaper founders, is in the first place. Culture, history, ethnography and sports play a significant role. Among important issues covered in newspapers of small towns, are issues of municipal self-administration, performance of housing and utility services, social support (pensioners, disabled citizens, orphanages, assistance to large families, etc.). The newspapers also cover family issues, parenting, and patriotic education (Frolova, 2014).

The gap between the opinions of the editorial staffs about the desired model and the actual content of newspapers is lesser in newspapers of small towns, though such topics as health care, condition of roads, industrial and economic difficulties, and employment issues are overlooked. In general, newspapers of small towns are closer to their audience than newspapers of medium-sized towns, which is quite understandable, and their staff implement their vision of important issues more consistently in their newspapers.

At the same time the presence of publications on particular topics does not tell us how they are covered, though it is very important for qualitative analysis of editors' offices' performances. For this purpose, *evaluation grids* were included to enable content analysis of publications, qualifying positive, neutral/balanced, and negative coverage of topics (*Table 2*).

Table 2

**Assessment modality of publications
(in % of the total number of publications)**

Topics <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Publications modality		
	Positive	Neutral Balanced	Critical
Education sector (availability and status of educational establishments, human resources, quality of education, development of vocational training, etc.)	6.3	2.0	0.3
Cultural sector (availability of cultural establishments, human resources, material and technical financial conditions, etc.)	5.9	2.7	0.2
Leisure, recreation, tourism	5.4	2.8	0.1
History, ethnography, folk crafts, tourism potential	5.3	2.2	0.2
Performance of municipal authorities	5.0	6.5	0.7
Sports, physical education	4.7	3.0	0.2
Patriotic education	4.6	1.03	0.05
Family issues, parenting	4.4	1.5	0.3
Social support (pensioners, disabled citizens, orphanages, large families, etc.)	3.6	2.3	0.6
Local (municipal) self-governance	2.9	2.3	0.5
Development of industrial sector, production enterprises, medium and small-sized business	2.7	1.3	0.4
Moral and ethical issues	2.4	0.4	0.5

Topics <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Publications modality		
	Positive	Neutral Balanced	Critical
Police performance, fight against crime	2.1	8.4	0.2
Youth issues	2.1	0.7	0.3
Condition of housing and utilities infrastructure and performance of utility companies	1.9	2.6	2.0
Agriculture, backyard farming	1.9	1.01	0.2
Health care sector (availability of medical institutions, human resources, remuneration, equipment, quality of and payment for healthcare services, etc.)	1.9	2.0	0.6
Religion, compassion, charity	1.7	0.7	0.02
House-keeping, domestic life, home interior design	1.5	0.7	0.05
Environment, provision of public amenities, landscaping of towns	1.3	1.05	0.5
Transportation services, town traffic performance	1.2	1.1	0.6
Living standard, appearance, fashion, healthy lifestyle	1.1	1.03	0.07
Emergencies, EMERCOM, safety, civil protection	1.1	1.8	0.4
Military conflicts, military service	1.0	1.4	0.1
Performance of commercial institutions (availability of goods, price policy, trade culture, etc.)	0.9	0.9	0.6
Urban economics in general <i>(budget, financing, taxes)</i>	0.7	1.5	0.3
Employment, development of labor market, creation of new jobs	0.7	0.5	0.1
Construction, repair of municipal housing	0.7	1.05	0.3
Accidents, criminal cases	0.6	9.5	0.8
Construction, repair of roads, other utilities	0.5	0.6	0.6
Demography issues	0.5	0.3	0.02

Topics <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Publications modality		
	Positive	Neutral Balanced	Critical
Interaction with mass media	0.5	-	-
Psychology of relationships, sexual relations	0.4	0.1	0.02
Gender issues	0.3	0.2	0.1
Gardening, vegetable gardening, private farming	0.3	0.02	0.02
NGO activities, protection of human rights	0.3	0.2	
Migration, interethnic relations	0.2	0.2	0.1
Remarkable events, astrology, etc.	0.05	0.07	-

A brief glance at the character of publications is sufficient to understand that positive materials prevail in the studied editions and there are only few critical ones. Events and persons related to education, culture, history and leisure sectors, as well as local authorities' performance are most frequently presented in a positive light. Usually there are feature stories of positive people, teachers, doctors, cultural professionals, as well as coverage of cultural and leisure events, decisions and acts of local authorities. Thereto publications on the celebration of anniversaries can be added.

The positive mindset of the audience is definitely very important, but towns and their residents experience various problems nowadays, which should be adequately covered in newspapers. But the critical publications are scarce. This came to light unexpectedly from the background of the survey of editorial staff members, wherein the participants were shown to consider disadvantaged life aspects of towns and their residents among the most important. A critical approach can be detected in the coverage of very few topics. Only the condition of housing and utility services is criticized in 2%

of publications. Other topics account for less than one percent. The content analysis showed that local authorities were criticized only in 0.7% publications, whereas the editorial staff survey revealed serious problems in this sphere. But newspapers are reasonably afraid to criticize their chiefs, so self-censorship comes into action.

The analysis of problems covered in publications reflects the low analytical potential of local newspapers. Urban media picture, presented in a newspaper, must not only immediately inform on day-to-day events, but also reflect the most important trends and processes in the economic, political and cultural life of a town and its residents. This involves analysis of urgent problems, standpoints, opinions, evidence-based critiques of negative developments, proposals for their solution, and elaboration of efficient behavioral patterns for authorities and citizens.

The survey of editors and journalists, carried out earlier, demonstrated that they were completely aware of the problems in their towns and the interests and needs of local residents; that was why the dominants in the desired content and thematic model were ranked in correspondence to the most disadvantaged aspects of residents' lives. The most acute problems as of the survey period (the end of 2013 – beginning of 2014) were detected as a result of the survey, such as unemployment due to closure of many enterprises, and lack of jobs for young citizens, which forced them to move to big cities. The problem of aging is closely connected with the above processes. All the issues mentioned above plus insufficient municipal budgets and investments in production resulted in the economic instability of the towns, low level of income, and poor standard of living. As consequence, there are problems in the municipal economy, the housing and utility services, the environment and provision of public amenities, the condition of cultural, medical, and educational institutions, the lack of qualified human resources, and

low income level. Often these problems relate not only to economic factors, but also are caused by the inadequate performance of local authorities, the poor management unable to attract new sources for town development, for example, to develop small and medium-sized business, eco-tourism, etc. All this leads to serious psychological consequences: apathy, depression, and alcohol abuse.

Naturally the content must reflect the most acute problems of towns. Let's analyze content with regard to quantity and percentage of publications on problems in newspapers. Below are the content analysis findings: *19.5% of publications in medium-size towns raise issues, 30.8% – in small towns, 25.0 % – in general.* There are more publications covering important problems in small towns. This is related to the lack of resources in small towns, resulting in more problems, especially connected with the financial support of various social sectors. Most probably, there is one more reason: residents of small towns have more possibilities to check the fairness of publications with their own everyday experience.

Let's analyze the problematics of the researched publications in detail (*Table 3*).

Table 3

Problems
(in % of the total number of publications covering problems)

Problems <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Total
Social diseases and problems	15.1	16.3	15.8
Problems of the housing and utilities sector	12.6	17.6	15.6
Poor condition of transportation infrastructure	8.5	6.4	7.2
Economic and industrial problems	5.9	6.2	6.1
Moral, ethic, and spiritual value issues, religion	8.7	4.3	6.1

Problems <i>Ranked according to the second column results</i>	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Total
Problems of formation and functioning of civil society	11.8	1.9	5.9
Social problems	3.3	6.2	5.1
Problems of health care sector	2.3	5.4	4.1
Environmental issues	2.3	4.8	3.8
Low standard of living	3.1	3.1	3.1
Issues related to activities of law enforcement agencies	3.3	2.9	3.0
Educational problems	3.1	2.8	2.9
Problems of urban development and beautification of settlements	1.5	3.8	2.9
Family issues	4.9	1.7	2.9
Cultural problems	1.0	4.0	2.8
Issues with the functioning of municipal bodies	1.8	3.1	2.6
Youth problems	2.3	2.1	2.2
Inefficiency of government authorities	0.3	3.1	1.9
Financial and other offenses	2.3	1.4	1.8
Unemployment	1.0	0.7	0.8
Demographic problems	0.3	1.0	0.7
Gender/female-specific problems	0.5	0.9	0.7
Problems of interethnic relations	0.5	0.2	0.3

Social “diseases” and problems in the housing and utilities sector occupy the first two positions in the rating of problems (about 16% of publications). In the 5 to 7% zone are the poor condition of transport infrastructure; economic and industrial problems; moral, ethical, and spiritual value problems; issues of formation and functioning of civil society; and social problems.

Unfortunately, a truly fundamental issue – the low standard of living – is covered only in 3.1% of publications, unemployment – in 0.8%. The issues of municipal management are raised in approximately 2% of publications – 3.1% in newspapers of small towns and 0.3% in newspapers of medium-sized towns. Corrupt practices in economic and financial sectors are discussed in very rare cases. Urgent demographic and youth problems are also out of the focus of editors’ attention.

The program of content analysis study included analysis of how the issues that were raised were covered in newspapers: either the newspaper just acknowledged their existence, or it analyzed them or offered their solution (*Table 4*).

Table 4

**Publications’ means of presenting problems
(in % of the total number of references
to a particular problem indicated horizontally)**

Problems <i>Ranked according to the third column results</i>	Acknowledgement	Analysis	Solution proposal
Financial and other offenses	88.9	22.2	
Municipal bodies functioning issues	100.0	14.3	14.3
Problems of the housing and utilities sector	67.3	12.2	28.6
Family issues	84.2	5.3	36.8
Economic and industrial problems	73.7	5.3	21.1
Moral, ethic, and spiritual values issues, religion	67.6	2.9	47.1
Social diseases and problems	94.9	1.7	33.9
Issues related to activities of law enforcement agencies	100.0		13.3

Problems <i>Ranked according to the third column results</i>	Acknowledgement	Analysis	Solution proposal
Cultural problems	100.0		25.0
Gender/female-specific problems	100.0		
Youth problems	100.0		14.3
Social problems	92.9		14.3
Low standard of living	91.7		8.3
Educational problems	90.9		9.1
Problems of healthcare sector	88.9		11.1
Problems of formation and functioning of civil society	75.0		25.0
Poor condition of transportation infrastructure	57.6		51.5
Demographic problems	50.0		50.0
Problems of interethnic relations	50.0		50.0
Inefficiency of government authorities			100.0
Problems of urban development and beautification of settlements			100.0

As we see, the acknowledgment of the problem and not its analysis prevails in publications. Only one third of 21 complex problems have been analyzed. This applies to financial and other abuses, activities of municipal organizations, housing and utility services, and economic and industrial problems.

It is noticeable also that journalists offer in publications solutions to certain problems without an adequate substantiation, which points at the necessity of cooperation with respective specialists.

Communicative Characteristics of the Content of Municipal Press

The concepts of “communicative process” and “communication” are important for discussing the results presented in the section of the article. The majority of publications on mass communications studies set forth the so-called higher level theories (meta theories). Unfortunately, the middle-level theories are underdeveloped, though they are very important for applied media studies and can become their methodological base for analyzing the function of various means of mass communication, for example, content analysis of mass media. The work of M.M. Nazarov is “Mass communication and society. Introduction to theory and research” (which covers issues related to the mass media audience, effects of activities and content analytical studies), as well as the work of researchers from St. Petersburg about personal participation in mass communication processes are considered essential for the development of the methodology of this aspect of the study (Korkonosenko, 2010).

The concept of “media space” is one of the central concepts in this area of editors’ activities analysis. Media space can be analyzed in the context of different levels of mass media functioning and the country in general (Dzhaloshinsky, 2015), or particular regions and towns (Kasatkina, 2011).

By nature the media space possesses the following characteristics: communicativeness, availability of numerous subjects (polysubjectivity), pluralism, and inhomogeneity. It includes the integrity properties. Media space serves as a field for a social discourse – an interaction between communication participants. Its main potential is related to the possibility of arranging horizontal (among social strata, groups) as well as vertical (between a person and various communities; people and the government) social networks

and interactions in society. In our study media space is considered a field of multi-spectral information and communication among various social participants: information producers and consumers, journalists and audiences, authorities and people, various groups and governing bodies.

The present study focuses on the communicative practice of newspapers of small and medium-sized towns and the opportunities which such editions offer in terms of representing various social strata and groups in the context of urban media space, formed, in part, by newspapers. For this purpose the below characteristics were included to the codifier to enable content analysis on communicative aspects: authors of publications as subjects of communications, opinion subjects, objects of publications as subject of communication, sources of information.

The polysubjectivity of publications reflects the diversity of life, and the functioning of urban society. Editors' and journalists' publications account for half of all texts (46.8%) in newspapers of small and medium-sized towns. Naturally, journalists as central professional players (actors) in the information field are the main authors of the publications (43.9%). In small towns, 56.6% of publications are prepared by journalists, whereas, in medium-sized towns, the figure is only 32.2%. This is connected with the fact that in such editorial offices the percentage of messages from news agencies is higher (12.3% in newspapers of medium-sized towns and only 2.3% in newspapers of small towns), and bigger is the number of texts prepared by representatives of governing agencies (13.2% and 6.4% respectively) and specialists/experts (8.0% and 4.8%). Even average residents appear on pages of newspapers of medium-sized towns more often than in small towns (9.2% and 5.7%).

Apart from journalists, the most frequent authors in local press are representatives of authorities (9.9%). Specialists, chiefs of various organizations, and average residents appear less, and NGOs are definitely underrepresented. Hence, the structure of non-journalistic content is, in general, more or less balanced in its communicative subjectivity.

The gender mix of authors as communication subjects is also important. 40% of all publications where an author could be lexically determined belonged to male authors and 60% to female authors (in newspapers of small towns male authors are more frequent). In general, it correlates with the gender mix of editorial boards with approximately 25% being men. This factor deforms to a certain extent the communication process in the context of attention to various topics, presentation of interests, character of assessment of facts and events from the point of view of male and female parts of audiences.

The accuracy and objectivity of facts and events, presented in publications, largely depend on what sources of information the authors use. Use of the most trustworthy sources such as personal observation and situation analysis enhances the status of the journalist, while offering readers the possibility of receiving first-hand information. A positive trend is that this particular source of information occupies the first position, according to the editorial staff survey and content analysis, currently the replication of information is treated as a negative phenomenon (*Table 5*).

Table 5

**Information sources Results of content-analysis
(in % of the number of publications).**

Journalists' answers to the question: "What sources of information do you use in your work most frequently?" (rank of the answer option)

Information sources <i>Ranked according to the fourth column results</i>	Content analysis			Survey
	Medium- sized towns	Small towns	Average	Rank of the answer
1. Personal monitoring of the situation as a journalist	16.1	32.0	23.8	3
Specialists, experts	12.6	21.6	16.8	12
2. Representatives of authority	13.7	17.8	15.7	4
3. Average employees, ordinary people	11.1	12.5	11.8	1
Press services, press conferences, briefings, press releases	15.5	7.8	11.8	7
Immediate communication of a journalist with people, residents	5.3	12.8	8.9	1
4. Legal, regulatory documents	4.6	5.1	4.9	16
5. Statistic data	4.3	3.9	4.1	13
Archives	1.1	6.5	3.7	*
6. Editorial office mail	5.8	1.0	3.5	5
Internet, including	3.2	3.9	3.5	11
Internet service (without a link to source data)	2.5	2.6	2.5	
Internet service (with a link to source data)	0.7	1.3	1.0	
7. Mass media (press, television, radio)	2.6	2.9	2.7	9
Books	1.0	1.9	1.4	*
Financial documents	0.8	1.8	1.3	20
Personal documents	0.6	1.3	0.9	*
8. Information agencies	0.7	0.3	0.5	10
9. Social networks. Twitter, blogs	0.1	0.1	0.1	14
Unclear, no reference to source	19.4	7.5	13.6	

* This answer option was not available in the journalists' survey

The fact that 23.8% of journalists personally observe a situation proves that the real lives of residents are described on the pages of local press. Journalists of newspapers of small towns themselves monitor the situation, they describe, two times more than their colleagues from medium-sized towns (32% and 16% respectively). The same applies to direct communication with residents (12.8% and 5.3%). It is caused by the town size, but obviously it is also connected with the intention to be closer to the epicenter of events. The following fact evidences this trend: the newspapers of medium-sized towns two times more frequently use second-hand information, including that which they received from press services or at conferences and briefings (15.5% and 7.8% respectively).

According to our results, representatives of the professional segment of a town, possessing a higher competence – town governors and experts – are considered important sources of information. Various documents (legal, financial, statistical, etc.) comprise a significant part of the materials used (in general according to the number of references – 19%), authors from newspapers of small towns use them more often (22.4%). Personnel of newspapers of medium-sized towns work with editorial office mail more actively. Content analysis showed that the Internet, including social networks as well as materials from information agencies, were quite seldom used as a source of information in researched newspapers, which could be explained by the newspapers' orientation on local topics. This sets newspapers of small towns apart from larger editions, where journalists often use information derived from the Internet, telephone calls, third parties, etc.

The analysis of opinion subjects and publications' characters is mainly about the variety of opinions represented, and standpoints concerning the issues and problems raised. It is also important to take into account that not all materials offer a distinct opinion; certain

information genres do not envisage it at all. Hence, no opinion is presented in every fifth publication and it is impossible to trace it in another 10% of publications of a factual, descriptive nature (*Table 6*).

Table 6

**Opinion subjects in publications
(in % of the total number of publications)**

Opinion subjects	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Average
Journalist	23.3	25.7	24.4
Revision	2.2	0.6	1.4
In general journalist and editorial board	25.3	26.3	25.8
Specialists, experts	9.3	15.6	12.5
Ordinary people, residents	10.8	12.5	11.6
Representatives of authorities, governing bodies	6.7	14.3	10.4
Information agencies	12.3	1.5	7.1
Representatives of NGOs	1.7	4.8	3.2
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	0.3	2.7	1.3
Without a signature, unclear	8.8	10.7	9.7
No opinion	24.8	11.3	18.3

Every fourth publication contains the journalist's opinion, though distinctly represented are the voices of specialists/experts (12.5%) and ordinary people (10.4%). Every tenth publication delivers an opinion from representatives of governing bodies (10.4%). If we add official materials (decisions, orders, instructions and other official documents) to publications, which account for 9.7% of all publications and were coded separately, but in fact represent the standpoint of authorities, it becomes obvious that the opinion balance of the content is biased towards power structures.

Opinions of non-governmental organizations are expressed less, maybe due to the fact that they are poorly represented in small towns. This makes our media space weaker and proves that newspapers undervalue their role in the development of civil society. One can't but notice that the content of newspapers of small towns offers a wider range of opinion subjects than the newspapers of medium-sized towns; that means their "subjective representation" is wider. This confirms that such editions, due to the proximity to their audience, maintain closer ties with representatives of different social strata and groups of town residents, involving them and moving them towards cooperation. Hence, their journalists moderate public participation more actively.

Despite the relative diversity of opinion subjects (authors), the majority of materials (90%) offer only the author's opinion. Only every tenth text includes different standpoints; there are three times more such publications in small towns than in medium-sized towns (15.3% and 4.4%). These results confirm the findings of the editors and journalists survey: only 35% of the editorial staff think that the newspaper reflects various standpoints, 56% deem that newspapers manage to do this only partially, and 6% acknowledge that newspapers do not offer different opinions. According to how they responded to the survey, newspaper personnel of medium-sized towns are convinced that they offer more opportunities for residents to influence the content of their edition, initiating discussion of urgent issues (86% in newspapers of medium-sized towns and 71% in small towns). But this information is not adequately presented in newspaper content. The necessity to initiate discussions of urgent issues on newspaper pages to develop a more pluralistic media space is obvious.

The structure of publication objects as the object of communication generally corresponds to the specifics of local press. It includes various organizations, social groups, and individuals represented in a balanced manner. Approximately every fifth material is personalized –

it can be noticed that newspapers of medium-sized towns write more about certain persons than newspapers of small towns (28% and 17.6% respectively). Social phenomena, problems which are raised in 10.9% of publications, are two times more often covered in newspapers of small towns than of medium-sized towns (14.7% and 7.2%), indicating the higher level of publicity. It is significant that the main character in local press is an ordinary individual (37.9%), which distinguishes it from the press of big cities. We can assert that ordinary people and their interests are represented in local press and in town media space rather substantially. Leaders of municipal organizations / institutions or specialists (teachers, doctors, cultural professionals, etc.) also often act as main characters (approximately in one third of all publications). 5% of publications are devoted to historic or prominent persons.

More details on persons in publications can be derived from the information on their activities, age, and gender (*Table 7*).

Table 7

Profile of main characters (in % of the total number of publications, where a main character was mentioned)

Sphere of activities of main characters	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Average
Culture	9.7	11.4	10.5
Education, science	6.1	13.7	9.8
Management, power structures	7.2	12.2	9.6
Sports, leisure	3.8	9.5	6.6
Military field, EMERCOM	6.1	4.0	5.1
Industrial production	4.5	5.3	4.9
Construction, maintenance and repair, housing and utilities	3.4	4.8	4.1
Health care	3.1	3.0	3.0
Social services, pensioners' support, other social sectors	2.3	3.2	2.8
Criminal cases	3.4	1.0	2.2

Sphere of activities of main characters	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Average
Agriculture	2.2	1.9	2.0
Mass media, advertising and PR	2.2	1.0	1.6
NGOs	1.1	1.9	1.5
Legal and judicial system	1.1	1.7	1.4
Religion	2.2	0.4	1.3
Business	0.5	0.6	0.6
Finance, banking operations	0.7	0.6	0.6
Transport	0.9	0.6	0.7
Trade	0.4	0.4	0.4
Pensioner	8.4	10.6	9.5
Unclear	30.9	13.5	22.4
Gender of main character			
1. Male	61.8	47.0	54.6
2. Female	30.2	34.0	32.0
Unclear	8.1	19.0	13.6
Age			
1. Children	5.6	11.2	8.3
2. Youth	16.3	16.5	16.4
3. Middle-aged	22.4	26.4	24.4
4. Elderly	21.9	28.7	25.2
Unclear	33.8	17.1	25.7

Pensioners as an important segment of audience enjoy significant attention (in contrast to “big” editions), as well as professionals employed in culture and education, representatives of governing bodies, and power structures (approximately 10% of publications). Publications about famous persons in sports or entertainment are also not rare (from 7% to 11%).

In general, main characters of publications represent a wide range of areas, fields of activities, professions, and social status.

Middle-aged and elderly people prevail (which corresponds to the audience structure), as well as male characters (especially in newspapers of medium-sized towns).

Territorial positioning is another important characteristic of an object of publication: local press is the only source of information of local issues for residents. That is why it is natural that the main object of 76 % of publications in the context of locality is a particular town, its suburbs and adjacent rural settlements. The administrative unit of the Federation is the object of 13% of publications, the whole country in 7.7% of publications. Only 1.5% of materials are devoted to foreign countries, as this information is irrelevant for local press. Content analysis revealed that the structure of territorial and administrative locality corresponds to the specifics of local editions, reflecting the functional and typological peculiarity of such editions and promoting not only horizontal, but also vertical communication.

Creative Forms of Content Communication with Audiences

The means of content communication with audience, that is the interaction with audiences through texts and pictures, are manifold. They relate in the first place to newspapers' content: agenda, problematic, and thematic structure, which must be based on the needs of society and the interests of audiences. In the selection of genre, stylistic expressive means play an important role in the process of communication with an audience, attraction of its attention, and promotion of interest in the offered content and in interaction with a newspaper. Among such means, we studied genre structure of publications, headlines, and pictures character.

The content analysis proved that the genre structure of municipal newspapers generally takes into consideration typological

peculiarities of their editions. This is optimal with regard to the functional model. The findings of content analysis of genre groups were almost identical to the ratings which we received during the editors' and journalists' survey, which indicated that they quite accurately determined the genre mix of their newspapers, in contrast to thematics and problematics.

It is natural that information genres and their versions dominate in genre structure of municipal newspapers, according to the number of publications (not their volume) (*Table 8*).

Table 8

Genres of publications
(in % of the total number of publications)

Genres	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Average
Information	64.2	65.7	64.9
Sketch	39.2	39.4	39.3
Chronicle	16.3	3.8	10.2
Report	5.7	9.2	7.4
Reportage	3.4	5.8	4.5
Informational interview	1.7	4.6	3.1
Summary	0.6	2.0	1.2
Announcement	0.4	0.5	0.4
Press release	0.2	-	0.1
Analytical	9.9	11.2	10.6
Article	7.3	4.9	6.1
Correspondence	0.7	3.2	1.9
Comments	1.3	1.2	1.2
Analytical, problematic interview	0.5	1.4	0.9
Overview, review	0.4	0.5	0.4
Communicative	9.3	6.9	8.2
Letters to the Editor, including emails	8.0	3.7	5.9

Genres	Medium-sized towns	Small towns	Average
Response to letters	0.1	1.8	0.9
Discussions	0.5	0.6	0.6
Editor's announcement	-	0.6	0.3
Materials in column "Actions taken"	0.3	0.1	0.2
Publicistic	4.9	5.9	5.3
Sketch	1.2	2.3	1.7
Feature story	1.2	1.4	1.3
Memoirs	1.8	0.2	1.0
Interview-portrait	0.4	1.1	0.7
Essay	0.5	0.3	0.4
Review, summary	-	0.4	0.2
Survey	0.1	0.4	0.2
Newspaper satire	-	0.1	0.05
Travel essay	-	0.1	0.05
Informative and advisory	4.5	4.5	4.5
House keeping, household, gardening tips, etc.	2.2	1.1	1.7
Legal counseling	0.9	1.2	1.0
Hints on psychology, gender interrelations, family relations	0.4	0.5	0.6
Health care tips	0.2	0.9	0.5
Safety tips	-	0.5	0.3
Fashion, makeup tips	0.2	0.1	0.2
Fraud prevention advise	-	0.2	0.1
Discussion of tours, travel agencies	-	0.2	0.07
Entertainment, leisure, culture	3.7	4.4	3.9
Poems	1.6	2.8	2.2
Crosswords, crossword puzzles, etc.	0.4	1.0	0.7
Prose	1.0	-	0.5
Anecdotes, jokes, humor	0.7	0.1	0.4
Horoscopes	0.2	0.2	0.2
Quizzes	-	0.2	0.1

Information genres account for 64.9% of all publications. Sketches dominate among information genres (39.3%). Report, reportage and information interviews are also widely used.

Not only factual information is important to readers, but also analysis of situations, and problem-oriented approaches to complex processes of urban life. Audiences would like to receive explanations of topical issues, understand trends in relevant developments, have convincing evidences for their objective assessment, broaden their knowledge about urban life, develop their axiological knowledge, and possess certain behavioral models. The above explains the important role of analytical journalism. It is nominally represented in newspapers, but, unfortunately, content analysis shows, as stated above, that problems are usually only acknowledged. Comprehensive analysis of their causes can rarely be found – only in one third of all materials that raise any issues.

Publicistic genres have been revived in local press, and not only enhance the imagery perception, but also promote social activity. Content analysis revealed that these genres, considered obsolescent, have reappeared in urban press: we found sketches, feature articles and even essays in newspapers.

The editorial staff survey found out that editors of local newspapers pay less attention to an active interaction with their audience. The content analysis showed that, in general, communicative genre forms are widely represented in newspapers, though their diversity is modest. These are mainly Letters to Editors. At the same time we found few answers to them, as well as statements on the effectiveness of newspapers' address. Not more than 1% of publications include debates on problems in a discussion format, though journalists pointed out that newspapers conducted such discussions regularly. Obviously, non-textual public discussions are not always covered in press.

Communication with readers focuses not only on problems which are socially important, but also on issues which are important for everyday life. That is why materials of advisory and consulting character consume considerable space on newspapers' pages – namely: legal advice, housekeeping hints, household and gardening tips, and health care and relationship tips. This is further evidence of the proximity of such newspapers to their readers.

The range of genre forms used in newspapers of medium-sized towns is less diverse than that of newspapers of small towns, where sketches, feature articles, reportages, and interviews that are not purely journalistic, but also publicistic genres, are published more frequently. In general, the number of genres used is 41 in newspapers of small towns and only 33 in newspapers of medium-sized towns. This fact confirms the results of the editors' and journalists' survey that small municipal press uses creative, emotional and vivid resources of genre forms, based on the Russian journalist tradition, to attract the attention of a wide audience.

Headlines as ways to encourage readers' attention have also been studied during the content analysis, because headlines are one of the most important communicative way to capture an audience's attention and navigate through the offered content. In modern newspapers they are traditionally the main element of content, demonstrating the level of journalistic professionalism, and availability or absence of creative approach to the presentation of publications.

The newspapers researched generally used headlines that were simple in their structure (more than 60%). Newspapers give preference to simple headlines, preceding complex heading structures which consist of a headline, subheading, and a text box (only 10.9%). Newspapers of small towns use simple headings less than their colleagues from medium-sized towns, considering

the educational level of their audience and making perception of publications easier (more than 69%). Complex heading structures can be found two times more in newspapers of medium-sized towns (14.2% and 7.9% respectively). Journalists of such editions are more inclined to take into account modern trends in heading production and its role. The analysis also yielded that a lead, a very important element of modern newspapers, though more frequently used in local press (20.0 %), is, like the heading structure, still not very actively used.

The analysis of use of tropes and other creative means brought about the expected results (*Table 9*).

Table 9

Headlines character
(in % of the total number of headlines)

Availability of tropes and other creative means	Medium- sized towns	Small towns	Average
Simple descriptive headline	87.8	78.1	82.5
Avalability of metaphors and other tropes	2.2	7.6	5.1
Paraphrasing, word play, use of new words	0.8	7.9	4.7
Proverbs and sayings	2.3	2.4	2.4
Quote from a literary work or other famous source	1.8	1.9	1.9
Phraseological units and their transformations	2.0	0.8	1.4
Rhyming headline	1.1	0.7	0.9
Paradoxes	0.8	0.6	0.7
Miscellaneous	1.2	-	0.5

A simple descriptive headline prevails in newspapers of such towns (82.5%). Creative headlines were found in 17% of researched newspapers. Their portion is not very large, but it should be noted that use of tropes in newspaper headlines is not always relevant, because publications devoted to serious topics and problems, do not allow room for word play. At the same time, editors tend to use creative means in headlines to attract their audience. Metaphors and other tropes are used in newspapers of small towns three times more than in medium-sized ones (7.6% and 2.2%). Paraphrasing, word play, and new, unusual words are used in newspapers of small towns 8 times more frequently, than in medium-sized towns (7.9% and 0.8%). Other forms are rare. Proverbs and sayings, quotes from literary works and other famous sources, and phraseological units and their transformations are used in headlines with equal frequency. Rhyming headlines and paradox-containing headlines are the rarest.

Headline analysis with regard to rationality/emotionality showed significant dominance of rational (69.8%) over emotional (22.3%) headlines, though the former are not rare if we take into consideration the 7.7% of headlines of mixed character. It was noticed that newspapers of medium-sized towns are more “rational” (79.8% vs. 60.1%), probably demonstrating a more formal style. Newspapers of small towns, on the contrary, demonstrate a higher level of emotionality of headlines.

The aim of headlines is not limited to the attraction of audience attention. Another important function is to actively involve a reader in the content of a publication, its topic and problem. According to their stylistic modality, headlines can be divided into two main groups: declarative headlines and headlines that express exclamations, questions, assessments, opinions, or appeals, or that contain other properties of stylistic modality. Declarative headlines

firmly dominate in local press (72.9%), and their portion in editions of medium-sized towns, containing more factual information, is larger than in newspapers of small towns (79.5% and 67.6% respectively).

The exclamation headline is holding a leading role in a group of headlines, possessing certain characteristics of stylistic modality and fostering a more active perception of publications (7.8%). According to the level of their popularity, the exclamation headline is followed by an assessment headline (5.3 %), a questioning headline (5.1 %), an opinion headline (4.1 %), and a headline appeal (2.1 %). Journalists of newspapers of small town use headline modalities more frequently, demonstrating more creativity and ingenuity than their colleagues from medium-sized towns, which to a large extent is caused by the peculiarities of their audiences.

The creative potential of an editorial staff becomes apparent not only in text publications, but also in the use of illustrations as a means of visual communication. A newspapers' illustrating constitutes a rather powerful means for audience attraction. Visualization is a common trend in media content production nowadays (Tulupov, 2012). This is caused by various reasons – technological improvement, competition among editions, and need for a wider audience attraction, including young people, oriented towards visual content. The peculiarities of perception of the surrounding world and, consequently, of media text by audiences has changed. Analysis of illustration types showed that the researched local editions used mainly illustrations to support texts (92.9 %) (*Table 10*).

Table 10

Type and genre of publications
(in % of the total number of illustrations)

Analysis properties	Medium-sized towns N=1158	Small towns N=1170	Average N=2328
Type of illustration			
Illustrations to a text	93.6	92.3	92.9
Individual illustrations	6.4	7.7	7.0
Genre of illustration			
Usual photograph, photo illustrations	67.4	76.1	72.6
Pictures and other graphical illustrations	21.6	8.5	15.1
Artistic, staged photographs	5.4	11.3	8.3
Infographics, charts, diagrams	1.6	2.1	1.8
Caricatures/cartoons	0.1	0.3	0.2

Separate illustrations, which do not directly connect to publications and constitute a separate genre, such as photo reportage or photo news, account for a considerably small portion (7%). They are used to enrich editions with additional visual content.

Analysis of illustration genre diversity showed that in 72.6% of publications a usual photograph was used. A common share of artistic or staged photographs is not large in both types of newspapers – 8.3%. Graphic illustration can also be often used (15.1%), though their portion in newspapers of medium-sized towns is significantly bigger than in newspapers of small towns (21.6 % and 8.5 % respectively). Possibly, this can be explained by the different economic conditions of newspapers: to prepare pictures or other graphic illustrations, a newspaper need to employ or cooperate with designers, illustrators, which seems almost impossible for small editorial teams of newspapers of small towns.

Another regrettable finding is the almost complete absence of tradition for the printing press illustration type – caricature. It is definitely related to the specifics of certain newspapers, their organizational charts and the absence of professional illustrators on the staff.

As of now, infographics, a popular and the most up-to-date means of visual information presentation, are used only in rare cases (only 1.8%). Editorial offices should master the latest technologies more actively.

People are the most common object of illustrations – 67.8%. Aside from people, material and technological objects are frequently pictured, whereas the portion of illustrations of nature or animals is insignificant. Probably, editors think that residents have gotten used to the beauty of the local landscape and are not interested therein. But it downgrades the emotional appeal of press.

It is also noticeable that illustrations usually depict a group of people, rather than one person, most often in a photograph taken during some event. If the illustration shows only one person, then it is more often a man than a woman, young rather than middle-aged. This means that illustrations “moderate” the picture, which we have obtained based on the analysis of objects of text publications targeted towards younger populations; the gender imbalance is less evident.

Main Study Conclusions

Main conclusions can be summarized as follows:

- Analysis of the thematic and problematic structures of newspaper content showed that the newspapers researched are generally universal editions, covering various aspects of town life. They meet the needs and satisfy the interests of their audiences in local information to a significant

extent. The content and thematic structures of newspapers of small and medium-sized towns are considerably wide and diverse, the most important thematic focuses are more or less covered, and the structure in general corresponds to the interests of town residents, the range of topics and problems which are important for citizens and connected with their everyday activities, their basic needs. This enables the development of a significantly diverse media picture of a town. The researched editions (especially of small towns) tend to preserve cultural and educational orientation, pay attention to town culture, history, traditions, family, parenting, patriotic education, and present social topics.

- Comparison of content analysis findings about publication topics to the results of the editorial staff survey revealed that journalists often exaggerate newspapers' attention to particular topics and underrate attention to other topics, and are not always aware of the existing thematic imbalance. A continuous monitoring of publication topics could be useful in this context, which is not difficult with modern information technologies.
- The thematic model presented by editors and journalists during the survey and which, in their opinion, is in conformity with local newspapers functions, is not fully implemented in practice. While mentioning a social orientation of the thematic model, aimed at newspapers' participation in the addressing of the immediate needs of citizens, the editors are forced to implement a model which is more commercial, oriented towards "light" interests of readers, connected mainly with leisure activities and topical criminal cases. This can be explained by underfunding and the need for income generation because the available economic support is clearly not sufficient.

- According to their assessment modality, positive materials prevail in the researched newspapers (these are mainly materials related to cultural events, memorable dates, feature stories about positive individuals and positive experiences). It is, however, alarming that despite the numerous problems of towns and their residents – which journalists mentioned during the survey –, critical publications in newspapers are rare. Most probably, this is connected with reasons of two kinds: fear of extremely negative feedback to heavy criticism and the resulting self-censorship, and lack of journalists' confidence in their own competences.
- The range of problems raised in newspapers is rather wide and covers the most urgent and acute issues for towns and their dwellers. In general, newspapers' attention to problems of small and medium-sized towns is evident: the share of materials, and raising or analyzing problems, amounts to 25% of publications. Though in fact, the majority of publications only acknowledge the existence of problems. Publications which analyze causes and factors leading to their formation are definitely insufficient: such publications cover only one third of all problems listed in the codifier. Possible solutions were offered for 19 of 21 listed problems, though the solutions offered are not sustained by comprehensive analyses. This definitely points at the necessity to increase the number and upgrade the quality of analytical publications devoted to a comprehensive analysis of urgent issues, which are quite numerous in medium-sized and small towns. Besides improving the professional competences of journalists, a closer cooperation with specialists could be useful.
- The study revealed a considerably diversified range of communicative characteristics of content, connected with

authors' teams as subjects of communication, and objects of publications as central elements, around which the content communication with audience is developed: continuum of representative opinions, used information sources, genre, heading and illustrative structures. Content clearly represents its polysubjectiveness: different social strata and groups are more or less equally represented as subjects of communication. But published materials are mainly monologues. A certain imbalance is evident in the representation of opinions of different segments of urban society to the benefit of governing bodies, not only in publications of an individual author, but of an authors' team (taking into consideration a significant number of official documents in content structure). The objects of publications are also quite diverse. Territorial locality (extent of events coverage) is in general consistent with characteristics and objectives of such editions. Information sources used in journalists' publications are considerably diverse. Materials are usually developed based on personal monitoring of a situation or direct contact with its participants – that is, on the first-hand information –, which is extremely important for local press, because readers have the opportunity to prove the objectivity of facts and events coverage from their own experience.

- Various creative communication means are widely used to attract the attention of an audience. The range of genres used is diverse, though the lack of meaningful analytical publications is evident. Letters to Editors dominate among means of communicative interaction with audiences. The genre of discussion is almost not represented. Editors actively take advantage of the communicative opportunities of headlines and visual content. Published photographs allow moderating to a certain extent of demographic imbalance,

revealed in text content (in the context of age and gender characteristics). The correspondence of communicative means used to publication content and characteristics of such newspapers' audiences is clearly seen. The advantages of infographics are used insufficiently.

- It is significant that, according to study findings, newspapers of small towns are closer to their audience, they use communicative resources to a fuller extent, and tend to use more creative means in communication with audience, though do not take full advantage of the creative potential of the press.
- Problems revealed in the functioning of newspapers of small and medium-sized towns are connected, in the first place, to the understaffing of editorial teams and lack of qualification of employees. This is true, first of all, with regard to journalists able to work with analytic, publicistic genres and to hold public discussions of acute problems on pages of newspapers, as well as designers/illustrators of newspapers. Against such a background, the improvement of the economic situation in editorial offices, and the implementation of an efficient system of training and retraining of press professionals constitute very important tasks nowadays.

References

Barsanova, A. V. (2006) Content Analysis of Newspapers' Materials. *Sociological Researches*. 2.

Chicherina, M. V. (2007) Tipologiya mediateksta kak osnova formirovaniya mediagramotnosti [Typology of Media Text as the Basics for Media Literacy Formation]. *Izvestiya Rossiyskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Gerzena*. 47 (9).

Dobrosklonskaya, T. G. (2005) Mediatekst: teoriya i metody izucheniya [Media Text: Theory and Methods of Research] *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 10. Journalism. 2.*

Dzyaloshinsky, I. M. (2015) *Sovremennoe mediaprostranstvo Rossii* [Modern Media Media Space of Russia]. Moscow: Aspekt press.

Fedotova, L. N. (2003) *Sotsiologiya massovoj kommunikatsii* [Sociology of Mass Communication]. St-Petersburg: Piter.

Fomicheva, I. D. (2009) Rossijskij komunikativnyj krizis [Russian Communicative Crisis]. *Mediascope.*

Frolova, T. I. (2014) *Gumanitarnaya povestka dnya rossijskikh SMI: zhurnalistika, chelovek, obshhestvo* [Humanistic Agenda for Russian Mass Media: Journalism, Human, Society]. Moscow: MedaMir.

Gaydukevich, N. I. (2011) Rol' i mesto SMI v sisteme sovremennyh massovyh kommunikatsij [Role and Place of Mass Media in the System of Modern Mass Communications]. *Means System. Knowledge, Understanding, Capability. 2* (11).

Kasatkina, S. S. (2011) Mediaprostranstvo sovremennogo goroda [Media Space of a Modern Town]. *Filosofskie problemy informatsionnih tehnologiy i mediaprostranstva. 2.*

Kasyutin, V. L. & Kolesnik, S. G. (eds.) (2006) *Munitsipal'naya pressa, reforma mestnogo samoupravleniya i natsional'nye proekty* [Municipal Press, Self-governance Reform and National Projects]. Moscow: Chroniker.

Kolomiets, V. P. (2014) *Mediasotsiologiya: teoriya i praktika* [Media Sociology: Theory and Practice]. Moscow: NIPKTS Voskhod-A.

Korkonosenko, S. G. (ed.), Kudryavtseva, M. E., Slutskoy, P. A. (2010) *Svoboda lichnosti v massovoj kommunikatsii* [Personal Freedom in Mass Communication]. St-Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo SPbGEHTU LEHTI.

Kuzmin, N. A. (ed.) (2011) *Sovremennyj mediatekst: uchebnoe posobie* [Modern Media Text: Educational Book.]. Moscow: Flinta.

Lashchuk, O. R. (2011) Redaktorskaya obrabotka fakta kak korrektnoe otrazhenie dejstvitel'nosti v mediatekste [Editing of a Fact as a Correct Reflection of the Reality in Media Text]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 10. Journalism. 2.*

Lazutina, G. V. & Raspopova, S. V. (2011) *Zhanry zhurnalistskogo tvorchestva* [Genres of Journalistic Creativity]. Moscow: Aspekt press.

Livanova, M. V. (2014) Transformatsiya kontenta lokal'noj pressy: vektor issledovaniy [Transformation of the Content in Local Press: Vector of Research]. *Actualnie problemy mediaissledovaniy*. Moscow: Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Misonzhnikov, B. Ya. (2000) Otrazhenie dejstvitel'nosti v tekste [The Reflection of Reality in Text]. In: Korkonosenko, S.G. (ed.) *Osnovy jurnalistskogo tvorchestva*. St-Petersburg: Znanie.

Nazarov, M. M. (2010) *Massovaya kommunikatsiya i obshchestvo. Vvedenie v teoriyu i issledovaniya* [Mass Communication and the Society. Introduction to Theory and Research]. Moscow: Librokom.

Pashinyan, I. A. (2012) Kontent-analiz kak metod issledovaniya: dostoinstva i ogranicheniya [Content Analysis as a Research Method: Advantages and Limitations]. *Nauchnaya periodika: problemy i reshenia*. 3.

Rogozina, I. V. (2003) *Media-kartina mira: kognitivno-semioticheskij aspekt* [Media Picture of the World: Cognitive and Semiotic Aspects]. Barnaul.

Semenova, A. L. & Korsunskaya, M. V. (2010) *Kontent-analiz SMI: problemy i opyt primeneniya* [Content Analysis of Mass Media: Problems and Application Experience]. Moscow: Institute of sociology RAS.

Shkondin, M. V. (2013) Zhurnalistika kak faktor osvoeniya mira sotsiumom [Journalism as a Factor of the World Exploration by the Society]. *Social'no-gumanitarnie znania*. 4.

Smirnova, O. V. (2013) Strategii pechatnykh media v ehpokhu tsifrovyykh tekhnologiy [Printing Press Strategies in the Era of Digital Technologies]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 10. Journalism. 6.*

Svitich, L. G., Smirnova, O. V., Shiriaeva, A. A., Shkondin, M. V. (2014a) Gorodskaya gazeta kak faktor obshhestvennogo dialoga v sotsiume (po itogam sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya v gazetakh malykh i srednikh gorodov Rossijskoj Federatsii) [City Newspaper as a Factor of Public Dialogue in the Society (Findings from Sociological Research of Small and Medium-Sized Newspapers of the Russian Federation)]. *Izvestiya Irkutskoy gosudarstvennoy ekonomicheskoy akademii*. 5, 6.

Svitich, L. G., Smirnova, O. V., Shiriaeva, A. A., Shkondin, M. V. (2014b) Gazety srednikh i malykh gorodov Rossii v 2010-kh gg. [Newspapers of Small and Medium-Sized Towns of Russia in 2010s]. *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya 10. Journalism*. 5, 6.

Svitich, L. G., Smirnova, O. V., Shiriaeva, A. A., Shkondin, M. V. (2015) *Gazety srednikh i malykh gorodov Rossii v 2010-kh gg. (rezul'taty oprosa redaktorov i zhurnalistov)* [Newspapers of Small and Medium-Sized Towns of Russia in 2010s. (Findings from Editors' and Journalists' Survey)]. Moscow: Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Tulupov, V. V. (2012) *Gazeta: marketing, dizajn, reklama. Nove tendentsii v izdanii gazet* [Newspaper: Marketing, Design, Advertising. New Trends in Newspaper Publishing]. Voronezh: Kvarta.

Vartanova, E. L. (2013) *Postsovetskie transformatsii rossiiskih SMI i zhurnalistiki* [Post-Soviet Transformation of Russian Mass Media and Journalism]. Moscow: MediaMir.

Yudina, E. N. (2005) *Mediaprostranstvo kak kul'turnaya i sotsial'naya sistema* [Media Space as a Cultural and Social System]. Moscow: Prometey.

Zubanova, L. B. (2008) *Sovremennoe mediaprostranstvo: podkhody k issledovaniyu i printsipy interpretatsii* [Modern Media Space: Approaches to the Analysis and Interpretation Principles]. *Vestnik Chelyabinskoy gosudarstvennoy akademii kul'tury i iskusstva*. 2 (14).

ARTICLES



STATE INFORMATIONAL CONTRACTS AS A MECHANISM FOR CONTROL OF REGIONAL MEDIA MARKETS IN RUSSIA¹

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЕ ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЕ КОНТРАКТЫ КАК МЕХАНИЗМ КОНТРОЛЯ НА РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ МЕДИАРЫНКАХ РОССИИ

Olga S. Dovbysh,

*Department of Media, Faculty of Communications, Media and Design,
National Research University “Higher School of Economics”,
Moscow, Russia
dovbysh@hse.ru*

Ольга Сергеевна Довбыш,

*департамент медиа, факультет коммуникаций, медиа и дизайна,
Национальный исследовательский университет
“Высшая школа экономики”,
Москва, Россия
dovbysh@hse.ru*

Previous studies have illustrated that ownership of media capital is an important way of controlling media companies in developed countries (Garnham, 1992). However, we suggest that in developing countries, there are other forms of control over the media market. This research analyses the parallel financing models

¹ The preprint was prepared within the framework of the Academic Fund Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2015 (grant № 15-05-0019) and supported within the framework of a subsidy granted to the HSE by the Government of the Russian Federation for the implementation of the Global Competitiveness Program

of media in Russian regional media markets. State informational contracts are the main tool of this alternative financing. These practices of state contracts are fully embedded into Russian regional market structure and are accepted by almost all media companies, both private and public. The 1846 samples of contracts collected from four Russian regions of a total sum of over 5,5 billion Russian rubles demonstrates the existence of parallel informational contract markets. This market co-exists with an advertising-based market. Using the mechanism of parallel financing, local authorities establish loyal relationships with media companies. We conclude that these financing models enable authorities to control the media market indirectly through financial tools and informal relations, rather than through participation in media capital.

Key words: *regions, media market, state control, state contracts, financing models of media.*

Существующие исследования, как правило, рассматривают участие в капитале медиа как важный способ контроля над медиакомпаниями в развитых странах (Garnham, 1992). Однако мы предполагаем, что в развивающихся странах существуют другие формы контроля на медиарынке. Данное исследование изучает параллельные модели финансирования на региональных медиарынках в России. Государственные информационные контракты – основной инструмент этих моделей. Эти практики альтернативного финансирования полностью укоренены в структуре российских региональных медиарынков и принимаются большинством медиакомпаний, как коммерческих, так и государственных. В результате исследования выборки из 1846 контрактов из 4 российских регионов на общую сумму более 5,5 млрд. рублей мы предполагаем существование параллельного рынка

информационных контрактов. Это рынок со-существует с рекламным рынком. Используя механизм параллельного финансирования, местные власти устанавливают лояльные взаимоотношения с медиакомпаниями. Мы делаем вывод, что такие модели финансирования позволяют властям контролировать медиарынок через экономическое воздействие и неформальные отношения, а не через участие в капитале медиа.

Ключевые слова: *регионы, медиарынок, государственный контроль, государственные контракты, модели финансирования медиа.*

Introduction

Research on media capital structure and control has become an important element of the critical tradition of the political economy, which argues that the ownership structure is a source of control over media companies (Golding & Murdock, 1991; Garnham, 1992). This argument continues a long tradition of critical theory, which shows that ideology is retranslated not through media content, but through the position of media companies as commercial organizations in capitalist societies.

Authorities in European countries can control the media and its content through ownership, but only indirectly. Pluralism is guaranteed in public media companies, because they have a model of public control which means that media outlets are managed by a public board or other collegiate chamber neither appointed by authorities, nor directly dependent on them (Pradie, 2005).

The public model of media was not formed in contemporary Russia due to several reasons. Among them is the low level of

civic engagement of society, its passivity in the processes of self-government, and the traditionally strong role of the state in Russian society. As so, the media model of Russian regions could nearly be described as paternalistic, determined by the duty to protect and guide (Williams, 1976).

In order to fulfill the function of social responsibility, the state contracts media companies and orders “social” content. On the occasion that a public board or other collegiate chamber is absent, the state defines by itself what is social and what is not. In reality social content often includes propaganda or promotion of state officials.

At the same time these contracts are an important source of financing to regional media companies in Russia. The media’s classical financing models include four main sources: audience, advertisers, state and industry (Picard, 2002). While state financing is defined as the direct transfer of money from the budget to the state-owned media companies, such contracts are an alternative or parallel state financing model. When the advertising market is poor, this source of financing is critically important for media companies to survive.

This paper argues that regional media companies in Russia are strongly dependent on parallel financing models besides on classical ones, such as advertising or public participation. Previous research in this area focused mainly on how the financial dependency of the media affects journalists’ work (Lowrey & Erzikova, 2010; Roudakova, 2008). However, little is known about parallel financing as a way of state control of the Russian market.

Since most regional media companies participate in these parallel financing models, we argue for the embeddedness and expansion of these parallel practices in the media markets in Russian regions. In this parallel field, media companies depend on authorities financially and as a result have to be loyal and sensitive towards their

needs. Thus, despite what the political economy of media suggests (Golding & Murdock, 1991), the ownership structure of media capital does not play a crucial role in media control in Russian regions. On the contrary, both private- and state-owned media companies are involved in these parallel financing models and the relationships they produce.

This paper highlights a number of issues that contribute to our understanding of state informational contracts as a parallel financing model. From our pilot sample of media markets in four Russian regions, the following aspects of alternative financing were investigated: the mechanism of parallel financing form, the key participants (both customers and suppliers), the types of contracts, and the distribution of contracts between suppliers.

This paper is divided into four sections. The first section is the literature review. The second presents the methodology. The third gives the results and main findings. The final section discusses the results and conclusions as well as possible directions of future research.

Literature Review: The Role of the State on Media Markets

Since the end of the 1970s, research on the political economy of mass communication has focused on the vertical and horizontal processes of integration, and the resulting concentrations of the corporate ownership of media companies, both within the media companies themselves and between media and other commercial sectors. The general claim was that capitalist corporate control contributed to the dominant ideology (Bagdikian, 1980). They describe a system (generally the US media system) that exists because powerful interests have constructed it, rather than as a

result of a “natural” occurrence. The striking structural features of this system are concentration, conglomeration and concentrated corporate control (McChesney, 2000).

Later studies in the beginning of the 21st century debate these notions and argue that examples where owners released content which was in their economic or political interests, or cases of advertiser censorship were not systemic. The industrialization of culture and mass circulation broke down ideological control (Garnham, 2011). Mosco states that “the person who sits on top matters less than the application of strict industrial models to media production and strict financial accounting that puts the interests of revenue, profit, and stock value over all other considerations” (Mosco, 2009: 69). We find these ideas relevant to the regional media markets in Russia since there is a request for privatization of state-owned regional media companies (Bocharova 2010). At the same time the regional governments are still interested in controlling media landscape in their regions.

The tradition of the political economy of the media considers the role of the state as a policy-maker in communication industries. Hence, the debate over the role of the state in communication industries comes down to a discussion of regulation and deregulation. Mosco distinguishes four processes characterizing state activity – commercialization, liberalization, privatization and internationalization (Mosco, 2009: 175–179). In this approach, the state is placed outside the market and plays a regulating role.

On the other hand, Pierre Bourdieu, a post-structural sociologist, argues that the state acts not only as an external regulator, but also as a market member that can play a decisive role in some cases (Bourdieu, 2014: 152–153). Neil Fligstein indicates that the state (at a federal and local level) is directly involved with the establishment of new markets and economic growth (Fligstein, 2005). He outlines

three main ways that a state can be included into market activities. The first one is through regulation, including regulation of taxes, proprietary rights, copyright and monopolies. The second is through the state's ability to act as a customer or sponsor of research. The US Department of Defence plays an important role in this type of sponsorship. The third is through the introduction of rules and regulations in favour of particular companies in particular markets. Often, these companies as powerful actors on these markets can influence the state (Fligstein, 2001, 2005). Fligstein (2005) maintains that the state and companies are closely interrelated, and this connectedness can be useful or harmful in different markets.

State intervention in the media market is usually discussed in terms of media-political clientelism. Clientelism is a form of social and political organization where access to public resources is controlled by powerful "patrons" and is delivered to less powerful "clients" in exchange for deference and other forms of service (Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002). Clientelism can also be seen as a structural feature of society where common goods and paternalistic interests merge together (Roudakova, 2008). There is evidence that the regional media market in Russia can be described as a clientelism system in which journalists and their media outlets provide services to political and economic elites in the region in exchange for needed (first of all financial) resources (Lowrey & Erzikova, 2010). There are many studies discussing the prerequisites for these relations rooted into the Soviet tradition of fully subsidized media outlets, the turbulent post-Soviet conditions, the strengthening of the political vertical in the early 2000s (Koltsova, 2006; Robinson, 2007; Davis, Hammond, Nizamova, 1998), and the transformation of the professional role of journalists (Pasti, 2005). State informational contracts are an important part that form and support these relations.

There are few studies of parallel financing models of media in contemporary Russia. Erzikova and Lowrey (2014), studying how local governments control regional media in Russia, note that “while experiencing tough economic conditions, news organizations voluntarily sought to comply with the local government in exchange for subsidies from the regional budget.” It corresponds to the statement of the political economy of media that it is market structure that really “controls” media companies.

To sum up we can state that according to the political economy of the media, market structure and commercial purposes are the primary factors of control and reproduction of the capitalist order. This makes informational contracts an elegant tool for the state to control media within the structure of market relationships. Hence, it is valuable to study this parallel financing model, its mechanism and peculiarities within the market structure.

Methodology

The study design is based on the following methodology. The sample of four Russian regions was formed for the pilot research. Selection criteria were based on classifications of regions according to their socio-economic and territorial characteristics (Zubarevich & Safronov, 2014). The four regions selected for analysis are the Republic of Tatarstan (advancing in socio-economical development, territorially developed), Tomsk region (advancing in socio-economical development, poor territorial development), Rostov region (“middle” in socio-economic development, territorially developed) and the Republic of Mordovia (“middle” in socio-economic development, territorially developed). Types of selected regions represent the majority of Russian regions.

The data of all state contracts in the area of media signed in the 2011 to 2014 period were collected. The data is open since public organisations are obliged to publish such information on the Internet. The time period for analysis begins in 2011 because no information is available for earlier years. The database includes the topic of the contract, its price, signature date, customer (state organization), supplier (media company) and the organizational form of the customer (public or private). The database included 1846 contracts for a total sum of 5.596.251.482 Russian roubles.

The database was analysed in the following manner. Firstly, the primary statistic analysis was made to indicate the dynamics of informational contracts, its distribution among the suppliers, and customers and their organizational form. Primary statistic analysis was performed for 9 regions. After that the topics of the contracts were coded, employing an open-coding approach in order to determine the diversity of contracts' types (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Coding was performed for four regions.

Then the second part of the research was carried out. Coded categories were analysed using SPSS software in order to find out common regional features and differences from the sample.

Results

Diversity of contracts

The contracts we are studying here are a particular type of contract signed between state customers and state or commercial or non-commercial suppliers. First of all we describe the possible customers and suppliers from the sample, then we analyze the topics of these contracts.

The state here, acting as a customer, is represented by two types of organizations. The first one consists of federal, regional or local

organizations that represent the three branches of government – executive, legislative, and judiciary. They include different ministries and departments, courts, regional parliaments or dumas or other forms of judiciary authority.

The second type consists of state organizations fully or partially supported by the state budget. Among them are universities, schools, hospitals, and other organizations which provide services to society. An important point here is that the sample included contracts operating with financial resources from the state budget. Financial resources received by state organizations from their commercial activities were excluded from observation.

The main suppliers of the contracts are media companies. Besides them there are advertising or communication agencies, PR agencies, production companies or other companies that can substitute functions of media companies.

The method of coding allowed us to distinguish four types of such contracts.

The first and the main type is informational contracts that can be signed for both production and distribution of information. The subject of these contracts is usually defined as “informational support covering the topic of...” or “informational service.” It means that media companies (which are the main suppliers here) provide “all-inclusive” service packages to state organizations including production of content, distribution of content and other services according to customers’ wishes.

Besides “full” informational contracts, this group also includes separate contracts for production and distribution. The former ones are signed for production of media content, such as movies, videos, radio programs, and texts. Depending on the purposes of the content, it can be distributed in mass media channels (under other contracts for distribution) or can be used in the other ways (for

internal use of the state organizations, for outdoor screens during city events etc.). Not only media companies but also production and/or advertising companies are among the suppliers of these contracts.

The latter ones – contracts for distribution – are determined by the distribution via mass media channels of the content that state clients provide. The main actors here are media companies (as direct distributors of content) and advertising companies (as agents between state customers and mass media).

The second type is contracts for the publishing of official documents. These contracts involve the publishing of new rules, regulations and other official information that is obligated to be published. This type of contract is a good financial support for local print media because of the high prices of such contracts and the low efforts expected from the newspaper staff.

The third type is contracts for subscription. The main supplier in these contracts is the Federal State Unitary Enterprise Russian Post (Pochta Rossii) or other companies which provide the same services. The subject of these contracts is the procuring of print media for state organizations. This practice gives rise to so-called “obligatory subscription” where state organizations, besides subscribing to the print media they really need, subscribe to newspaper or magazine that are “recommended” for them to support.

The fourth type is other media-related contracts.

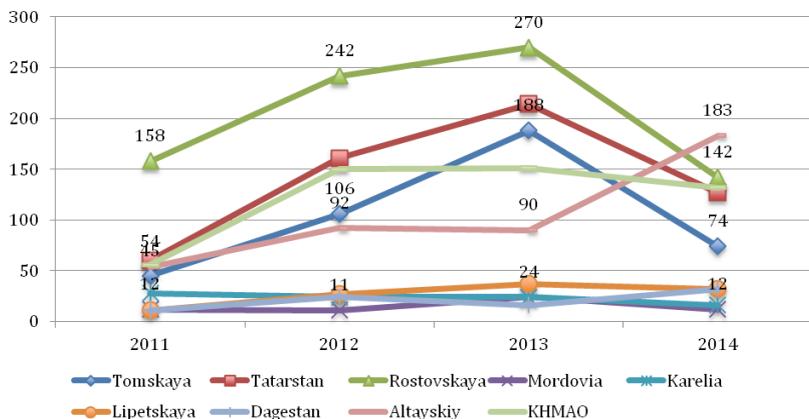
Number and cost of contracts

We analysed the database of the contracts and revealed that generally this practice is embedded and accepted by the majority of media companies in the regions of our sample. The number of the contracts either grew rapidly (in Rostov region, Tatarstan, Tomsk region, KHMAO, Altayskiy region) from 2011 to 2013 with a slight

decrease in 2014 or fluctuated around the same numbers (in the other regions form the sample) (*Figure 1*).

Figure 1

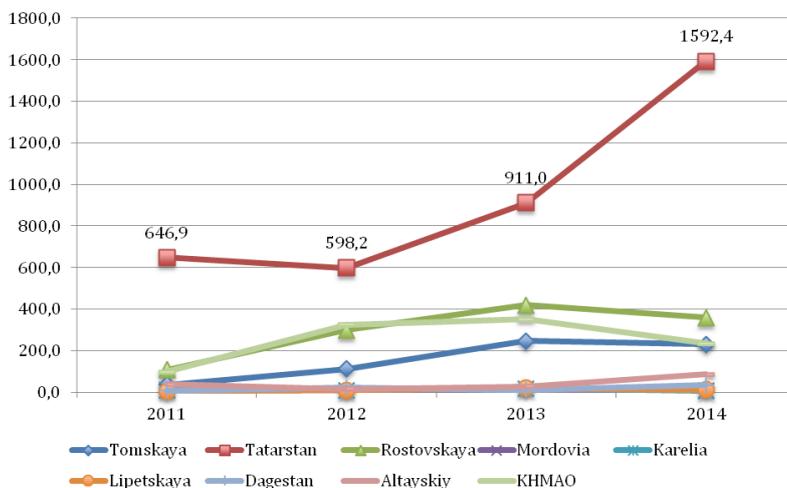
Total number of contracts in the media field in 2011-2014



The volumes of finance distributed by these contracts also kept growing during these four years (*Figure 2*). In eight out of nine regions the amounts of money grew quite evenly with a slight decrease in 2014. Tatarstan demonstrated a spike in 2014.

Figure 2

**Total amounts of money distributed in contracts
in the media field in 2011-2014, (mln. Russian rubles)**

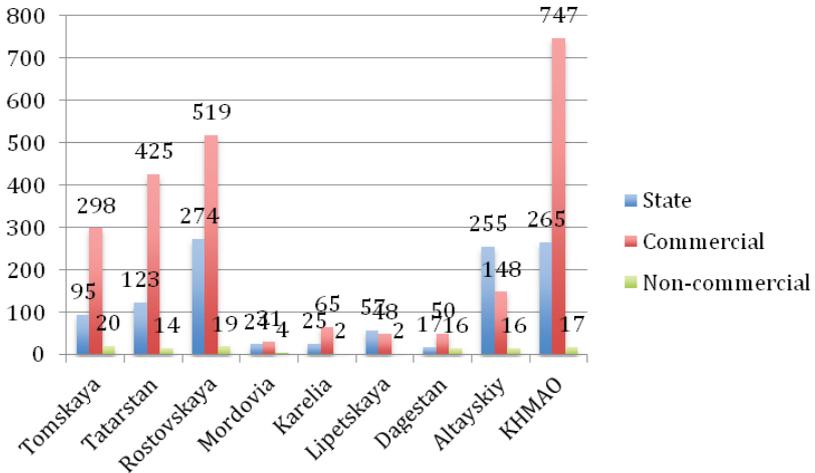


Suppliers

When it comes to the distribution of contracts among companies we can see that in all the regions the majority of contracts were received by commercial companies (*Figure 3*). This is important evidence for our research. It proves that state organizations placing such contracts focus on commercial media companies that don't get any other financing from the state in comparison to state-owned ones that are financed directly from the budget.

Figure 3

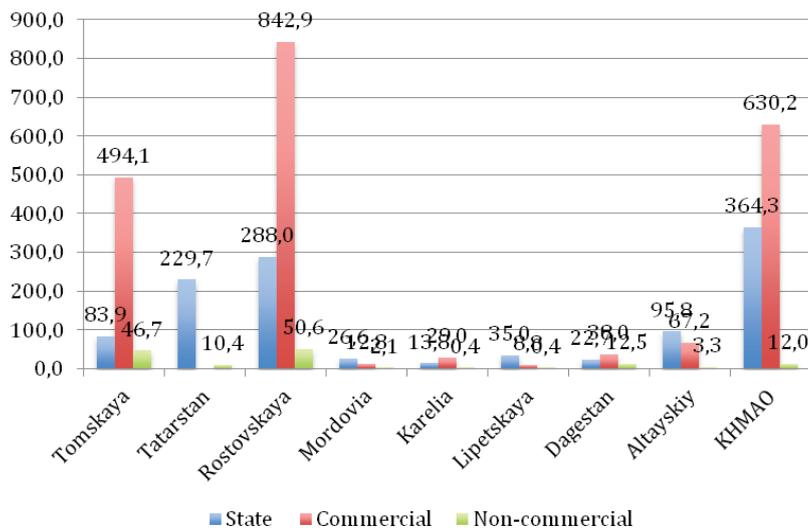
The distribution of contracts in state-owned, commercial and non-commercial organizations in 2011-2014



The same picture can be observed for the distribution of money between suppliers according to their forms. Commercial companies in all regions received several times more than state or non-commercial ones. Nevertheless, the indicator of organizational form should be used with some limits. It is not rare that shares of a commercial media company belong to state organizations or that the founder of a commercial company is the state.

Figure 4

**Total amount of money distributed in contracts in the media field
between state, commercial and non-commercial organizations
in 2011-2014 (in mln. Russian rubles)**



Each company from the sample received about 2-3 contracts on average; this amount is almost the same in the nine regions, with the exception of Tatarstan. It proves that the structural characteristics of the “fields of contracts” in these regions are similar. Average amounts of money also don’t differ dramatically – they range from about 1-4 mln. Russian rubles.

Table 1

**Average number of contracts and average amount
of money received by suppliers in 2011-2014**

	Average number of contracts	Average amount of money, mln. rubles
Rostovskaya	3,17	4,62
Tatarstan	3,47	23,14
Tomsk	3,15	4,77
Mordovia	2,81	1,97
Karelia	1,67	0,79
Lipetskaya	2,61	1,08
Dagestan	1,66	1,46
Altayskiy	2,60	1,03
KHMAO	4,64	4,53

However, the distribution of contracts is quite irregular. In each region several companies get the majority of contracts (and accordingly – money) and other companies are “long tail.” Thus, in Tatarstan first two companies (“Tatmedia” and “Noviy Vek”) get almost 90% of the total amount of money distributed in contracts. In the Tomsk region, the top 17 suppliers (out of 131) got 80% of the money. Notably, 26% of this money made the television channel “Tomskoe vremya” famous as the governor’s TV channel. In Mordovia the top 5 companies received 80% of the money and 57% went to a local branch of VGTRK. In the Rostov region, the top 13 suppliers (out of 256) got 80% of the money.

On the other hand, the “long tail” consists of 60-80% of supplier companies. In the Rostov region, 176 (out of 256) suppliers got 1 or 2 contracts only, in Tatarstan – 131 (out of 162), in the Tomsk region – 88 (out of 131), in Mordovia – 13 (out of 21).

State customers

We distinguished two main groups of customers – authorities and state organizations. Key customers in the regions of the sample were different. For instance, in Mordovia 68,4% of contracts belonged to the executive authorities in the sphere of press and mass communication (Ministry of Press and Information of the Republic of Mordovia). In the Rostov region, the biggest group of customers was also executive authorities: 41,1% of contracts were from regional and municipal governments. In Tatarstan there were two significant groups of customers: 30% of contracts belonged to the Republican Agency for Press and Mass Communication (executive branch) and 13.9% of contracts came from state organizations in the area of sports, tourism and culture. In the Tomsk region 35,5% of contracts were from regional Duma (legislative branch) and 22,5% of contracts were from executive authorities in the sphere of economics and finance. Thus the main customers in all the regions from the sample were executive authorities and executive branches.

We indicated federal, regional or municipal territorial levels of state customers (*Table 2*). In the regions of our sample, the majority of customers were regional authorities or regional state organizations. For instance, in Tatarstan 100% of customers were regional. Federal customers are rare and usually were represented by federal state universities. It proves that the main “interest group” of mass media in regions are authorities of the regional or municipal level.

Table 2

**The distribution of the state customers according
to their territorial level**

Territorial level of customer		Region				Total
		Mordovia	Tatarstan	Rostovskaya	Tomskaya	
Federal customers	Number of contracts	0	0	68	19	87
	% in Region	0,0%	0,0%	12,2%	10,4%	8,6%
Regional customers	Number of contracts	36	230	211	104	581
	% in Region	94,7%	100,0%	37,9%	57,1%	57,7%
Municipal customers	Number of contracts	2	0	278	59	339
	% in Region	5,3%	0,0%	49,9%	32,4%	33,7%
Total	Number of contracts	38	230	557	182	1007
	% in Region	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Discussion

In the literature review we mentioned the ways of state intervention into market activities suggested by N. Fligstein. The case of state informational contracts on regional media markets is an example of a situation where the state acts as a quasi-customer. The prefix “quasi” means that we can hardly consider the state as just a customer. It turned out to be much more complex.

Undoubtedly, informal contracts studied in this article are embedded financing forms in regional media markets. This proves the stable number of contracts and amounts of money distributed. Our own calculations reveal that in the most prosperous regions the

total size of these contracts is equal to approximately 1/3 of the size of the advertising market in region's capital.

Surprisingly, we observed the inverse relationship between the size of advertising markets and the size of informal contracts. The initial logic was the following: the bigger an advertising market in the region was, the fewer informational contracts there would be. In reality we observed the opposite situation. Regions with high numbers of contracts and amounts of money in these contracts (Tatarstan, Tomsk region, KHMAO, Rostov region) are regions with developed advertising markets. All of these regions belong to leaders or advancing regions in socio-economic development according to N. Zubarevich's classification. This let us argue that the model of informational contracts is not a way to "support" media market in the case of poor advertising capacities. The primary purpose of the informational contracts is to provide a tool of control over the media market to authorities.

This parallel market of informational contracts is structured towards commercial media companies that get the majority of contracts (both in terms of the number of contracts and amount of money). It is not a coincidence, because commercial media are much more dependent on the capacities of the advertising market in the region. If the market is poor, such contracts become an important source of financing to survive. At the same time, for media companies such contracts are a kind of "easy money." However, it is important to keep in mind that commercial companies in reality can have the state as their founder or major owner of shares. The example of Tatarstan and Tomsk region illustrates this case. The top two suppliers in Tatarstan are JSC "Noviy Vek" and JSC "Tatmedia." The Ministry of Land and Property of the Republic of Tatarstan owes 48,42% of shares of "Noviy Vek" and the majority of shares of "Tatmedia." In the Tomsk region the top supplier that receives 26%

of all the money is “Tomskoe Vremya” Ltd., the company founded by the region’s government. Thus we can distinguish the following groups of companies as the most frequent suppliers of informational contracts:

- Commercial companies that are by default less independent because of proprietary rights.
- Commercial companies that are dependent on advertising revenues. In this case the informational contracts are a means of economic leverage.
- State and non-commercial companies. The former ones are subsidized directly from the regional budget and such contracts are an additional source of state finance for them. The latter ones are few in the structure of regional media markets.

So, the first two groups are the most important suppliers for the state. This evidence also proves the statement made in the beginning of this article. The parallel financing model of informational contracts enables authorities to have informal but effective control over the media companies without participation in the media capital as owners.

Additionally, the parallel financing model of informational contracts is an extremely stable mechanism since it is based on the paternalistic role of the state towards media. The idea behind these contracts is to support media in the implementation of social responsibility. In reality it is transformed into a tool of promotion for state officials and maintenance of political status quo. The financial dependency of media companies contributes to this transformation by mechanisms of self-censorship and self-control in order to get such contracts in the future.

Conclusions

This pilot research demonstrates the dual nature of media markets in Russian regions. On one hand they have a basic market where media companies and advertisers implement the classical advertising-based business model. On the other hand, there is the parallel market. In this, market media companies are competing for the contracts from the state, and the state acts as an advertiser or commercial actor, rather than as a regulator or arbitrator. Such contracts, being an important financing source for media companies, enable local authorities to control the media market in the region effectively without direct ownership of media outlets.

Nevertheless, the research has some limitations. First of all, some contracts have very vague subjects. Even the text of the contract doesn't contain any details. The subject can be stated as "informational support" or "services in the area of television." In other words it is not obvious from the contracts what it was signed for. The probable explanation of such contracts could be the absence of an actual topic. Such contracts could be signed, and then the customer and supplier, who are close acquaintances or friends, decide what activities should be performed later.

The other explanation of such unclear topics, beside informal relations, can be the real purpose of the contracts. Sometimes the contracts are made not for getting any media products but just to transfer money to the selected media companies. In this way such contracts are just a hidden or parallel way of financing media companies. These vague contracts and the real purposes they were signed for should be further investigated.

The current economic situation in Russia changes the circumstances of future research. In the situation of crisis, the advertising market will drop, so media companies will become even more dependent on state

contracts as a source of financing. Obviously it will be more painful for private companies that earn a significant part of their income through advertising. Simultaneously, regional budgets as well as the number of contracts will also decrease. That will lead to structural changes in regional media markets and the growth of market concentration. This transformation of media landscape and the role of informational contracts in the new circumstances require further investigation.

References

Bagdikian, B. H. (1980) Conglomeration, Concentration, and the Media. *Journal of Communication*. 30(2). p. 59–64.

Bocharova, S. (2010) Ne po sredstvam massovoy informacii [Too Expensive for Mass Media]. *Gazeta.ru*. [Online]. Accessed from http://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2010/12/08_a_3460169.shtml [Accessed: 25/02/2016]

Bourdieu, P. (2014) *Socialnoe prostranstvo: polya i praktiki* [Social Space: Fields and Practices]. Trans. Shmatko, N.A.. SpB: Aleteiya.

Davis, H., Hammond, P. & Nizamova, L. (1998) Changing Identities and Practices in Post-Soviet Journalism: The Case of Tatarstan. *European Journal of Communication*. 13(1). p. 77–97.

Erzikova, E. & Lowrey, W. (2014) Preventive Journalism as a Means of Controlling Regional Media in Russia. *Global Media and Communication*. 10(1). p. 35–52.

Fligstein, N. (2001) *The Architecture of Markets: An Economic Sociology of Twenty-first-century Capitalist Societies*. Princeton University Press.

Fligstein, N. (2005) States, Markets, and Economic Growth. In: Nee, V., Swedberg, R.(eds). *The Economic Sociology of Capitalism*. Princeton University Press. p. 119–143.

- Garnham, N. (1992) *Capitalism and Communication*. London.
- Garnham, N. (2011) The Political Economy of Communication Revisited. In: *The Handbook of Political Economy of Communications*. p. 41–61.
- Golding, P., & Murdock, G. (2000) Culture, Communications and Political economy. *Mass Media and Society*. 3. p. 70–92.
- Hallin, D. & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2002) Political Clientelism and the Media: Southern Europe and Latin America in Comparative Perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*. 24(2). p. 175–195.
- Koltsova, O. (2006) *News Media and Power in Russia*. Routledge.
- Lowrey, W. & Erzikova, E. (2010) Institutional Legitimacy and Russian News: Case Studies of Four Regional Newspapers. *Political Communication*. 27(3). p. 275–288.
- McChesney, R. U. S. (2000) Media at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. In: McChesney R. W. & Scott B. (eds.). *Our Unfree Press: 100 years of Radical Media Criticism*. New Press. p. 60–75.
- Mosco, V. (2009) *The Political Economy of Communication*. SAGE Publications.
- Pasti, S. (2005) Two Generations of Contemporary Russian Journalists. *European Journal of Communication*. 20(1). p. 89–115.
- Picard, R. G. (2002) *The Economics and Financing of Media Companies*. (Vol. 1). Fordham University Press.
- Pradié, C. (2005) Capitalisme et Financiarisation des Industries Culturelles. *Réseaux*. 3. p. 83–109.
- Robinson, N. (2007) The Political is Personal: Corruption, Clientelism, Patronage, Informal Practices and the Dynamics of Post-communism. *Europe-Asia Studies*. 59(7). p. 1217–1224.
- Roudakova, N. (2008) Media-political Clientelism: Lessons from Anthropology. *Media, Culture & Society*. 30(1). p. 41–59.
- Smythe, D. W. (1977) Communications: Blindspot of Western Marxism. *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*. 1(3). p. 1–27.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. M. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Williams, R. (1976) *Communications*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Zubarevich, N. V. & Safronov, S. G. (2014) Inequality in the Socioeconomic Development of the Regions and Cities of Russia in the 2000s. *Sociological Research*. 53(6). p. 48–68.

COVERAGE OF INDIA ON THE ABC, CBS AND NBC EVENING NEWS PROGRAMS, 1969–2000

ОСВЕЩЕНИЕ ИНДИИ В ВЕЧЕРНИХ НОВОСТНЫХ ПРОГРАММАХ ТЕЛЕКАНАЛОВ ABC, CBS И NBC, 1969–2000

*Anthony Moretti, PhD in Philology,
Director, Center for Innovative Teaching and Directed Engaged Learning,
Associate Professor, School of Communications and Information Systems,
Robert Morris University,
Pittsburg, USA
moretti@rmu.edu*

*Энтони Моретти, PhD, филология,
директор, центр инновационного преподавания и включенного
обучения,
доцент, школа коммуникаций и информационных систем,
Университет Роберта Морриса,
Питтсбург, США
moretti@rmu.edu*

This paper examines the coverage afforded India between 1969 and 2000 on the U.S. evening news programs disseminated by ABC, CBS, and NBC. These years were selected because they allowed for an analysis of network television coverage spanning the final six administrations that served the United States through the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Four of those administrations were led by Republicans (Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George Bush), and the other two were led by Democrats (Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton). Some presidents (Carter, Reagan, Clinton) enjoyed good relations with the Indian government, while others (Nixon, Ford, Bush) often were frustrated in their dealings with the Indian leadership.

The analysis shows that a strong majority of stories suggested India was either not safe or not stable; thus, bad news dominated, regardless of whether the U.S. administration had favorable or unfavorable relations with its Indian counterpart.

Key words: *India, U.S. television news, international news coverage.*

Статья рассматривает освещение Индии в период с 1969 по 2000 гг. в вечерних новостных программах американских телеканалов ABC, CBS и NBC. Выбор временного периода был продиктован стремлением проанализировать специфику освещения телеканалами этого вопроса в период нахождения у власти шести президентских администраций в конце XX и начале XXI века. Четыре из этих администраций возглавляли республиканцы (Ричард Никсон, Джеральд Форд, Рональд Рейган и Джордж Буш), а еще две – демократы (Джимми Картер и Билл Клинтон). У некоторых президентов (Картер, Рейган, Клинтон) были хорошие отношения с правительством Индии, в то время взаимоотношения других (Никсон, Форд, Буш) с индийским руководством были не самыми простыми. Исследование показало, что в большинстве проанализированных материалов Индия была представлена как небезопасная страна с нестабильной обстановкой; негативная трактовка преобладала в СМИ вне зависимости от того, какие у американского руководства были отношения с индийским правительством – благоприятные или неблагоприятные.

Ключевые слова: *Индия, телевизионные новости США, международное освещение событий.*

Introduction

This paper examines the coverage afforded India between 1969 and 2000 on the evening news programs disseminated by ABC, CBS, and NBC. These years were selected because they allowed for an analysis of network television coverage spanning the final six administrations that served the United States through the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Four of those administrations were led by Republicans (Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and George Bush), and the other two were led by Democrats (Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton). Some presidents (Carter, Reagan, Clinton) enjoyed good relations with the Indian government, while others (Nixon, Ford, Bush) often were frustrated in their dealings with the Indian leadership. More importantly, these years allowed for an examination of U.S. policy toward India through the end of the Cold War and the subsequent post-Cold War era. Additional details about the scope of coverage are supplied in the methodology section.

The author employed the Vanderbilt University television abstracts in this study. Each abstract provided a brief sketch of that story. The information included who reported the story, what the story was about, and who, if anyone, delivered a sound bite. These abstracts can be accessed online through the Vanderbilt University Television Archive website.

The India-U.S. Political Relationship in the Final Decades of the 20th Century

The political relationship between the United States and India has had a “rollercoaster character,” dating to India’s independence

in 1947 (Chary, 1995: 3). Perhaps more importantly, for most of the second half of the twentieth century, India assumed a “secondary place” in the minds of American government officials (Cohen, 2001: 1), because the United States was determined to derail the expansion of communism, and India was unwilling to acquiesce to the U.S. view of the threat communism posed to the world. Graebner added that India and the United States had distinct differences of opinion about the “the meaning of the Cold War, the Korean War, and the presence of Communist regimes in China and Indochina” (in Chary, 1995: ix). He said that because the nature of their differences was not rooted in the fundamental structure of their societies, India and the United States were able to enjoy sustained periods of positive relations. Meanwhile, according to Cohen, “of the major powers, only the Soviet Union developed a broad appreciation of India as a major power” (2001: 26).

The Americans continually were frustrated by Jawaharlal Nehru, who ruled India from its independence in 1947 until his death in 1964, because he was determined not to take sides in the Cold War world. Key described him as the “high priest of non-alignment” (2000: 516). “India will follow an independent policy,” Nehru said in 1946, “keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned against the other” (in Chary, 1995: vii). Moreover, he rejected the American view that the Kremlin sought the expansion of communism into South Asia (Chary, 1995).

Nehru welcomed economic aid from the United States, but he refused to link it to the domestic and foreign agendas of his country (Chary, 1995). In line with this idea, he sought to establish India as a country “based on justice rather than profit, rational planning rather than the blind operation of the market, and forced economic growth and industrialization as opposed to the orientation of the economy to the production of raw materials for the profit of foreign

enterprises” (Chary, 1995: 58). He also “held a sympathetic, even romantic image of the economic and social accomplishments of the Soviet Union, although he rejected Soviet totalitarianism, and he admired the way that Moscow stood up to Western pressure” (Cohen, 2001: 38). Collectively, these actions and sentiments led the Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower administrations to question whether Nehru and India should be considered friend or foe. The situation improved under President John Kennedy, because of his “flexible approach and efforts to secure aid for India despite its non-aligned status” (Chary, 1995: 123).

Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Nehru, and his short term as leader also was marred by inconsistent relations with the United States. India’s war with Pakistan and its disagreement with the growing U.S. presence in Vietnam eroded much of the goodwill that had been built under Kennedy. Shastri collapsed and died in 1966.

Indira Gandhi, Nehru’s daughter, became the next leader of the country, and she quickly added her voice to the growing discontent with U.S. involvement in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson responded by cutting off almost all food aid to India. The cooling in relations continued under President Nixon, who had a “personal preference for Pakistan,” India’s political nemesis (Chary, 1995: 132).

In 1971, India and the Soviet Union signed a twenty-year pact of friendship, which led many in the United States to conclude that India had abandoned its nonalignment policy. India disagreed (Chary, 1995). Chari [*sic*] added that the U.S. decision made that same year to send one of its naval aircraft carriers into the Bay of Bengal during the Pakistan-India conflict ensured that the relationship between the Americans and the Indians had reached their lowest point in the post-World War II period (in Bertsch et al.: 1999).

In 1974, India successfully tested a nuclear bomb, which it had developed in response to China's acquisition of nuclear technology ten years earlier (Tahir-Kheli, 1997). The choice, despite the protests that came from the United States and elsewhere, did not violate any international non-proliferation agreements (Chari, in Bertsch et al.: 1999). Beginning in the 1970s and carrying through to the end of the 1980s, the "dominant strategic theme" to India's foreign policy was that force (in its myriad forms) could and should be used (Cohen, 2001: 58). Gandhi was at the forefront of this attitude, and going nuclear was consistent with this.

Jimmy Carter's inauguration in 1977 ushered in another shift in the India-U.S. relationship, which in part was due to a corresponding change in leadership in India. Morarji Desai was elected prime minister that same year and immediately set out to increase private sector and foreign investment opportunities. Food aid increased, and the two countries began discussing scientific and technical cooperative deals (Chary, 1995). Unfortunately, Desai's government fell after only two years. Charan Singh was another short-term leader; he remained in power less than a year before Mrs. Gandhi was reelected prime minister. Meanwhile, the hostage crisis in Iran and a ratcheting up of tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union because of the latter's invasion of Afghanistan (which India criticized privately not publicly, *Ibid.*) ensured that Carter could not devote the time and energy he had hoped to in order to make human rights a hallmark of his foreign policy.

President Reagan initially enjoyed poor relations with India because of his interest in arming Pakistan, which was supposed to act as a deterrent to Soviet expansion in South Asia, and the continual aid, estimated at \$2 billion annually, that India received from the Soviet Union (*Ibid.*). Only later did he approach India with substantive economic assistance. Gandhi visited the United States

in 1982; it was described as an “outstanding success” (ibid: 166) and led to additional economic, military, and cultural agreements. In the words of Tahir-Kheli, “Gandhi saw no reason why a more robust relationship between the world’s two largest democracies could not be fashioned” (1997: 5).

Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by two of her bodyguards in 1984. Her older son, Rajiv, reluctantly succeeded her (Keay, 2000). He adopted a much-more Western-style approach to economics, and he enjoyed a strong relationship based on “personal chemistry” with Reagan (Tahir-Kheli, 1997: 43). Chary noted that “productivity, technological modernization, and competitiveness became the catchwords of Rajiv Gandhi’s regime” (1995: 168). Substantial financial deals between India and the American government and India and American corporations followed (Ibid.). At the same time, the Reagan administration commended India for playing a “pivotal” role in the advancement of peace in South Asia (ibid: 62).

Gandhi was voted out of office in 1989 and assassinated two years later. Seven leadership changes followed in the 1990s with only one government (headed by P.V. Rao) lasting a full-term. According to Keay, it was under Rao that the pace of economic liberalization quickened. “The shoddy goods and drab austerities of the Nehru age gave way to conspicuous expenditure on consumer durables, imported luxuries and foreign travel” (2000: 531). Tahir-Kheli added, “The U.S. reaction was highly positive” (1997: 99). Immediate benefits could be seen: Exports rose by 20 percent in 1992 and another 18 percent one year later, and foreign investment inside India increased tenfold in the early 1990s (1997: 101–103). India’s economy also grew by 6 percent each year between 1990 and 1998 (Cohen, 2001).

Cohen added that India’s on-going dispute with Pakistan, which including both countries testing nuclear weapons, ensured that

America's interests in securing worldwide nuclear non-proliferation was stymied (2001). Moreover, in 1998 India tested five nuclear bombs in the span of three days. Bertsch, Gahlaut, and Srivastava noted, "The U.S. response was harsh," including a number of sanctions (which remained in effect until late 2000) and another erosion in Indian-American relations (1999: xiv). The collapse of the Soviet Union, which had been an ally, the close relations between Pakistan and China, and Japan's unwillingness to become more allied with India contributed to the decision to conduct the nuclear tests (Cohen, 2001).

At about the same time the sanctions were lifted, President Clinton visited India, becoming the first U.S. president to do so in more than two decades.

This brief summation was designed to allow the reader a better understanding of U.S. – Indian political relations dating from India's independence in 1947 through the end of the Clinton administration. It might seem unusual to those people with a casual or lack of interest in India that it did not enjoy a more robust and positive relationship with the United States, recognizing that each country is a democracy. Moreover, this summary allows the reader to better understand the research questions associated with this exploration of U.S. media reporting from and about India. Those research questions are outlined in the methodology section.

Literature Review

Coverage of Threatening Nations

Hester (1973) suggested political leaders need to recognize and understand the events taking place around them in order to ensure their government's long-term vitality. He added that information about those nations that are believed to be real or potential threats are especially

sought out, and journalists unconsciously can assist in this effort by reporting more stories about alleged threatening nations. Chang and Lee (1992) supported Hester's contention. They reported that editors considered the threat that some event posed to the United States to be of paramount importance when they chose the stories that appeared in their newspapers. Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2003) argued that the more media coverage a foreign nation received, the more survey respondents considered that nation to be vitally important to United States' interests. Perhaps more importantly, their research determined that the more negative coverage a nation received, the more respondents exhibited negative thoughts about that country. Tehranian (1990) provided another example of this threatening world effect on news coverage, by claiming that neither Japan nor the Middle East would have attracted significant amounts of Western media attention had they not been considered economic or strategic threats to the United States. Cooper-Chen (1999) found that coverage of Japan changed over a thirty-year period in a major American newsmagazine. The dissemination of information about Japan reached its zenith – and demonstrated its most negative tone – during the 1980s, a period in which Japan's post-World War II economic success was viewed harshly in the United States.

Finally, Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Salwen and Garrison (1989) are among those who argue that cultural attributes help define societies, and people with similarly-held attributes tend to understand and relate better to each other. By extension, those that are considered “not to be like me” could easily be classified as threatening.

Framing

Entman (1991) suggested that frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images that are emphasized within news narratives. Hall (in Curran, Gurevitch, & Wallacott, 1977) argued that over time the selection

and repetition of certain codes become accepted as the dominant explanation for events that need definition. Gitlin (1980) defined frames as patterns of thought, analysis, delivery, choice, inclusion and omission, allowing for an organized discourse to occur. Hackett (1984) added that framing the news might not be a conscious act by journalists, arguing instead that assumptions are made about the world and information is disseminated in accordance with that world's view. Weinberger, Allen, and Dillon (1984) added that visual images can heighten the negative reaction that some audience members will have to a story. Perry argued that news that was not representative of developing countries reduced the knowledge that people had of those countries but increased their confidence in making judgments about the people in those nations. He concluded, "By focusing upon unusual and extreme events, much news is by definition non-representative ... Perhaps news persons should make a special effort to balance coverage of unusual events in developing countries with information about what is typical" (1987: 421).

In short, framing allows for a single interpretation to dominate news coverage; all other themes become inferior or non-existent.

Previous Research Examining the Coverage of India and U.S. – Indian Relations

Perry, in a study of five countries that including India, reported that news consumption generally led to increased knowledge about and a more favorable attitude toward each of those nations. He concluded, "[T]he quality of news available about foreign countries often may be at least as important as its content for facilitating favorable impressions [about foreign countries and their people]" (1990: 358). By contrast, Weaver, Porter, and Evans noted that coverage of Asia (which in their study included India) on network television dropped sharply from 1977 through 1981, when compared to the previous five-year period.

Ramaprasad and Riffe (1987) reviewed the effect that U.S. governmental policy toward India had on the type of coverage “The New York Times” gave the country. They found no support for the hypothesis that Washington’s foreign policy had an effect on the newspaper’s reporting, although the number of favorably slanted and positive stories tended to be higher during Carter’s presidency, which, as mentioned above, coincided with a positive relationship between the two countries. The researchers determined that overall there were more unfavorably slanted and negative stories about India, although favorably slanted and positive stories were lengthier.

Jayakar (1997) found differences in the coverage of national elections in India and Israel in 1996. More stories were devoted to the Israeli elections, and more of them appeared on the front page. India, in a variety of ways, was portrayed as a “backward and mysterious region,” which, according to Jayakar, reinforced the image Americans had of the country. Meanwhile, Israel was portrayed as ready for an historic election that would enhance peace prospects with the Palestinians; this was an explicit aim of the Clinton administration.

Several studies have looked at how the Indian media do their job. Haque (1986) reviewed the content of seven major Indian daily newspapers and reported there was a high correlation in story selection among them. Shah (1988) noted that development news on All India Radio was sparsely reported, often lacked depth, and generally was placed in the middle of the newscast, suggesting that this news classification was not of relative importance. Thussu has noted that the impact of Western-style journalism practices can be seen in the Indian media in at least two ways. First, he acknowledged that the Indian media began to undergo a substantive change in the last two decades of the previous century. “[T]he serious and staid Indian press is already copying U.S.-style sensational journalism. Journalistic practices and training, already much influenced by Western journalism, is being

further Americanized, with greater emphasis on entertainment-oriented news agendas” (1998: 143). Thussu (2002) also discussed how the Indian government had adopted Western-based styles of controlling the media and the messages they deliver during wartime, in evaluating how the Indian media covered the 1999 conflict between India and Pakistan. Thussu stated, “The U.S. approach to news management appears to be in the process of being globalized, partly because of its effectiveness and partly because of its visibility among foreign policy establishments across the globe” (ibid: 207).

Methodology

The American television networks rightfully take a place among the elite of the broadcast medium. Cable, satellite television, a host of other entertainment programming options and ever-present social media options are eroding the dominant audience share that the over-the-air networks once enjoyed; however, they remain important news and entertainment sources.

Justification for examining television coverage stems from the recognition that television has supplanted the newspaper as the primary information source to which Americans turn (Nielsen Media Research, 2002; Pew Research Center, 2001). Television news also trumps their cable news competitors. An analysis of more than thirty years of network news coverage of India offers an opportunity to examine what factors influenced the reporting from and about this country with most of those years coinciding with the highest annual ratings for these evening news programs.

The author made use of the Vanderbilt University television abstracts for this study. The author is aware of the constructive criticisms made by Althaus, Edy, and Phalen (2002) regarding the

use of the abstracts, especially regarding the authorship of abstracts between 1968 and 1972 (Ibid.: 477); that abstracts should not be surrogates for actual tapes of the newscasts (ibid: 487); and that the abstracts provide an imprecise evaluation of the tone of policy statements (ibid.: 488). However, the author believes that the type of information that was gleaned from the abstracts for this study alleviates some of the aforementioned concerns.

The author chose to code a census of all stories appearing between January 1, 1969 and December 31, 2000. As mentioned earlier, this time frame coincides almost exactly with the six men who served as president of the United States during these years. Thus, instead of generating a snapshot of network coverage and how it might have been influenced by each administration's policies and attitudes toward India, this study allows for the entirety of coverage to be content analyzed. Based on the available research and literature, the following research questions were formed:

RQ1: Would there be more coverage from and about India during those periods (1969 – 1977 and 1989 – 1993) in which relations between it and the United States were poor? This question coincides with the suggestion by Hester and others that in periods when a foreign government was considered a threat to or in discord with the United States the media spotlight would focus more on that country, its actions, and its people.

RQ2: Would coverage from and about India, regardless of the state of relations with the United States, tend to focus on bad news, sensational items, or unusual events?

RQ3: Would so-called “bad news” stories (accidents, disasters, crime, etc.) be lengthier than their corresponding “good news” reports?

RQ4: Would non-Indian sources be the primary people who framed the discussion of events taking place in India or involving India and the United States?

There were 27 coded categories in this study. A brief description of each is listed here.

1. Year: The year in which the story aired.
2. Network: The network (ABC, CBS, or NBC) that aired the story.
3. Approximate length of story (in seconds): This figure was derived from subtracting the end time of a story from its beginning time and converting that figure into seconds.
4. Topic: Fourteen possible categories existed here: domestic politics and government acts; diplomacy and foreign relations; economics; war/defense; domestic crime; public health and welfare; public moral problems; accidents/disasters; transportation/travel; agriculture; science/invention; education/the arts; popular amusements; and general human interest.

(Each of the remaining categories was answered yes/no.)

1. Tone: Positive, negative, or neutral, toward India based on information provided in abstract.
2. U.S. government source used.
3. U.S. military source used.
4. U.S. business source used.
5. U.S. media source used.
6. U.S. educator/academic/think tank source used.
7. U.S. religious source used.
8. U.S. citizen source used.
9. India government source used.
10. India military source used.
11. India business source used.
12. India media source used.
13. India educator/academic/think tank source used.
14. India religious source used.

15. India citizen source used.
16. Other government source used.
17. Other military source used.
18. Other business source used.
19. Other media source used.
20. Other educator/academic/think tank source used.
21. Other religious figure used.
22. Other citizen source used.
23. Source information can't be determined.

Results

A total of 1810 stories (see *Table 1*) were content analyzed in this study of network news coverage of India. Each network provided almost equal amounts of attention to India, when compared to their news competitors. NBC disseminated the most stories during the coding period (626). ABC presented 595, and CBS delivered 589. However, the networks appeared to not always value the same kinds of stories. As *Table 2* notes, NBC favored reporting focused on war/defense and diplomacy/foreign relations; CBS tended to highlight domestic politics and domestic crime; and ABC saw benefit especially in general human interest stories when compared to CBS and NBC.

Table 1

Coverage of India on American network television; all years

Network	No. of stories	Pct. of total
ABC	595	32.9
CBS	589	32.5
NBC	626	34.6
Total	1810	100

Table 2

Coverage of each topic by network

	Domestic politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic crime	Public health	Public moral problems
ABC	86	97	13	117	78	37	0
CBS	113	99	8	106	84	23	0
NBC	105	127	12	130	69	35	0
Total	304	323	33	353	231	95	0

Table 2

Continued

	Accidents/ Disasters	Transport/ Travel	Agriculture	Education/ Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular amusement	General human interest	Total number
ABC	102	1	2	0	5	3	54	595
CBS	98	3	4	2	10	4	35	589
NBC	105	1	3	0	4	1	34	626
Total	305	5	9	2	19	8	123	1810

The most attention devoted to any one topic in any one year occurred in 1971, when India and Pakistan were at war (see *Table 3*). A total of 185 stories (NBC: 73; ABC: 57; CBS: 55) relating to that event aired on the three networks.

In fact, stories relating to war/defense (354) were most often delivered to U.S. television news audiences, with diplomacy/foreign relations (323), accidents/disasters (305) and domestic politics (304) rounding out the four most used themes. These categories accounted for 71 percent (1286 of 1810) of all stories.

Table 3

Year-by-year coverage of all topics, all networks

Year	Domestic politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign relation	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic crime	Public health	Public oral problems
1969	6	8	0	5	1	2	0
1970	2	5	2	1	0	0	0
1971	15	61	0	185	7	23	0
1972	2	37	2	19	0	4	0
1973	0	3	1	6	2	4	0
1974	2	18	4	11	4	8	0
1975	66	5	0	3	8	0	0
1976	12	9	2	6	3	5	0
1977	45	14	1	3	10	3	0
1978	19	9	0	10	2	0	0
1979	15	2	0	8	5	0	0
1980	17	36	1	4	4	0	0
1981	1	5	1	6	3	1	0
1982	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1983	3	5	0	1	15	2	0
1984	31	2	2	2	49	2	0
1985	4	9	2	3	15	1	0
1986	3	23	0	1	11	1	0
1987	3	6	0	0	9	4	0
1988	2	8	0	2	6	0	0
1989	16	1	6	2	1	0	0
1990	6	2	4	6	5	0	0
1991	9	3	1	1	17	4	0
1992	1	2	0	2	10	3	0
1993	3	2	0	1	11	2	0
1994	0	4	0	1	0	12	0
1995	0	6	0	0	4	0	0
1996	3	0	1	0	5	3	0
1997	4	1	0	0	0	0	0
1998	4	16	2	46	5	4	0
1999	0	5	0	12	13	5	0
2000	0	16	0	5	6	2	0
TOTAL	304	323	33	354	231	95	0

Table 3

Continued

Year	Accidents/ Disasters	Transport/ Travel	Agriculture	Education/ Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular amusement	General human interest
1969	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1970	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
1971	14	2	0	0	0	0	1
1972	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
1973	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	2	0	5	0	0	0	1
1975	7	0	1	1	1	0	1
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1977	15	1	0	0	0	0	8
1978	15	0	0	1	2	0	3
1979	13	0	0	0	2	0	4
1980	5	0	0	0	0	0	2
1981	4	0	0	0	0	1	2
1982	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
1983	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
1984	41	0	0	0	8	0	3
1985	64	0	0	0	1	0	6
1986	17	1	1	0	0	0	1
1987	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	5	0	0	0	0	0	4
1990	3	0	0	0	0	0	1
1991	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
1992	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1993	17	0	0	0	0	0	3
1994	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1995	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1996	17	0	0	0	1	0	27
1997	3	0	0	0	0	6	35
1998	6	0	0	0	0	0	9
1999	9	0	0	0	0	0	3
2000	8	0	0	0	1	0	4
TOTAL	305	5	9	2	19	8	123

Research Question 1: Would there be more coverage from and about India during those periods (1969 – 1977 and 1989 – 1993) in which relations between it and the United States were poor?: There was more coverage devoted to India during those periods in which it and the United States had a strained political relationship; however, the imbalance was not as great as perhaps thought. As mentioned earlier, the years 1969 through 1976 (Nixon and Ford presidential years) and 1989 through 1992 (Bush presidential years) were identified as times in which the relationship between India and the United States could be classified as poor. During those twelve years, a total of 748 stories appeared on the three network news programs. (See *Table 4* for a year-by-year breakdown of stories.) During the twenty years (spanning the Carter and Reagan, and then the Clinton administrations), a total of 1062 stories were disseminated by the networks. The twelve “bad” years saw an average of 62.4 stories put out by the networks, while the twenty “good” years saw an average of 53.1 stories.

Table 4

Year-by-year breakdown of all stories by network

Year	ABC	CBS	NBC	Total
1969	11	7	5	23
1970	3	5	5	13
1971	93	94	121	308
1972	19	11	40	70
1973	4	7	7	18
1974	15	18	22	55
1975	27	35	31	93
1976	10	15	14	39
1977	36	30	34	100
1978	12	29	20	61
1979	17	17	15	49
1980	22	23	24	69
1981	8	7	8	23
1982	5	0	1	6
1983	5	19	6	30
1984	40	47	53	140
1985	26	41	38	105
1986	11	20	28	59
1987	12	11	6	29
1988	11	8	9	28
1989	10	11	14	35
1990	13	8	6	27
1991	17	13	18	48
1992	8	6	5	19
1993	12	11	16	39
1994	7	5	5	17
1995	7	10	3	20
1996	33	12	12	57
1997	22	13	14	49
1998	36	29	27	92
1999	21	16	10	47
2000	22	11	9	42
Total	595	589	626	1810

In addition, the author coded each abstract as positive, negative, or neutral based on its tone toward India (see *Table 5*) The majority of stories (963 of 1810, 53.2 percent) were classified across all networks as having a negative tone.

Table 5

“Tone” of stories relating to India

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
ABC	47	315	233	595
CBS	38	321	230	589
NBC	37	327	262	626
TOTAL	122	963	725	1810

Research Question 2: Would coverage from and about India, regardless of the state of relations with the United States, tend to focus on bad news, sensational items, or unusual events?: Regardless of the political relationship between the United States and India, coverage of India focused on bad news, sensational items, or the unusual. The reader is once again encouraged to consult *Table 3*. Stories about war (353 stories), accidents and disasters (305 stories), and domestic crime (231 stories) – reports that suggest a society in turmoil – accounted for almost 50 percent (889 of 1810, 49,2 percent) of all reports from India. Not surprisingly, the tone of these stories consistently was negative (see *Table 6*). Only 19 such stories were categorized as having a positive tone, while 667 stories dealing with these three topics were considered to have a negative tone. One could argue that the combined effect of these continual negative portrayals provided a frame of reference of India being a land where “bad” things happened consistently and/or India was either unable or unwilling to control them.

Table 6

“Tone” of war/defense, accidents/disasters, and domestic crime

	Positive	Negative	Neutral
War/Defense	18	231	105
Accidents	1	213	90
Domestic Crime	0	223	7

Research Question 3: Would so-called “bad news” stories (accidents, disasters, crime, etc.) be lengthier than their corresponding “good news” reports?: Bad news stories were longer than good news stories (see Table 7). For purposes of this research, a story was considered “short” if it lasted for fewer than 30 seconds, “medium” if it aired from 31 to 60 seconds and “long” if it aired for more than one minute. Seventy-five of the 121 positive stories (62 percent) were “short,” another four (3 percent) were “medium,” and 42 (35 percent) were “long.” At the same time, 535 of the 963 negative stories (56 percent) were “short,” another 57 (6 percent) were “medium,” and the remaining 371 stories (39 percent) were “long.” Table 8 considers the amount of seconds devoted to each topic. Stories dealing with war/defense, domestic crime, and public health and welfare more often appeared as “long” reports; however, other “bad” stories – principally accidents/disasters – were more often treated as “short” stories. At the same time, while there was plenty of coverage about India’s diplomatic and foreign relations efforts, those stories overwhelmingly were treated with little substance or context: Almost two-thirds of them (66.5 percent) were no more than 30 seconds in length.

Table 7

Length of time devoted to good and bad news stories

	Positive	Negative	Total
Short	75 (62%)	535 (56%)	610
Medium	4 (3%)	57 (6%)	61
Long	42 (35%)	371 (39%)	413
TOTAL	121	963	1084

A story was considered “short” if it aired for 30 or fewer seconds. A story was considered “medium” if it lasted between 31 and 60 seconds. A story was considered “long” if it aired for more than one minute.

All percentages rounded.

Table 8

Amount of seconds devoted to all topics, all networks

	Domestic politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic crime	Public health	Public moral problems
Short	188	215	21	158	152	37	0
Medium	20	24	2	23	9	4	0
Long	96	84	10	172	170	54	0
Total	304	323	33	353	231	95	0

Table 8

Continued

	Accidents/ Disasters	Transport/ Travel	Agriculture	Education/ Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular amusement	General human interest
Short	190	4	2	0	14	1	62
Medium	14	0	1	0	2	0	5
Long	101	1	6	2	3	7	56
Total	305	5	9	2	19	8	123

Research Question 4 Would non-Indian sources be the primary people who framed the discussion of events taking place in India or involving India and the United States?: The principal sources used in framing coverage from or about India were from that nation. As *Table 9* demonstrates, Indian government, military, media, religious and private citizens discussed Indian-related affairs more than their U.S. counterparts and those from other nations. (U.S. and Indian educators appeared an equal number of times – 27 – and far outpaced their colleagues from other nations, who were sources on only five occasions. U.S. business representatives (30) were the only ones who discussed a story more frequently than their Indian (18) colleagues or from those elsewhere in the world (3).

Table 9

**Comparison of U.S.,
Indian and other nation sources by category (Blank=0)**

	Domestic politics	Diplomacy/ Foreign relations	Economics	War/ Defense	Domestic crime	Public health	Public moral problems
U.S. Gov	3	48	3	62	8	5	
Indian Gov	71	50	4	77	34	17	
Other Gov	1	28	2	68	4	1	
U.S. Military				1		3	
Indian Military	1	1		10	3		
Other Military		1		8			
U.S. Business	1	2	2	1			
Indian Business	2	1	2	1	2		
Other Business		1					
U.S. Media	2			4	1		
Indian Media	9	3		4	3	1	
Other Media		1		4	6		
U.S. Educator		4	1	12	2	4	
Indian Educator	6	1		1	4	6	
Other Educator			2	1	2		
U.S. Religious							
Indian Religious	1	1			1	1	
Other Religious			5	3			
U.S. Citizen		8		12	1	3	
Indian Citizen	13	8	1	9	30		
Other Citizen	1	2		13	3	4	

Table 9

Continued

	Accidents/ Disasters	Transport/ Travel	Agriculture	Education/ Arts	Science/ Invention	Popular amusement	General human interest	Total
U.S. Gov	8						1	38
Indian Gov	26				1		2	282
Other Gov	5							108
U.S. Military								4
Indian Military	5							20
Other Military	3							12
U.S. Business	23							30
Indian Business	5				1		4	18
Other Business	2							3
U.S. Media								7
Indian Media	1						2	23
Other Media	2						2	15
U.S. Educator	2				1		1	27
Indian Educator	4				1		4	27
Other Educator								5
U.S. Religious							4	4
Indian Religious	1						9	13
Other Religious								8
U.S. Citizen	22			1		6	8	61
Indian Citizen	16		1				19	110
Other Citizen	2					2	3	30

Discussion

Over the final 31 years of the twentieth-century, the U.S. media tended to see India as a faraway country in which bad things happened. Whether the turmoil was domestic (akin to a natural disaster or the numerous changes in political leadership) or across borders (most obviously reports about war), more than seven out of every ten reports on ABC, CBS or NBC suggested India somehow was not safe or not stable. This theme of an absence of safety and stability was perhaps most notable in 1971, a year that saw a negative geopolitical relationship between the United States and India combined with India's war with Pakistan. Consistent with highlighting bad news from India, the three over-the-air networks spent more time discussing these negative events, and they tended to also devote less time to information that noted something good about the country, its people or its culture. Moreover, the data here validate that when the White House viewed India with suspicion, more stories about the country made it into national television news discourse (although the difference might not have been as large as previous research would have expected). In short, over the final roughly thirty years of the twentieth century, American news consumers grew accustomed to reporting about India that suggested the nation somehow was a threat to the United States (largely because it refused to kowtow to Washington's geopolitical interests) or was a place where seemingly nothing good happened. These types of stories would appear consistent with previous research conducted especially by Hester (1973); Wanta, Golan and Lee (2003); and Tehranian (1990). One is left to wonder that if India were not considered of vital interest to the United States – because of its status as a democracy and eventually as it developed a more Western-style economic philosophy – if it would have been on the news media radar at all.

The story from and about India from 1969 through 2000 was not all bad, of course. There were reports about education/arts, science, popular amusements and general human interest features, but they accounted for about eight percent (152 of 1810 reports) of the narrative about the country. In short, the American television audience was exposed to only a few bright spots in an otherwise bleak picture about a country it knew little about. Jayaker (1997) was not wrong in suggesting that India was portrayed as a “backward and mysterious region,” which reinforced the image Americans had of the country.

Of course, there were limitations to this project. The use of the Vanderbilt abstracts instead of viewing the complete broadcast report prevented a deeper exposure to the stories. A more thorough analysis could have altered how stories were coded for tone, for example. The author recognizes that the often questionable use of tone in academic research is magnified in this research because the abstract provided a limited amount of information from which to glean the tenor of the actual report. Moreover, bad news tends to pass the news gatekeeper more than good news; therefore, one shouldn't be surprised that negative images from and about India dominated America's national television news broadcasts.

To conclude, Cohen's assessment of American policymakers' attitudes toward India seem consistent with American media coverage of the country and its people.

American policymakers tend to see India in terms of a blur of favorable and unfavorable stereotypes generated by the images of the saintly Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa, or of the villainous Krishna Menon [who, under Nehru, was India's ambassador to the U.N. and later its defense minister] or the 'dragon lady,' Indira Gandhi, or of the ugly scenes of saffron-clad mobs tearing down the Babri Masjid, or of India's 'untouchables' mired in human filth (2001: 5).

References

Althaus, S., Edy, J. & Phalen, P. (2002) Using the Vanderbilt Television Abstracts to Track Broadcast News Content: Possibilities and Pitfalls. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*. 46. p. 473–492.

Bertsch, G., Gahlaut, S. & Srivastava, A. (eds.) (1999) *Engaging India: U.S. Strategic Relations with the World's Largest Democracy*. New York: Routledge.

Chang, T. K. & Lee, J. W. (1992) Factors Affecting Gatekeepers' Selection of Foreign News: A National Survey of Newspaper Editors. *Journalism Quarterly*. 69. p. 554–561.

Chary, M. S. (1995) *The Eagle and the Peacock: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward India Since Independence*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Cohen, S. P. (2001) *India: Emerging Power*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Cooper-chen, A. (1999) Praising, Bashing, Passing: Newsmagazine Coverage of Japan, 1965–1994. Paper presented at the 1999 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication national convention. New Orleans: LA.

Entman, R. (1991) Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication*. p. 6 – 27.

Galtung, J. & Ruge, M. H. (1965) The Structure of Foreign News. *Journal of Peace Research*. 2. p. 64–91.

Gans, H. (1979) *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Gerbner, G., Marvani, G. (1977) The Many Worlds of the World's Press. *Journal of Communication*. 27. p. 52–66.

Gitlin, T. (1980) *The Whole World Is Watching*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hackett, R. Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. 1. p. 229–259.

Hall, S. (1977) Culture, the Media, and the Ideological Effect. In: Curran, J., Gurevitch, M. & Wallcott, J. (eds.) *Mass Communication and Society*. London: Open University Press.

Haque, S. M. (1986) News Content Homogeneity in Elite Indian Dailies. *Journalism Quarterly*. 63(4). p. 827–833.

Hester, A. (1973) Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow. *Gazette*. 19. p. 239–247.

Jayakar, R. (1997) *Hegemonic Frames and International News Reporting: A Comparative Study of the New York Times Coverage of the 1996 Indian and Israeli Elections*. Paper presented at the 1997 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication national convention, Chicago, IL.

Kaplan, F. L. (1979) The Plight of Foreign News in the U.S. Mass Media: An Assessment. *Gazette*. 25. p. 233–243.

Keay, J. (2000) *India: A History*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

Kim, H. S. (2001) *Gatekeeping International News: An Attitudinal Profile of U.S. Television Journalists*. Paper presented at the 2001 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication national convention, Washington, D.C.

Larson, J. F. & Hardy, A. (1977) International Affairs Coverage on Network Television News: A Study of News Flow. *Gazette*. 23.

Nielsen media research (2002) *Consumer Survey on Media Usage*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.fcc.gov/ownership/studies.html> [Accessed: 29/2/2016]

Perry, D. (1987) The Image Gap: How International News Affects Perceptions of Nations. *Journalism Quarterly*. 64. p. 416–421, 433.

Perry, D. (1990) News Reading, Knowledge About, and Attitudes toward Foreign Countries. *Journalism Quarterly*. 67(2). p. 353–358.

Pew research center (2001) *Cable and Internet Loom Large in Fragmented Political News Universe*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=200> [Accessed: 29/2/2016]

Ramaprasad, J. & Riffe, D. (1987) Effect of U.S.-India Relations on New York Times Coverage. *Journalism Quarterly*. 64. p. 537–543, 663.

Riffe, D. & Shaw, E. F. (1982) Conflict and Consonance: Coverage of the Third World in Two U.S. Papers. *Journalism Quarterly*. 59. p. 617–626.

Salwen, M. & Garrison, B. (1989) Press Freedom and Development: U.S. and Latin American Views. *Journalism Quarterly*. 66. p. 87–92.

Shah, H. (1988) Development News on All India Radio: Assessment of Quantity and Quality. *Journalism Quarterly*. 65(2). p. 425–430.

Tahir-kheli, S. (1997) *India, Pakistan, and the United States: Breaking with the Past*. Washington, D.C.: Council of Foreign Relations.

Tehrani, M. (1990) The Competitive Theory of International Communication. *Communication Yearbook*. 13. p. 466–472.

Thussu, D. K. (1998) The Peacock Press – Indian Media in an Age of Globalization. In: Firth, K. and Hand, F. (eds.), *India – Fifty Years After Independence: Images in Literature, Film and the Media*, London: Peepal Tree Press.

Thussu, D. K. (2002) Managing the Media in an Era of Round-the-Clock News: Notes from India's First Tele-War. *Journalism Studies*. 3(2). p. 203–212.

Wanta, W., Golan, G., Lee, C. (2003) *Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on the Perception of Foreign Nations*. Paper presented at the 2003 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication national convention, Kansas City, MO.

Weaver, J., Porter, C., Evans, M. (1984) Patterns in Foreign News Coverage on U.S. Network TV: A 10-Year Analysis. *Journalism Quarterly*. 61. p. 356–363.

Weinberger, M., Allen, C., Dillon, W. (1984) The Impact of Negative Network News. *Journalism Quarterly*. 61. p. 287–294.

Whitney, D. C., Fritzler, M., Jones, S., Mazarella, S., Rakow, L. (1989) Geographic and Source Biases in Network Television News, 1982–1984. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*. 33. p. 159–174.

LOBBYING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: A CHALLENGE

ЛОББИРОВАНИЕ СОЦИАЛЬНЫХ ИЗМЕНЕНИЙ: НОВЫЕ ВЫЗОВЫ

*Olivier Arifon, PhD in Communication Science,
Communication Department, Faculty of Literature,
Translation and Communication,
Université libre de Bruxelles,
Brussels, Belgium
oarifon@ulb.ac.be*

*Оливье Арифон, PhD, наука о коммуникации,
департамент коммуникации,
факультет литературы, перевода и коммуникации,
Свободный университет Брюсселя,
Брюссель, Бельгия
oarifon@ulb.ac.be*

One of the questions raised by lobbying campaigns made by citizen-driven organizations and civil society (above NGOs) is the possibility of evaluating efficiency. Researches on NGOs (Scholte, 2009; Reitig, 2011; Betsill & Corell, 2001) underline the lack of efficient strategies that are able to lobby the policy makers. In this paper, we examine methods of lobbying and procedures of communication used for lobbying and we propose indicators to evaluate actions able to define the efficiency of NGO campaigns.

Our methodology is based on literary review, and moreover on cooperation with citizen-driven organizations. This cooperation gives us access to events, campaign meetings, communication material, etc. Interviews with policy officers and officials of the European institutions in Brussels complete the methodology.

With three campaigns of citizen-driven organizations, the aim is to identify success and failure in their strategies. Our research reveals three different results:

- Lobbying, at least at the EU or UN level, should rely on the complete set of communication tools and channels able to reach different types of publics in order to raise or maintain awareness, and finally convince decision makers to vote for a law (national level) or a resolution (UN level).*
- While discovering social media, NGOs would have better results if they followed the trends issued by private companies to promote their products: consideration and dialogue, both with policy makers and their public.*
- The proliferation of tools and channels available for delivering messages can deliver several “incoherent messages,” i.e. messages more or less adapted to the specificity of each channel and to each public. In return, this creates an imprecise communication not in favour of the NGO.*

Key words: *influence, lobbying, social change, NGO, efficiency.*

Один из вопросов, который возникает в связи с лоббистскими компаниями, проводимыми неправительственными организациями (далее НПО), связан с возможностью оценки их эффективности. Исследователи НПО (Scholte, 2009; Reitig, 2011; Betsill & Corell, 2001) отмечают нехватку эффективных стратегий, направленных на лоббирование политиков. В данной статье мы исследуем методы лоббирования и коммуникативные процедуры, используемые для лоббирования, и предлагаем индикаторы для оценки эффективности кампаний НПО.

Наша методология основана на обзоре литературы и сотрудничестве с неправительственными организациями. Благодаря этому сотрудничеству мы получили доступ к мероприятиям, встречам с общественностью, информационным материалам и сообщениям и т. д. Интервью с представителями Европейских институтов в Брюсселе также стали составной частью нашего исследования. В ходе анализа трех лоббистских компаний, проведенных НПО, мы стремились определить их успешные и провальные стратегии. Наше исследование позволило получить следующие результаты:

- *Лоббирование, по крайней мере, на уровне ЕС и ООН, должно использовать полный набор коммуникативных инструментов и каналов для получения доступа ко всем заинтересованным сторонам с целью повышения или поддержания их осведомленности, чтобы в итоге убедить лица, принимающие решения, проголосовать за законопроект (на уровне государства) или резолюцию (на уровне ООН).*
- *С помощью социальных медиа НПО добились бы лучших результатов, используя практики коммерческих компаний для продвижения их товаров, — учет взаимных интересов и диалог одновременно с политиками и обществом.*
- *Распространение инструментов и каналов, предназначенных для доставки сообщений, может привести к доставке некоторых «неподходящих» сообщений, т.е. сообщений, недостаточно адаптированных к специфике конкретного канала или сегмента аудитории. Это вносит неточность в коммуникацию, что плохо влияет на поддержку НПО.*

Ключевые слова: *влияние, лоббирование, социальные изменения, НПО, эффективность.*

Introduction, Concepts and Methods

In Brussels, particularly since the Lisbon Treaty, the way European institutions have functioned has provided many possibilities for interest groups to proceed by lobbying. EU consultations and legislative procedures have increased, allowing inputs from member states, regional authorities, EU agencies, professional bodies, trade unions, citizen-driven organizations, etc. While there are probably as many definitions of lobbying as there are lobbyists, all definitions should nevertheless refer to the process of influencing decision-making. Even though the content and boundaries of the concept remain unclear (Coen, 2008), lobbying is a political process which aims to influence public policy and resource-allocation decisions within political, economic and social systems and institutions.

The best methods for attaining successful decisions when faced with decision-makers are highly debated. One classical distinction, in order to shed light on the subtler mechanisms between the protagonists in Brussels, is to distinguish between inside lobbying and outside lobbying (Rietig, 2011; Beyers, 2004; Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014). Another distinction is made (Clamen, 1991) between direct lobbying, indirect lobbying and public opinion appeal. Direct lobbying covers face-to-face interactions, while indirect lobbying includes consideration of the spokesperson, a unique message repeated by different actors, the use of relays within the institution, multiple upliftings, etc. Inside and direct lobbying both refer to actions performed by contacting, meeting and arguing directly with civil servants and decision-makers. In Brussels, this is achieved inside the European Parliament, in the Commissions, through Intergroups, through informal meetings such as lunch, dinner, cocktails, events at the Press Club Europe, and so on. Outside and indirect lobbying refers to actions performed outside

the negotiation area (in this case, European institutions). This could include demonstrations, social media use, petitions, and advertisements in the press. Both rely on a process summarizable by a keyword – raising *awareness* – as testimonies of practices delivered by professionals invited during our lectures on influence and lobbying at Université libre de Bruxelles revealed.

Due to the common culture between high-level civil servants and politicians, and representatives and leaders of enterprises, these leaders tend to have easier access to policy-makers. “In terms of actor type, it has been reasoned that interest groups representing diffuse interests find it much more difficult to lobby decision-makers successfully than interest groups representing concentrated interests” (Klüver, 2011: 2). In that sense, we consider lobbying by enterprises as more of an insider procedure, as interventions from professional guests on our course can confirm. Moreover, companies do not need to gain the support of the public when they negotiate for their activities since, due to their common culture with politicians, they don’t consider there to be a need for this type of support. Defining types of interests could be another distinction according to types of actors. Klüver’s statement could explain the success or failure of lobbying campaigns run by citizen-driven organizations.

One solution to explain lobbying mechanisms is to look at the procedures by collecting materials and then retracing the debates and the issues. Betsill and Corel elaborated on a model in 2001 based on the traceability of information flows and documents. They suggest tracing the whole process during debates and negotiations. On that basis, a contradictory analysis can be conducted. The methodology for conducting this type of research involves collecting and analyzing a corpus composed of the following documents: primary documents, drafts, official reports, country statements and NGO lobbying materials.

But problems remain with collecting documents and retracing procedures: secrecy, restricted access to documents and privacy of negotiations are several dimensions naturally included in any type of negotiation. While such an approach provides insightful results and reveals the complex mechanisms of influence, we considered that access to some of these documents might prove very difficult if not impossible. We therefore adopted a method relying more on processes, status of negotiators and communication strategies than on document traceability.

In line with this, I argue that lobbying activities vary according to several factors: issue context, types of interests, resources, strategy and communication. Lobbying methods focus on shifting between the organizational and the procedural as the motto “the right information at the right time” suggests. By introducing a communicational perspective into the field, I consider that lobbying actions should be considered in a research perspective as a “cocktail” articulated through analog and digital networks. According to Castells, communication through networks is one of the key explanations behind the power and success of any type of action in the political field. Focusing particularly on social movements, Castells argues that, to effect change, social movements should invest the public sphere in different manners (Castells, 2011: 386). In order to succeed or raise awareness on a topic among the general public, media and politicians, an alliance of local and global actors is necessary. Castells argues that this alliance should rely on networks and digital communication. In other words, networks and communication characterize and identify the content of efficiency”.

This framework leads us to our research question: regarding social change, how can we define the efficiency of actions and their organization? In order to answer this question, we will consider

action repertoires and tools of communication as variables. The subsequent review will proceed to operationalization.

Our methodology is based on a literature review, on semi-directive interviews with leaders or representatives from citizen-driven organizations. In Brussels, thanks to our registration in the European Parliament as lobbyists, we had access to events, campaign meetings, communicational materials, etc. We have selected three NGOs based in Brussels, active in social issues and motivated by political change for the reasons mentioned in the introduction.

Action Repertoires and Mediating Conditions

As mentioned earlier, lobbying is key to most social and human rights NGOs for several reasons: because of the spaces left by the state's withdrawal; because of the generalization of social media use and the cultural change induced by this phenomenon; because lobbying requires a significant investment in resources with few possibilities of a return on this investment; and because specific and evolving forms of power and legitimacy imply a continuous questioning of the messages sent to both the public and to elites. This is probably the reason why so many frameworks and documents were and are produced by the NGOs themselves on the subject. Most of these are comprehensive and detailed walkthroughs of the arcane world of globalized power, in relation to a specific theme or goal (see, among others, UNICEF, 2012; FAO, 2011; SNV World, 2009; Womankind Worldwide, 2011).

Our approach to the efficiency assessment of lobbying combines elements of various frameworks proposed by different authors, which appeared to be particularly relevant to the reality we experienced during our fieldwork. On one side, we consider action repertoires,

and on the other, the mediating conditions explaining the strengths and weaknesses of the particular sector of lobbying those NGOs need to address. Grossman and Saurugger's notion of "resources" is worth highlighting before going any further (2006). According to these authors, resources are defined as "means that give actors the ability to act and secure them a power."

Action repertoires

Action repertoires could be defined as ways to bring out resources with the aim of influencing a decision-making process, and can be classified into five ideal types:

- Negotiation and consultation: actors are invited to participate in the decision-making process;
- Use of experts: scientific data are used to support the represented interests;
- Protests: raising awareness in public spaces;
- Juridification: creation of a legal framework to defend interests;
- Politicization: transformation of an interest group into a political party (Grossman & Saurugger, 2006: 16).

Neveu proposes another detailed typology of actions and registers:

- Institutional actions, which include trials, lobbying and platforms for actors;
- Non-cooperation actions: non-participation, objection, civil disregard and boycott;
- Public legitimation actions: including petitions, protests, fasting, experts' contributions and contributions from famous people;
- Direct actions, such as sabotage, interposition, occupation, demonstration and reprisal;

- Awareness-raising actions such as festive actions, parties or picnics, and symbolic actions such as die-ins, etc. (Neveu, 2000: 40).

Our observations in Brussels relating to action repertoires show that many protagonists, especially in the NGO sector, are using multiple types of action, since efficiency nowadays requires communication to be a “cocktail,” focusing on several types of audiences. The goal is to raise awareness with a unique message. In this sense, under the pressure of digital media, the frontiers between corporate, business, and political communication have changed. This means that all types of protagonists have gained access to the whole range of tools and techniques.

To analyze the efficiency of lobbying actions, a model with two dimensions is useful. On one side, we consider collective actions, and on the other, mediating conditions.

Mediating conditions and efficiency

We consider that any type of action that would support a lobbying campaign should maximize the use of communication and digital tools, which can be listed as: public relations, position papers, white papers, Internet and social media, mass media, fact-checked reports, experts and conferences, debates, and think tanks. In fact, the coherence of a message through several types of media is compulsory. This trend could be explained by the necessity to be heard by the public and the media. Cardon and Granjon in 2010 suggested three approaches to the use of digital networks by NGOs:

- The first approach is attentiveness and counter-expertise. Protagonists are able to share and verify official statements and media reports, and develop their own argumentation that could be shared on a platform with documents. Such a process supports the production of fact-checked reports.

- The second approach is subjectivity and the diversion of media – images and symbols – for example, as a parody website. After the oil pollution crisis following the BP platform incident in the Gulf of Mexico, a parody emerged, reflecting the position of BP during the several months of crisis: “BP Spills Coffee” (BP Spills Coffee, n. d).
- The third is grassroots mobilization: citizens commit themselves to the idea of reinforcing collective procedures and increasing attentiveness.

Such research is the signal that the combination of all channels or tools of communication would be useful for a strategy. A message proposed by NGOs should include the same kind of content as companies include with their brands, delivered through different registers and audiences. The next section describes the context and the strategy of our cases, which will allow us to introduce an efficiency-based comparative analysis, followed by a discussion.

Political Change Issues and NGOs’ Efficient Lobbying

Political change issues are real challenges for NGOs for several reasons. First, social issues are included within a specific framework. Communication by NGOs relies on values (the reason for their activities), on a message (offering a solution rather than describing a problem), on the results (for resource allocation and accountability) and on donations as resources (Libaert & Pierlot, 2014). Another problem arises when these values and available data are confronted with actors and states, which don’t always agree with such an approach, arguing that the reports and arguments of NGOs are based on norms that may not be universally accepted (see, for example, the Chinese position on human rights issues (Yu, 2007: 113–127).

To operationalize our research questions, we analyzed the procedures used by three NGOs to develop a coherent message. Analyzing the way these NGOs act, and the results obtained, has allowed us to ascertain the pertinence and the quality of their communication to assess the efficiency of their lobbying practices.

Case studies

1. The International Campaign for Tibet

The first NGO is the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), whose purpose is “to promote human rights and democratic freedoms for the people of Tibet.” ICT does the following:

- “Monitors and reports on human rights and environmental and socio-economic conditions in Tibet;
- Advocates for Tibetans imprisoned for their political or religious beliefs;
- Works with governments to develop policies and programs to help Tibetans;
- Secures humanitarian and development assistance for Tibetans;
- Works with Chinese institutions and individuals to build understanding and trust, and explores relationships between Tibetans and Chinese;
- Mobilizes individuals and the international community to take action on behalf of Tibetans; and
- Promotes self-determination for the Tibetan people through negotiations between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama” (International Campaign for Tibet, n. d.).

ICT has its headquarters in Washington DC and offices in Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin, and London. We conducted a semi-directive interview with Vincent Metten, EU Policy Officer at the ICT office in Brussels. Metten defines his work as both exercising

political influence and acting as an informational agent. He makes no difference between advocacy and lobbying and considers the following elements as best practice.

He insisted first on the quality of information, which can be achieved through a good network and regular contacts. ICT uses the services of a specialized company, in charge of providing intelligence and information on any piece of news or event related to their field, according to information management. This allows the implementation of the second best practice point identified during the interview: being proactive rather than reactive to the news. To be proactive means to get the information at the right time in order to provide good information to those people requiring it to determine their position or their vote. For example, on the 22nd of October 2013, the second Universal Periodic Review of the People's Republic of China (PRC) was adopted at the UN offices in Geneva. A month before, ICT provided selected members with a twenty-page report balancing the official arguments of the PRC. Before they travelled to Geneva, all participants were briefed in order to raise their awareness of the important issues of the meeting.

Metten's third point was to provide precise and detailed information together with material and recommendations to the stakeholders. This can be achieved through the delivery of newsletters, reports, and public relation releases, etc. His final point, which could also be the first, relates to the quality of research and to the subsequent quality of information resulting from this research. Precise arguments and figures in communication materials provide arguments and enhance the reception of the message by the media and policy-makers. Staff recruitment and training is a key factor in reaching an adequate level of practice.

As already pointed out, human rights lobbying by NGOs and citizen-driven organizations should be different from the lobbying

done by the corporate and private sector. Vincent Metten argues that human rights lobbying is based on values, ethics and morals. He asserts that the human dimension and transparency procedures are important. Human, financial and technological resources are scarcer in NGOs than in the corporate sector. However, he also argues that the communication and lobbying techniques used in both sectors are the same. In other words, the emotional and human dimensions might be the only difference between NGO and corporate lobbyists.

Some obstacles were pointed out – on the particular question of Tibet, bias and ignorance are important. The debate is political and the PRC has strong strategies to counter this lobbying – for example, certain actors consider the Dalai Lama to have a hidden agenda.

Considering action repertoires, Metten does not really believe in petitions, online or not. He considers op-eds efficient in exposing a point of view. Protests are also an important element for three reasons: first for the Tibetans and their supporters themselves, in order to nourish their motivation; second to gain attention from the media and the general public; and third to show that opponents of the PRC are active.

The capacity to provide Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) with information is a key point. They appreciate receiving position papers, arguments and reports. The most successful action would be to provide an amendment that would be included in official European texts. For Metten, a successful lobbying campaign is the result of a combination of media and communication and direct statements to MEPs and diplomats in order to reach several types of protagonists from different circles simultaneously. Our observations, undertaken during five events organized by ICT at the European Parliament and in Brussels (intergroup meetings and two

protest days, in March 2013 and February 2014) clearly reflected this combination.

2. The Control Arms campaign, by Amnesty International

We present the Control Arms campaign, run by Amnesty International. This is a good example, because it includes all the structural and mediating conditions developed above.

Since 2003, Amnesty International have run the Control Arms campaign from their headquarters in London: “Control Arms is a global civil society alliance campaigning for a ‘bulletproof’ Arms Trade Treaty that will protect lives and livelihoods. A ‘bulletproof’ Arms Trade Treaty means an international, legally binding agreement that will stop transfers of arms and ammunitions that fuel conflict, poverty and serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law” (Control Arms, n. d.).

The idea of an Arms Trade Treaty first came from Nobel Peace Laureates, supported by civil society organizations worldwide. In 2003, the Control Arms campaign was launched and has since gathered support for the Arms Trade Treaty from over a million people worldwide. In 2006, Control Arms handed over a global petition called the “Million Faces” to the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan. In December 2006, 153 governments finally voted at the United Nations to start work on developing a global Arms Trade Treaty. Momentum for the treaty has been building ever since.

In 2009 the UN General Assembly launched a time frame for the negotiation of the Arms Trade Treaty. This included one preparatory meeting in 2010 and two in 2011, before the final negotiating conference scheduled for July 2012 (Control Arms, n. d.). In April 2013, the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) was signed, but ratification is still under process.

Besides the political and military aspects, the case is quite complex. First, to develop precise arguments able to convince UN members, the NGO had to investigate the arms trade, illegal air flights and non-respected embargos by arms manufacturers. Members of the NGO did research at exhibitions (Milipol: an exhibition on internal state security in Paris), on battlefields (Congo, Togo), and online, by checking databases and the Web in order to collect data, flight plans, information on arms manufacturers, and pictures. Some salient elements are described in Andrew Niccol's movie *Lord of War*. This movie has similarities with the life of Viktor Bout, and Amnesty International endorsed the film for highlighting arms trafficking (*Lord of War*, n. d).

Amnesty International produced fact-checked reports. These well-documented reports became arguments, synthesized by the lobbying and communication team. In order to convince politicians and sway public opinion, a two-branch strategy was used: a lobbyist approach and a grassroots approach. Throughout the year, lobbyists working for Amnesty sent press releases, reports, and arguments to the United Nations delegates in New York. Control Arms campaigners lobbied states to make positive statements on the ATT, in particular to get support for the current version of the Chair's non-papers, to be used as the starting point for the negotiation conference. In addition, Control Arms members made a presentation to states and organized a number of well-attended side events. Then, once a year, during the UN General Assembly, they tried to convince the delegates at the ambassadors' level to vote in favour of the ATT project.

But this strategy is not enough for an NGO, nor, more generally, for agents who need to receive the support of the public sphere. A complete set of communication tools was used to influence the public and gain attention from the media: press conferences,

demonstrations in the streets, websites (including online petitions), Twitter, Facebook pages, expert testimony and reports, and support from stars (for example, in France, from Lillian Thuram, a famous French soccer player). Parody videos were also posted on YouTube (for a teleshopping parody, see CONTROL ARMS CAMPAIGN: Teleshop AK-47, n. d.).

This strategy fulfills the three conditions of Cardon and Grajon (set in 2010): counter-expertise (i.e. fact-checked reports), parody, and grassroots mobilization. The project also reveals an insightful strategy by combining direct lobbying done in the corridors of the UN offices with indirect lobbying. This indirect lobbying was well managed by aligning online and offline communication; for example, experts, stars and specific networks, such as health care professionals, were all mobilized (elements on the whole strategy are available on *Armes, trafic et raison d'Etat*, 2012).

Moreover, this strategy filled the framework: mediating conditions, inside and outside lobbying, pressure of civil society on politicians, having contact during the UN assembly with high-level representatives. We consider this case as a complete one, according to the framework presented. The determination and the commitment of Amnesty during the 14 years of campaign may be the final element necessary to understand the success.

3. Crisis Action and the Trading Away Peace program

Two extracts from the Trading Away Peace program can be used to sum up this case: “The European Union’s position is absolutely clear: Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory are ‘illegal under international law, constitute an obstacle to peace, and threaten to make a two-state solution impossible’. Yet this report shows how European policies help sustain the settlements. It reveals that the EU imports approximately fifteen times more from the

illegal settlements than from the Palestinians themselves” (Trading Away Peace: How Europe Helps Sustain Illegal Israeli Settlements, 2012: 6).

The argument of Crisis Action and its twenty-two partners is that: “[...] by accepting imports of settlement goods designated as originating in ‘Israel’, Europe is tacitly accepting Israel’s creeping expansion of sovereignty. And by permitting the sale of settlement products mislabeled as ‘Made in Israel’, governments are failing to protect consumers’ legal right to make an informed choice about purchasing settlement goods” (ibid: p. 26).

On February 2014, we conducted a semi-directive interview with Martin Konecny, at that time working for Crisis Action on that program. The key elements for explaining the success of the “Trade Away Peace program” reflect a particular approach.

Firstly, Crisis Action has coordinated its action with several other NGOs, players and VIPs (a word used during the interview). The VIPs, without referring to their implication within this campaign, have advocated for this cause.

Secondly, the lobbying was not only concentrated in Brussels, toward high-level civil servants and diplomats, but was very proactive in the direction of member states’ capitals. Konecny explained that this is often a failure in the NGO’s strategy, since they lack contacts and relays in the main European capitals.

Thirdly, the campaign was based on high-level information and a precise timeline, linked with good access to policy-makers. Linked to that, reactivity and the capacity to maintain the strategy by “going the extra mile” were important. The configuration was favorable because lots of politicians, aware of the situation, were frustrated by the Israeli settlements.

Fourthly, the campaign was based on a practical objective – something that was not utopian – in a very professional way,

reflected by the quality of the work produced by Crisis Action. On the contrary, Konecny argued that too many NGOs in Brussels have too many activities, and are producing too many documents that are presented in many meetings. He explained that NGOs would have a better approach if they developed a few higher-quality actions. Concerning this, he gave the same argument as Vincent Metten: the quality of information, of documents and therefore of lobbying actions, relies on the quality of the team.

This case is interesting because it shows that the two frameworks outlined above are not completely relevant. On the inside/outside model, only the “inside” part is valid, showing an approach more often described by enterprises for which direct access of consultants to policy-makers is a common strategy (Demortain, 2005).

At the time of research, our final framework was composed of the mediating conditions and of the inside and outside analysis completed with our contribution. From our communication perspective, we consider that an efficient lobbying strategy should rely on a coherent and clear message, sent and spread to different publics. This should be done in a comprehensive manner, using all the available tools, as part of a well-adjusted cocktail. For example, a social media strategy should be clear and efficient; any unclear or imprecise use can create confusion.

The table below (*Table 1*) sums up our results on the basis of the presented framework on efficiency, mediating conditions and types of channels.

Table 1

Research results, source, and our compilation

	Control Arms	International Campaign for Tibet	Crisis Action
Negotiation and consultation	Yes, at UN level	Yes, at EU level	Yes
Use of experts	Yes	No	No
Protests: raising awareness	Yes	Yes	No
Juridification	Yes, proposing a resolution at the UN	No	Yes, with European parliament
Politicization	No	No	No
Public relations	Term equivalent to lobbying for them	Term equivalent to lobbying for them	Term equivalent to lobbying for them
Position papers	No	Yes	No
White papers	No	No	No
Internet and social media	Yes, with five social media platforms. Messages adapted to audiences	Yes for Internet, No for Social media. Only one audience	Yes for Internet, No for Social media
Mass media	No, if we except coverage which is the result of the other actions	No, if we except coverage which is the result of the other actions	No
Fact-checked reports	Yes, with reports available on pdf format	Yes, with reports available on pdf format	Yes, with reports available on pdf format
Experts and conferences	Yes	No	No for experts and yes for relays supporting the cause. High-level access, quality of relays
Debates and think tanks	No	No	No

This figure helps us to arrive at our conclusion on the conditions for efficiency of lobbying procedures of NGOs engaged in political change.

Discussion and Conclusion

Efficiency of lobbying procedures

Confronting policy-makers, one major criterion is the “level” of contact. In other words, when an organization can have access to high-level decision-makers, to an ambassador, to an influent MEP or to an advisor at a ministry cabinet level, it reveals that the organization is recognized and credible. It is proof of professionalism and of the ability of an organization to provide useful information through fact-checked reports, if they exist. In other words, “doors are opened.” Table 1 shows that the three NGOs are using this tool, which confirms that a lobbying strategy is founded on facts and data able to support an argument. Access to high-level members and committees before and during negotiation processes is fundamental for delivering messages and recommendations to key actors. It clearly relies on a long process devoted to positioning NGOs as reliable protagonists in the opinion of policy-makers. Vincent Metten from the International Campaign for Tibet confirms that one indicator of success is the capacity to be invited to participate in important events. For example, during the EU Spanish presidency in 2009, ICT was invited to a seminar on human rights between the EU and China. Reports, arguments issued from these reports, precision and coherence of the message and, finally, contacts to deliver this message are the key items defining efficiency.

Our research confirms that lobbying is changing from a period characterized by face-to-face relations between high-level civil

servants and lobbyists, to a juridical area where a decision-making process is the turning point around which multiple stakeholders act (Guegen, 2013). Here ICT seems too weak to face the actions of China. Instead, Amnesty and Crisis action have as a final goal the vote of resolution at the UN or a statement at the European parliament.

Another dimension of a successful lobbying action is the ability to deliver a message adapted to different audiences through media and digital tools. It is clear that NGOs working on social issues and engaged in political change need more support from the media and from public opinion than from enterprises¹. NGOs gain part of their efficiency through their recognition by the public and by institutional actors. Recently created and/or small NGOs with fewer resources still need to gain attention and be trusted by their counterparts. In many cases, while discovering and using social media, NGOs would have better results if they followed the path opened by private companies to promote their products, or by political parties to promote their ideas: awareness, consideration and dialogue with their audience.

On that, Amnesty has a perfect, complete, and long-lasting use of all types of media. ICT is too small to succeed in that way and Crisis action clearly explain during their interview that media and general public were never included in their strategy.

The International Campaign for Tibet case highlights two points: the organization respects the inside and outside dimensions of lobbying procedures, and the lobbying done in Brussels includes the dimensions discussed above. The interview reveals that the Chinese side is obliged to take into account the actions of ICT, which may

¹ Even if enterprises do attempt to gain adhesion or to create dialogue through social media, or through less comprehensive methods, such as astroturfing.

appear as an indicator of efficiency. But due to limited resources and the power of the People's Republic of China, ICT faces lots of difficulties in contributing to significant changes in Tibetan rights.

We can analyze Amnesty International's successful campaign on the Arms Trade Treaty through the framework of the mediating conditions. Amnesty has built an important network that provides resources of many types (156 NGOs in 132 countries). The campaign has a duration of more than fourteen years and the topic is a very sensitive one for the media and the public.² A coherent message was delivered through digital and relational dimensions throughout the campaign, covering the communication dimensions previously analyzed. We may also mention that, due to the moral dimension of the topic, arms suppliers and state-owned enterprises within this sector are not supposed to show any visible opposition.

The approach chosen by Crisis Action is totally different. It is summed up on the website, on the page entitled "How we work": "Crisis Action works behind the scenes to support a diverse range of partners to campaign against conflict and for the protection of civilians. We aim to amplify the impact of collective campaigning and enhance partners' efforts to avert conflict, prevent human rights abuses and ensure governments fulfill their obligations to protect civilians.

"Crisis Action operates in a flexible manner with partners choosing to engage in temporary 'opt-in' alliances on specific crises. The support we provide is determined by the specific circumstances of each crisis and may include warning of emerging crises and

² Kietig (2011) has followed the environmental NGOs' negotiations during climate change sessions between 2009 and 2011. His study shows unsuccessful results, mostly because states' positions were decided before the conferences, and lobbying activities were not efficient enough to make things change.

prompting early responses; sharing information and analysis; researching and analyzing government policy; facilitating partner dialogue; negotiating joint policy platforms; coordinating joint action; planning and executing joint campaigns, and evaluating the effectiveness of joint responses” (Crisis Action, 2014).

This long extract from the official statement is interesting because it never mentions the word “communication.” The methods used for campaigning are discreet, without resorting to the media, and mainly focus on high-level contacts, characteristics that were confirmed during our interview with Martin Konecny, In other words, this type of lobbying is 100% direct lobbying, undertaken at the highest possible level. They advance as major elements, an expert field research and analysis, a practical, imaginative policy, and as the figure 3 confirms it, a high-level advocacy. On the other hand, this strategy shows that efficient lobbying can be done only through face-to-face meetings and political dialogue within the European institutions.

Conclusion and Limitations

Our research reveals three different results:

- Lobbying, at least at the EU or UN level, should rely on the complete set of communication tools and channels able to reach different types of publics, in order to raise or maintain awareness, and finally convince decision-makers to vote for a law (national level) or a resolution (UN level).
- While discovering social media, NGOs would have better results if they followed the trends issued by private companies to promote their products: consideration and dialogue, both with policy-makers and their public.

- The proliferation of tools and channels available for delivering a message can conduct to deliver several “incoherent messages,” i.e. messages more or less adapted to the specificity of each channel and to each public. In return, this creates an imprecise communication not in favour of the NGO.

As the result of the analysis, we conclude that many NGOs should increase their professionalism and the quality of their work. In other words, for efficient lobbying, NGOs should have a clear activity, with concrete goals, and should develop more precise actions of a higher quality.

These cases also reveal some limitations. If the theoretical framework developed above on lobbying, in particular on social issues, is mainly respected according to the interviews, each NGO can be seen to have developed a different strategy. Each of the studied actors acts within the boundaries defined by the available resources.

Another limitation could be the type of activities of each NGO. In other words, concentrating on high-level contact for the very sensitive issue of Israeli settlements could be the right approach in order to avoid media coverage and extremist claims or actions. Moreover, the Crisis Action case shows that it is not always necessary to respect the whole list of indicators in order to be successful. At this point in the research, we may raise two questions. Our framework may be completed by further research, in particular with the object of clearly distinguishing between the impacts of direct and indirect lobbying. What should be the ideal balance between the two dimensions? What might be the limitation of this model? How can we go more clearly into the description of the meaning and content of “high-level meetings” without going too far, according the indispensable secrets of the negotiation

procedures (see *International Negotiation: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, Peace Processes, Secret Negotiations and Civil Society, 2008)?

Lobbying is deeply linked to information management. At this point in the research, we think that tools and methodologies are becoming more and more similar between NGOs and corporate organizations. Communication is a key component. From an appointment with a diplomat to a demonstration covered by various different television channels, the cocktail (i.e. the communication strategy), developed with a coherent message, is important.

Describing and defining indicators is a difficult task. Digital media are easy to quantify, but a qualitative assessment should also be conducted. For meetings and inside lobbying with policy-makers, success is related to interpersonal communication and persuasion.

In Brussels, most agents don't clearly differentiate between advocacy and lobbying. Methodologies seem rather similar. Among the three NGOs studied, one uses a complete set of social media tools, another makes use of social media but without a clear strategy, and the last one doesn't use these media at all, focusing instead on high-level contacts. Therefore, assessing the efficiency of lobbying strategies remains a difficult task, especially because the combination of tools and persons, communication and contacts, may differ according to the goal of the campaign or the resources available.

As with "The Art of War" (McNeilly, 2001), or "The Art of Negotiation" (Arifon, 2010), we would like to end this work with a general thought. Lobbying can be considered an art, engaging personal communication, information management, influence, and communication channels in a multidimensional cocktail.

References

Almog-Bar, M. & Schmid, H. (2014) Advocacy Activities of Nonprofit Human Service Organizations: A Critical Review. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 43(1). p. 11–35.

Arifon, O. (2010) Langue Diplomatique et langage Formel: un Code à Double Entente. *Hermès*. 58. CNRS Editions. p. 71–78.

Armes, trafic et raison d'Etat (2012) France Televisions. 29 March.

Betsill, M. M. & Corell, E. (2001) NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: A Framework for Analysis. *Global Environmental Politics*. 1(4). Massachusetts Institute of Technology. p. 65–85.

Beyers, J. (2004) Voice and Access Political Practices of European Interest Associations. *European Union Politics*. 5(2). p. 211–240.

BP Spills Coffee (n. d.). [Online] Available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AAa0gd7CIM; 12,548,813 [Accessed: 29/2/2016].

Cardon, D. & Granjon, F. (2010) *Médiactivistes*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

Castells, M. (2009) *Communication Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chalmers, A. (2013) Trading Information for Access: Informational Lobbying Strategies and Interest Group Access to the European Union. *Journal of European Policy*. Routledge. p. 39–58.

Coen, D. (2008) *EU Lobbying: Empirical and Theoretical Studies*. London: Routledge.

Control Arms (n. d.) [Online] Available from: www.controlarms.org, consulted [Accessed: 29/2/2016].

Crisis Action (2014) [Online] Available from: www.crisisaction.org, consulted [Accessed: 29/2/2016].

Demortain, D. (2005) Le Lobbying à Bruxelles, ou la Politisation Comme Métier (Observation). *Terrains & Travaux*. 8(1). p. 34–52.

Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (2011) 3.1 Communicating with Policy Makers. *Food Security Communications Toolkit*. Rome. [Online]. Accessed from www.fao.org/docrep/014/i2195e/i2195e00.htm [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Grossman, E. & Saurugger, S. (2006) *Les Groupes D'intérêt*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Guegen, D. (2007) *Lobbying Européen*. Bruxelles: Europolitique.

International Campaign for Tibet (n. d.) [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.savetibet.org/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

International Negotiation: A Journal of Theory and Practice, Peace Processes, Secret Negotiations and Civil Society (2008) Vol. 13.1.

Klüver, H. (2011) The Contextual Nature of Lobbying: Explaining Lobbying Success in the European Union. *European Union Politics*. 12(4). p. 483–506.

Libaert, T. & Pierlot, J.-M. (2014) *La Communication des Associations*. Paris: Dunod.

Lord of War (n. d.) [Online]. Accessed from www.lordofwarthemovie.com [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

McNeilly, M. R. (2001) *Sun Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neveu, E. (2000) *Vaincre l'indifférence*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Orr, A. (2007) *Political Participation and the Web 2.0*. Paper presented at the Australasian Political Studies Association (APSA) Annual Conference 24th-26th September 2007. Monash University: Melbourne.

Rietig, K. (2011) *Public pressure versus lobbying – how do Environmental NGOs matter most in climate negotiations?* December

2011, Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy, Working Paper No. 79/Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, Working Paper No. 70

Scholte, J. (2005) *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trading Away Peace: How Europe helps sustain illegal Israeli settlements (2012) [Online] Accessed from www.lordofwarthemovie.com https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/trading_away_peace_-_embargoed_copy_of_designed_report.pdf [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

UNICEF (2010) *Advocacy Toolkit. A Guide to Influencing Decisions That Improve Children's Lives*. New York.

Yu, X. (2007) The Role of Soft Power in China's External Strategy. *Global Review*. Trial issue. p. 113–127.

**COGNITIVE POTENTIAL OF FRAMING
AND ATTRIBUTE AGENDA-SETTING THEORIES
(exemplified by “Novaya Gazeta”
and “The New York Times” coverage
of the conflict in southeast Ukraine)**

**ПОЗНАВАТЕЛЬНЫЕ ВОЗМОЖНОСТИ ТЕОРИЙ
ФРЕЙМИНГА И УСТАНОВЛЕНИЯ АТРИБУТИВ-
НОЙ ПОВЕСТКИ ДНЯ
(на примере освещения конфликта
на юго-востоке Украины “Новой Газетой”
и “Нью-Йорк Таймс”)**

*Alexander A. Kazakov, PhD in Political Science,
Associate Professor, Chair of the Political Science,
Faculty of Law, N. G. Chernyshevsky Saratov State University
Saratov, Russia
aldr.kazakov@gmail.com*

*Александр Александрович Казаков, кандидат политических наук,
доцент, кафедра политических наук, юридический факультет,
Саратовский государственный университет
имени Н. Г. Чернышевского,
Саратов, Россия
aldr.kazakov@gmail.com*

*Boris N. Shestov,
Chair of the Political Science, Faculty of Law,
N. G. Chernyshevsky Saratov State University,
Saratov, Russia
bord64@gmail.com*

*Борис Николаевич Шестов,
кафедра политических наук, юридический факультет,
Саратовский государственный университет
имени Н. Г. Чернышевского,
Саратов, Россия
bord64@gmail.com*

Peculiarities of “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” coverage of the conflict in southeast Ukraine are considered in this article. Framing theory as well as attribute agenda-setting theory has become the methodological basis for the research; 98 articles from these newspapers published between March 16 and April 15 form its empirical basis. The temporal distribution of the articles devoted to the events in Russia’s neighboring country is analyzed; the thematic focuses of the publications are compared; frames and sources of citations in the two newspapers are juxtaposed. Having divided all the stories into several content blocks, the authors pay special attention to the most popular of them. The conclusion is made that newspapers’ ways of covering the events in the neighboring country are rather similar. Moreover, sometimes – especially when journalists assessed Russia’s role in the crisis – “Novaya Gazeta” was even more critical of the Kremlin than “The New York Times”.

Key words: *framing, attribute agenda, “Novaya Gazeta”, “The New York Times”, Ukraine.*

В статье рассматриваются особенности освещения конфликта на юго-востоке Украины российской «Новой газетой» и американской «Нью-Йорк Таймс». Методологической основой исследования стали теории фрейминга и установления атрибутивной повестки дня; эмпирическую базу составили 98 статей указанных изданий, опубликованных в период с 16 марта по 15 апреля 2015 г. Анализируется распределение текстов, посвященных событиям в соседней стране, во времени; сравнивается тематическая направленность публикаций; сопоставляются транслируемые изданиями фреймы и источники цитат. Разделив материалы газет на несколько содержательных блоков, особое внима-

ние авторы уделяют анализу наиболее популярных в “Новой газете” и в “Нью-Йорк Таймс” блоков о связанных с рассматриваемым кризисом событиях внутри России и самой Украины. Сделан вывод о схожести подходов газет к освещению ситуации в соседней стране. Более того, в отдельных случаях, особенно когда речь заходила об оценках действий России, журналисты “Новой газеты” порой были настроены по отношению к Кремлю даже более критически, чем их заокеанские коллеги.

Ключевые слова: *фрейминг, атрибутивная повестка дня, “Новая газета”, “Нью-Йорк Таймс”, Украина.*

Taking into consideration the role mass media play nowadays, their impact on the political consciousness of society and individuals is attracting increasing scholarly attention. In modern political science, a variety of aspects related to different media activities are actively explored, including characteristics of the presence of certain events and processes in the information realm. Electoral campaigns, political leaders and opposition, ideologies of different parties, international relations, ethno-religious conflicts, etc. – all of this is frequently analyzed through the prism of the representation of these subjects in the media, i.e. the attention devoted to them, the themes and tone of the stories, manipulative components of media texts, and much more.

This research focuses on the peculiarities of media coverage of one of the most noticeable and resonant current events – the conflict in southeast Ukraine in two newspapers: the Russian “Novaya Gazeta” and the American “The New York Times”. The methodological basis for our study consists of framing theory and second-level agenda setting. Based on the empirical data garnered,

we intend to prove that the concurrent / parallel use of the two theories provides an opportunity to get a holistic view of the subject – in our case, on the specifics of the representation of the events in Russia’s neighboring country in Russian and US periodicals¹.

By way of preface, a few words about the essence of the considered methodological constructions. Historically speaking, the agenda-setting theory appeared in the late 1960s to early 1970s. Its authors, US scholars Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, empirically proved the link between what is regularly reported by the media and what people, as the consumers of such information, consider important and worthy of their attention (McCombs & Shaw, 1972: 176–187).

In the 1990s, scholars began to consider that media are able to set agendas not only in relation to a variety of processes happening at a given point (ranking them in order of importance), but also with regard to a specific event or person. According to McCombs, Shaw, and their supporters, while informing an audience of certain facts or political figures, media cannot provide the public with all of the information available (because of the limitations in the amount of space in newspapers, or in TV and radio time). Instead, they tend to focus the audience’s attention only on the specific aspects or attributes of the material that are most important, in the author’s opinion (Weaver, McCombs & Shaw, 2004: 259). As a result, a kind of agenda, but in relation to the characteristics of a single theme, is built.

Today, such an agenda is called a second-level agenda or attribute agenda. It is believed that by drawing the audience’s attention to the very specific aspects of the event or features of a political subject, the press largely determines how readers, viewers, or listeners treat it.

¹ “Novaya Gazeta” is published on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, but the issue on Wednesday, March 25 was not released for some reason.

In other words, by setting the first-level agenda, media affect what people consider important, and by forming an attribute agenda, they program how the audience assesses a particular phenomenon (or, at least, provides a set of facts, which people are guided by in defining their attitude) (Takeshita, 1997: 23).

Another theory in many ways similar to attribute agenda is framing. It is widely believed now that framing is the process of selecting certain aspects of reality displayed by journalists, making them more salient in order to formulate certain causal connections, moral interpretations and recommendations on how to act in relation to a particular situation (Entman, 1993: 52; Scheufele, 2004: 405).

Arguably, the key concept of framing is a frame. One of the best-known definitions of frame was given by W. Gamson and A. Modigliani in 1989. In their opinion, frame is a core idea of media text that reveals the essence and content of a message's main plot (Gamson, Modigliani, 1989: 3). Furthermore, usually this central plotline also contains the articulation of a problem, certain moral judgments, and preferred methods to resolve it (Entman, Matthes, Pellicano, 2009: 177). Therefore, figuratively speaking, we can say that frame is a part of reality in the form in which journalists present it to the audience. This means that any frame initially carries not only the imprint of a subjective perception of reality, but an element of manipulative potential as well.

It should be noted that in Western communicative science, this theory is now almost at the peak of its popularity (Weaver, 2007: 143–144). In Russia, a strong interest to the framing approach is only beginning to be formed (Vakhshayn, 2011a: 114–136; Vakhshayn, 2011b); Vakhshayn, 2008: 65–95; Kazakov, 2015b: 85–90) and framing itself is often studied by Russian scholars in the context of sociolinguistics, psychology, sociology of everyday life (following Goffman's tradition), and some other social sciences. At the same time, possibilities of application of this approach to the problems of political communication

are not developed enough. Flowing from the above, this article may be considered as an attempt to establish this connection.

The empirical basis of our analysis was formed by the articles dedicated to the crisis in southeast Ukraine published in “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” from March 16 through April 15, 2015. Of course, one month is not enough to make far-reaching conclusions, but at the same time we believe that it was a snapshot sufficient for revealing some key features of newspapers’ attitude toward the theme.

When choosing newspapers, we bore in mind the fact that “Novaya Gazeta” has traditionally been one of the periodicals most oppositional to the current Russian government. “The New York Times” is also known for its highly critical position towards the Kremlin. Despite the differences in their impacts and circulations, it seemed quite interesting for us to compare the generated attribute agendas and frames (concerning the events in Ukraine) of the two papers oppositional to Moscow and to juxtapose their frames of reference and systems of values. The hypothesis we stated was that the images of what was happening in southeast Ukraine offered by “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” were essentially the same.

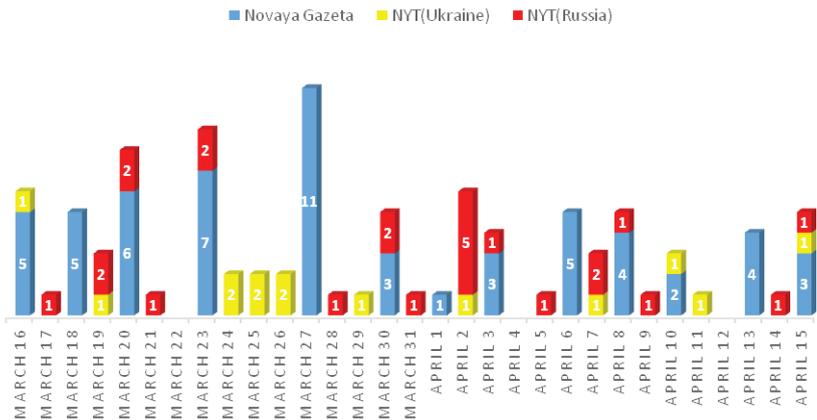
Selection of articles for the analysis was carried out by continuous and daily reading of online versions of newspaper issues. During that period, 13 issues of “Novaya Gazeta”² and 31 issues of “The New York Times” were published. In total, the Russian medium devoted 59 articles to the events in Ukraine while “The New York Times” devoted only 14. Another 25 pieces from the US newspaper focused on Russia but contained no references to the events in Donbass. They were also included separately in the set

² It should be pointed out that “The New York Times” is published every day, while “Novaya Gazeta”, as already noted, – on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

of analyzed texts. The average size of an article about Ukraine was 6770 characters (including spaces) in “Novaya Gazeta” and 4953 – in “The New York Times”. Materials devoted to that topic were written by 34 journalists in the Russian newspaper and by eight in the US newspaper. Additionally, twelve authors from “Novaya Gazeta” wrote more than one publication and only three journalists of “The New York Times” did so. Comparison of these quantitative indicators (the number and the size of publications, corps of the authors), in our opinion, suggests that the Russian newspaper in general pays more attention to the problems that are of greater interest to its country than to the US. We think this is natural and logical; it would probably be strange to see an opposite situation. At the same time, the amount of the stories run by “The New York Times” seems quite impressive as, unlike many other American newspapers, it published almost one Ukraine-related story every second day.

Figure 1

The temporal distribution of “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” articles (pcs.)



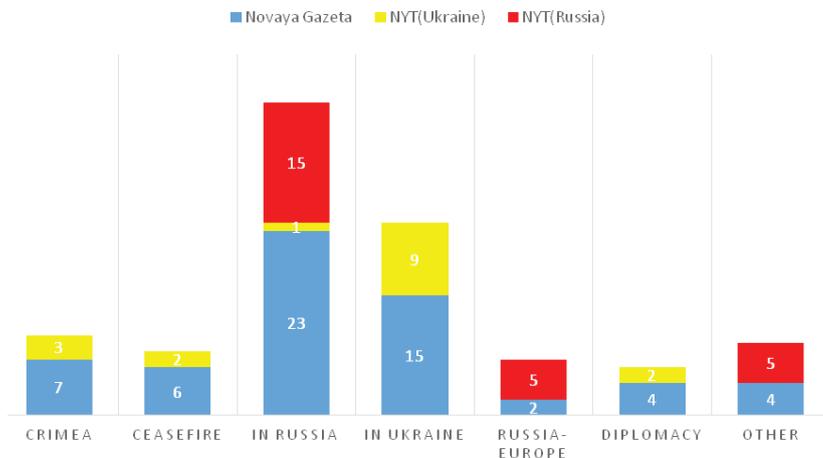
The blue color indicates the number of articles on the events in southeast Ukraine, published in “Novaya Gazeta”, yellow – in “The New York Times”, red – the number of publications of the US newspaper about Russia, with no focus on events in Donbass.

Speaking about the overall dynamics of the amount of materials about Ukraine, it can be seen that there was a weak downward trend in “Novaya Gazeta”. As for “The New York Times”, it remained on about the same level. A simultaneous “surge” in the number of articles from 23 to 27 March could likely have been caused by the fact that at that time in Kiev there were two resonant events that drew the attention of both newspapers’ journalists: the conflict between P. Poroshenko and I. Kolomoisky, and the arrest of two officials from The State Emergency Service of Ukraine during the government meeting. The Russian newspaper also wrote at the time about the death of Viktor Yanukovich’s son on Lake Baikal.

We divided all articles into a number of thematic blocks based on what they were about. Generally speaking, we can say that *Figure 2* is a visual representation of the attribute agenda of the pieces analyzed.

Figure 2

Topics of “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” articles (pcs.)



As can be seen, “Novaya Gazeta” devoted much attention to the events in Russia and Ukraine surrounding the armed confrontation in Donbass. “The New York Times” articles devoted to the Ukrainian domestic processes also appeared frequently. The number of articles about Russia dealing with the crisis in southeast Ukraine in the US newspaper was much smaller, but it was fully compensated by a significant number of articles about our country without reference to the events in Donbass. The content of these pieces will be discussed further in this article.

In the meantime, a few words should be said about other “thematic” characteristics of the coverage of conflict in Russia’s neighboring country. For example, it is obvious that the issue of Crimea interested Russian journalists more than two times more often than their US colleagues. A similar ratio is observed in relation to the

issue of compliance with the truce established after the “Minsk-2”. It might seem that there is a clear “divergence” in the attribute agendas of the two newspapers. However, if we analyze the dominant frames in these publications, it becomes clear that this is not the case and that the difference in the number of articles is explained instead by a difference in the number of materials about Ukraine.

Regarding Crimea, “Novaya Gazeta” focused solely on the negative consequences of its “annexation” by Russia: illegal redistribution of businesses on the peninsula, the influx of the criminals from the mainland, the oppression of the Crimean Tatar population, and Crimea’s vague political prospects to name but a few (Kanev, 2015a: 2–3; Kanev, 2015b: 14; Sambros, 2015a: 11; Sambros 2015b: 5). It comes as no surprise that in the “New York Times” the content of the publications on this subject were largely identical: the same “annexation”, Russia’s imperial ambitions, and oppression of Crimean Tatars (MacFarquhar, 2015a: A3; MacFarquhar, 2015c: A4).

As far as the “ceasefire” is concerned, the unifying idea in the two papers is the idea of the truce’s extreme instability and the plight in which, despite a decline in the intensity of fighting, civilians continue to live (Epifanova, 2015: 6; Shenkman, 2015: 15; Shenkman, 2015: A9).

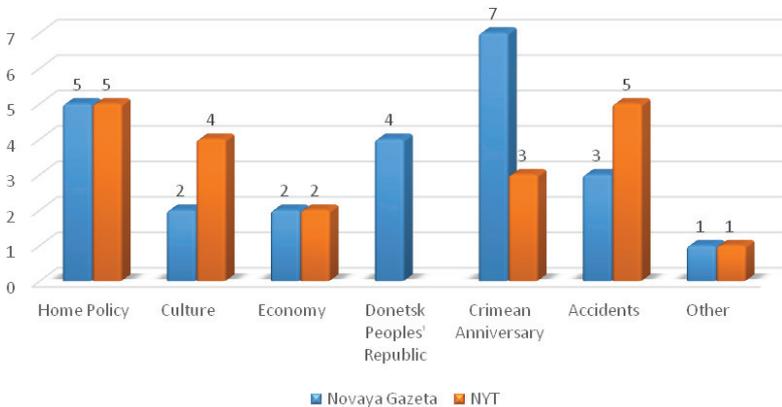
The “diplomacy” block consists of articles about Western sanctions against Russia and contacts of Norman Quartet regarding compliance with the ceasefire. Notable about this is that the two editions differ in assessing the degree of Western unity against Russia. For example, a columnist for “Novaya Gazeta”, A. Mineev, proposes a frame according to which European business, though not particularly thrilled by sanctions against Moscow, in general understands the decisions of their national and European authorities on the matter (Mineev, 2015: 9). “The New York Times” observer S. Erlanger is more pessimistic regarding this matter: “The West,

which seems united, is actually divided over Russia’s actions in Ukraine and what to do about them” (Erlanger, 2015: A8). Thus, in this case we face a situation where the domestic newspaper, in fact, promotes even more skeptical ideas regarding the international political situation concerning Russia than the American one does.

Now it is time to turn to the content of the units, which include the largest number of articles of the newspapers analyzed – “In Russia” and “In Ukraine”. Thematically, we divided these units into several sub-units.

Figure 3

Topics of “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” articles, belonging to the block “In Russia” (pcs.)



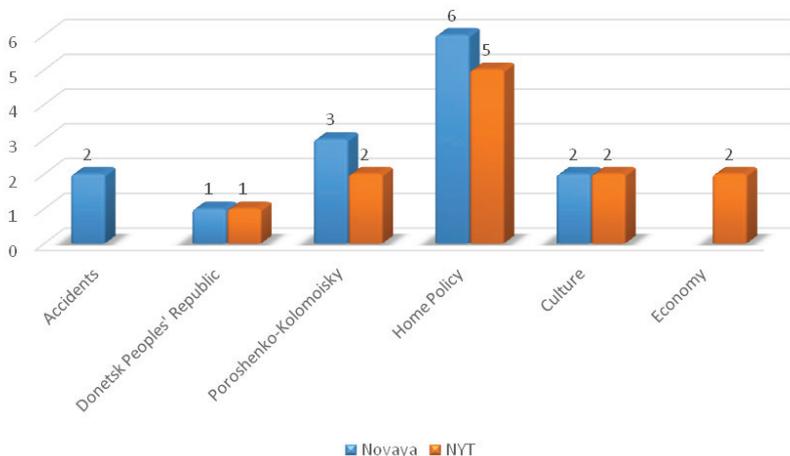
In this case, again, we find examples of how, in spite of the differences in the degrees of “popularity” of individual elements of the attribute agenda, the news outlets’ general attitudes on specific subjects match. This appears most clearly in relation to the articles on the celebration of the anniversary of joining Crimea to Russia.

The difference in the number of these materials is quite substantial (7 vs. 3), but their content easily fits the same frames: pompous celebrations on this occasion are absolutely inappropriate, do not cause much enthusiasm among ordinary people, and were imposed from the top down by authorities (Rybina, 2015: 4; Fomina, 2015: 2–3; Herszenhorn, 2015b: A9).

Common themes of publications on Russian domestic politics in the context of the crisis in southeast Ukraine are also quite indicative/symptomatic. Stories about the International Russian Conservative Forum held in St. Petersburg took a special place in both “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times”. Generally, all evaluations came down to the fact that it was a gathering of right-wing groups loyal to Putin or even “brown” neo-Nazis (according to the Russian newspaper) (MacFarquhar, 2015b: A6; Vishnevskiy, 2015: 1–2; Garmazhapova, 2015: 3).

Figure 4

Topics of “Novaya Gazeta” and “The New York Times” articles, belonging to the block “In Ukraine” (pcs.)



As for the events in Ukraine, there are similarities not only in the frames conveyed by the two newspapers but also in the quantitative parameters of their attribute agendas. In four out of six selected sub-units (“DPR”, “Poroshenko-Kolomoisky”, “Home Policy” and “Culture”), the differences in numbers of articles are very few if any.

The articles included in the sub-units “Accidents” and “Economy” provide indirect evidence that the domestic paper nourishes even greater sympathy for Ukraine and antipathy toward Russia than the US one. For example, the journalists of “Novaya Gazeta” unambiguously suggest that terrorist attacks in cities outside the area of the so-called “anti-terror operation”, were prepared by pro-Russian forces (Yakushko, 2015: 7; Polukhina, 2015: 6). “The New York Times” does not risk drawing such bold conclusions and, instead, talks about numerous Ukrainian economic problems (Kramer, 2015: B7; Herszenhorn, 2015a: A3). In our opinion, this is an example of a situation in which not so much a theory of framing as the analysis of attributive agendas allows a researcher to draw conclusions about the editorial policy of a particular publication.

In this study, we also analyzed another issue that arguably takes a boundary position between the theories of framing and attribute agenda setting, i.e. when the journalists used links to other opinions, often in the form of quotations. We selected several groups of those whose words or opinions were cited in articles. Those who held any official position or office in Russia, Ukraine, Europe, or the US – officials, MPs, heads of government agencies, etc. – were included in “officials” (apart from presidents Putin and Poroshenko, whom we referred to as separate units). The block “experts” consists of scholars, analysts, and specialists in various fields. We put everybody directly related to the self-proclaimed republics in the “DPR-LPR” block. “Anonymous” is what we called unnamed sources and those

whose names had been intentionally modified by the articles' authors. Ordinary citizens whose opinions are particularly common in reports, mini-interviews, etc. were categorized as "locals".

Table 1

**Sources of citations in "Novaya Gazeta"
and "The New York Times" articles (pcs.)**

Citations	"Novaya Gazeta"				"The New York Times" (about Ukraine)				"The New York Times" (about Russia)			
	+	=	-	Σ	+	=	-	Σ	+	=	-	Σ
Russian officials	12	7	2	21	3	-	3	6	15	16	5	36
Ukrainian officials	7	21	8	36	-	23	5	28	-	-	-	-
EU officials	6	4	5	15	-	2	-	2	10	12	8	30
US officials	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	3	-	8	5	13
V. Putin	1	1	-	2	5	4	-	9	3	1	-	4
P. Poroshenko	-	6	-	6	-	6	3	9	-	-	-	-
Russian experts	2	4	23	29	2	-	2	4	-	11	15	26
Ukrainian experts	-	13	-	13	-	10	-	10	-	-	-	-
EU experts	-	15	6	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
US experts	2	3	2	7	1	3	1	5	-	2	-	2
DPR-LPR	-	3	-	3	3	1	-	4	-	1	-	1
Locals	2	53	23	78	-	3	1	4	-	5	3	8
Anonymous	-	2	3	5	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	-
Other	-	6	2	8	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	6

We have tried to evaluate each of the quotations in terms of its tone with regard to Russia: if the statement was positive with respect to our country, it was marked with "+"; if the quote in one way or another implied criticism or disapproval, with "-"; if an opinion was generally neutral it was marked with "=".

specify that we are aware of a certain degree of subjectivity in this approach. Phrases that we regarded as critical might well seem neutral to someone else, etc. To avoid such a mess, we used coders and other mechanisms to improve intercoder reliability³. In that sense, the data on the total number of citations of a particular source given above appears to be much more “robust / proved to be true”. It is marked yellow for convenience.

Moving from the top of the table to the bottom, we notice a number of very interesting correlations. For example, it seems quite significant that most of the US and Ukrainian officials whose opinions journalists from “The New York Times” had reported/sought out, spoke neutrally or negatively about “Moscow”. It is also interesting that “Novaya Gazeta” referred to the words of P. Poroshenko three times more often than to those of V. Putin. The US newspaper quoted the presidents approximately the same number of times, but a third of the statements by the head of Ukraine were critical of Russia.

Several things can be noted about the expert community. It is obvious that journalists from the Russian newspaper appealed to domestic experts much more willingly. However, the vast majority of citations we endowed with the “–” sign. In contrast to “The New York Times”, European experts were much more frequent guests on the pages of “Novaya Gazeta”. Furthermore, their opinions were more moderate when compared to their Russian colleagues.

Finally, Russian journalists sought the opinions of ordinary people much more often. Apparently, this can be partly explained by the fact that during the period under review, “Novaya Gazeta” devoted eight extensive stories to the events in southeast Ukraine. It is noteworthy that “locals” spoke “in favor” of Russia only twice,

³ Nevertheless, we fully acknowledge that all coders had personal backgrounds that could have influenced their evaluations.

neutrally 53 times and negatively 23 times. Among the “anonymous” there were no positive opinions at all.

Summarizing the results of the analysis, we would like to note the following. First of all, based on the results of the selected material, we believe it is possible to confirm the initially suggested hypothesis that concurrent use of framing and attribute agenda-setting theories could be considered one of the most effective mechanisms of exploring media texts. Therefore, we would like to emphasize once again that these structures achieve their maximum cognitive abilities when they are used simultaneously, rather than individually. In this paper we presented specific proof of that. Analysis of the quotations is only one piece of evidence: a better understanding of the editorial policy of media is formed only if we take into account not only quantitative (an element of the attribute agenda setting) but also qualitative (an element of framing) parameters of using the third-party opinions.

Unfortunately, framing and attribute agenda-setting theories are not very popular among Russian scholars, which is especially true for those of them who explore media issues in political terms. Nevertheless, we find the cognitive potential of these approaches rather extensive. They can help scholars to articulate the difference between certain types of political coverage. That is not to say that these two theories are the only way to do it, but they are definitely among the most efficient ways.

The second conclusion is more practical and lies in the fact that approaches to the coverage of events in southeast Ukraine by the Russian opposition paper and by one of the leading American newspapers have much in common. Moreover, in some cases, especially when it comes to assessing Russia’s actions, journalists from “Novaya Gazeta” were sometimes even more critical of “the Kremlin” than their US counterparts.

Recently, we conducted a comparative study analyzing the coverage of events in Donbass by “Novaya Gazeta” and ‘Rossiiskaya Gazeta’, the official print media of the Russian Government (Kazakov, 2015a). The results of that analysis were completely opposite: attribute agendas and frames provided by the papers differed significantly. What does this mean? In our opinion, among other things, it indicates the drastic difference between the coverage of Russian foreign policy by media loyal to the Kremlin on the one hand and opposition and US media on the other. This may not seem unexpected or surprising, but one should always try to prove his or her initial views and suppositions. In this sense, the practical part of the cognitive potential of attribute agenda-setting and framing theory implies an opportunity to do so empirically.

Last but not least, framing and second-level agenda-setting approaches also have the potential to contribute to media literacy skills building. By media literacy we mean an ability to use critical thinking skills to judge the reliability and credibility of news reports whether they come from the press, TV, or the Internet. Being aware of the mechanisms of framing and attribute agenda-setting theories, one would be left less vulnerable to manipulation. However, media literacy is an object for a separate study. The current research has just revealed one way of fostering media literacy principles.

References

Entman, R. M. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 4. p. 51–58.

Entman, R. M., Matthes, J. & Pellicano, L. (2009) Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing. In: Wahl-Jorgensen K., Hanitzsch T. (eds.) *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*. NY. p. 175–190.

Epifanova, M. (2015) Kto sryvaet Minskie soglasheniya [Who Wrecks Minsk Agreement]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 16th March.

Erlanger, S. (2015) Fragile Cease-Fire in Ukraine Inspires Little Confidence in West. *The New York Times*. 29th March.

Fomina, E. (2015) Trezvye, krasivye, naryadnye [Sober, Beautiful, and Dressy]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 20th March.

Gamson, W. A. & Modigliani, A. (1989) Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*. 1. p. 1–37.

Garmazhapova, A. (2015) Deputaty reshili ne vpadat' v kraynosti [MPs Decided not to Go to Extremes]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 27th March.

Herszenhorn, D. M. (2015a) Ukraine's Parliament Moves to Shore Up Battered Economy. *The New York Times*. 10th April.

Herszenhorn, D. M. (2015b) Year After Seizing Crimea, Putin Celebrates as Ukraine Seethes. *The New York Times*. 19th April.

Kanev, S. (2015a) Po zakonam revolyutsionnogo vremeni [According to the Revolutionary Times Rules]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 16th March.

Kanev, S. (2015b) Tayna doma s golubyatney [Mystery of the House with the Dovecote]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 30th March.

Kazakov, A. (2015a) Atributivnye povestki dnya i freymy «Rossiyskoy gazety» i «Novoy gazety» v kontekste metodov vozdeystviya na auditoriyu (na primere osveshcheniya konflikta na yugo-vostoke Ukrainy) [Attribute Agendas and Frames of the Rossiyskaya Gazeta and Novaya Gazeta Newspapers within the Context of Methods for Affecting the Audience (a case study of the coverage of the conflict in South-East Ukraine)]. *Mediascope*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.mediascope.ru/node/1706> [Accessed: 29/2/2016].

Kazakov, A. (2015b) Freyming media-tekstov kak instrument vozdeystviya na auditoriyu: obzor rasprostranennykh traktovok

[Framing in Media Stories as a Tool of Influence on the Audience: Review of Widely Spread Interpretations]. *Izvestiya Saratovskogo universiteta. Novaya seriya. Seriya Sotsiologiya. Politologiya*. Vol. 14(4). p. 85–90.

Kramer, A. E. (2015) Bond Trouble. *The New York Times*. 25th March.

Macfarquhar, N. (2015a) Putin Says He Weighed Nuclear Alert Over Crimea. *The New York Times*. 16th March.

Macfarquhar, N. (2015b) Right-Wing Groups Find a Haven, for a Day, in Russia. *The New York Times*. 23th March.

Macfarquhar, N. (2015c) Russia Shuts TV Channel for Tatars in Crimea. *The New York Times*. 2nd April.

Mccombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (1972) The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. 2. p. 176–187.

Mineev, A. (2015) Pribyl' zamanchiva, no tsennosti dorozhe [The Profit is Tempting, but the Values are More Precious]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 8th April.

Polukhina, Yu. (2015) Bomby dlya patriotov [Bombs for Patriots]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 1st April.

Rybina, L. (2015) Shkola – generator loyality [A Scholl is a Loyalty Generator]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 18th March.

Sambros, A. (2015a) Zona mutatsii, ili God Kryma v Rossii [Mutation Zone, or the Year of Crimea in Russia]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 27th March.

Sambros, A. (2015b) Efir bez pomekh [Air without Hindrances]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 6th April.

Scheufele, D. A. (2004) Framing-Effects Approach: A Theoretical and Methodological Critique. *Communications*. 29. p. 401–428.

Shenkman, Ya. (2015) «My popadaem pod perekrestnyy ogon'» [We are Getting Caught in the Crossfire]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 3rd April.

Takeshita, T. (1997) Exploring the Media's Roles in Defining Reality: From Issue-Agenda Setting to Attribute Agenda Setting. In: McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L. & Weaver, D.H. (eds.). *Communication and Democracy*. Mahwah: New Jersey. p. 15–28.

Vakhshayn, V. S. (2008) «Praktika» vs. «freym»: al'ternativnye proekty issledovaniya povsednevnogo mira ["Practice" vs. "Frame": Alternative Projects of Exploring Everyday World]. *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie*. 1. p. 65–95.

Vakhshayn, V. S. (2011a) Analiz freymov golosovaniya. Esse ob organizatsii elektoral'nogo opyta [Analysis of Voting Frames. Essay on the Organization of Electoral Experience]. *Sotsiologicheskoe obozrenie*. 1-2. p. 114–136.

Vakhshayn, V. S. (2011b) *Sotsiologiya povsednevnosti i teoriya freymov* [Sociology of a Daily Life and Theory of Frames]. St. Petersburg: Publishing House of St. Petersburg European University. p. 334.

Vishnevskiy, B. (2015) Korichnevye kosyat pod serykh [The Browns are Imitating the Grey]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 27th March.

Weaver, D. H. (2007) Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming. *Journal of Communication*. 2. p. 142–147.

Weaver, D. H., McCombs, M. E. & Shaw, D. L. (2004) Agenda-Setting Research: Issues, Attributes, and Influences. In Kaid, L. L. (ed.) *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah: New Jersey.

Yakushko, O. (2015) Kto vzryvaet Khar'kov [Who Explodes Kharkov]. *Novaya Gazeta*. 18th March.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF POPULAR SCIENCE JOURNALISM

ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ НАУЧНО-ПОПУЛЯРНОЙ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ

*Alla N. Teplyashina, Doctor of Philology,
Chair of Periodical Press, Faculty of Journalism,
Saint Petersburg State University,
Saint Petersburg, Russia
a-nik@list.ru*

*Алла Николаевна Тепляшина, доктор филологических наук,
кафедра периодической печати, факультет журналистики,
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет,
Санкт-Петербург, Россия
a-nik@list.ru*

*Natalia A. Pavlushkina, PhD in Philology,
Chair of Periodical Press, Faculty of Journalism,
Saint Petersburg State University,
Saint Petersburg, Russia
pavlushkina.n@yandex.ru*

*Наталья Анатольевна Павлушкина, кандидат филологических наук,
кафедра периодической печати, факультет журналистики,
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет,
Санкт-Петербург, Россия
pavlushkina.n@yandex.ru*

The paper examines deontological values of popular science journalism. It investigates the reasons for their deformation in response to the commercialization of journalism. Commercial bias affects the conceptual framework of content and reveals itself in the large proportion of purely entertaining material and sensationalism. Topics selected for key stories mostly focus on

tourist hotspots attracting international visitors. This paper aims to show how the transformation of deontological values entailed the conceptual transformation of a popular science magazine. The study draws on the data obtained from several similar periodicals. Not only does mass media satisfy the need for information shaped by a person's outlook, it also forms their outlook. A magazine containing articles about theoretical or pilot studies in a particular field of science, culture, or practical activities serves to disseminate knowledge and encourages self-education. The formation of popular journalism deontology involves methodological, cultural and typological aspects.

Key words: *deontological values, popular science journalism, commercialization of journalism, travel journalism, innovation journalism.*

В статье приводится анализ факторов деформации деонтологических ценностей научно-популярных периодических изданий в условиях коммерциализации журналистики. В изданиях, движущей силой которых становятся финансовые показатели, происходят сдвиги в концептуальном содержании публикаций: подавляющее большинство материалов носит развлекательный и сенсационный характер, а заглавные статьи посвящены обзорам популярных туристических направлений. Цель настоящей статьи — показать, что концептуальная трансформация научно-популярного издания является следствием трансформации деонтологических ценностей. Материалом исследования послужили данные нескольких периодических изданий близких форматов. Функции СМИ не ограничиваются удовлетворением информационных потребностей личности — они также призваны формировать мировоззрение. Журнал, публикую-

щий статьи о пилотных или прикладных исследованиях в отдельной отрасли науки, культуры и других видах деятельности, служит источником знания и содействует самообразованию. Деонтология научно-популярной журналистики охватывает методологические, культурные и типологические аспекты.

Ключевые слова: *деонтологические ценности, научно-популярная журналистика, коммерциализация журналистики, трэвел-журналистика, инновационная журналистика.*

Introduction

Popular science press is an intellectual resource. It should, presumably, fill the need for knowledge about the world. The half-life of knowledge concept, regarded as the amount of time that elapses before the knowledge a person gets during training becomes superseded or obsolete, implies the necessity of regular updates. This is where specialized editions come in handy. A modern popular science magazine modifies knowledge in a creative, even playful, way. This, however, does not mean the priority of entertainment functions. A popular science magazine, part and parcel of media education, simply cannot swap educational and informational content for entertainment. A failure to preserve this content will pose serious problems to survival and preservation of resources that allow humanity to exist. The effectiveness of popular science magazines will definitely benefit from the optimization of operations. This communication channel is vital to the performance of science, if the agenda is the dissemination of knowledge about the reality and the struggle against pseudoscience. Russian culture has always valued

knowledge, and science therefore enjoys a privileged position in Russian public life. Popular science magazines in Russia focus on the integration of science and the synthesis of science and human knowledge. The paper does not aim to show how science is covered in print mass media in the West or in the East, rather, it focuses on the two models of a popular science magazine, i.e. Soviet and a post-Soviet, or pro-Western, types. The Soviet model does not include advertising and, therefore, is devoid of utilitarian functions. Instead, it strives to preserve deontological values and traditions of journalism. The post-Soviet model is driven by the financial interests of advertisers, publishers, businessmen, and others. This constitutes a major difference between Russian popular science periodicals and their European counterparts. At the same time, the Russian media industry has witnessed the emergence of a new field that may generally be referred to as innovation journalism. This new trend in journalism focuses on commercially successful scientific achievements that are making their way into everyday life. This is what makes it different from science or popular science journalism. Its purpose is to attract a mass readership to issues of Russia's innovative development as one of the major factors shaping the society of tomorrow. It is important to consider that the promotion of science is not synonymous with the promotion of innovations. Investors are interested in funding a business, not an idea or a discovery. Science and scientific discoveries today get their value only as a part of the process by which innovation journalism acts as an intermediary facilitating communication between academia, business, and government. In this respect, innovation journalism with both mass and niche periodicals becomes a useful tool. Innovation journalism is a very promising development example for popular science periodicals and may help to revive deontological values.

Discussion

Popular science journalism:

A historical overview of conceptual content

Akopov points out the exceptional role of the first science periodicals in promoting science. He believes that special releases on various branches of science led to the emergence of popular science magazines as a type of publication, making them an independent and indispensable part of culture (Akopov, 2002). Magazines target different categories of readers. A magazine is a unique aspect of the cultural scene as the emergence of any new type indicates the maturity that a certain social group has reached. According to Sokolskaya, “A magazine acts like an indicator for the need to constantly update information on points or subjects of personal interest” (Sokolskaya, 2006: 18). Shostak describes magazines as the type of print media responsible for science education (Shostak, 2007).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, popular science magazines were tasked with increasing ecological awareness. This subject was covered in compliance with the international ethical principles of journalism. Magazines started publishing controversial stories that had been hushed up for years. Before that, journalists had no access to these data. Publicizing such data was regarded as a threat to national security and was subjected to a criminal prosecution. Kalinina observes, “This was the time when the interest in ecology reached an all-time high: environmental issues made headlines in newspapers and magazines, were widely broadcast on radio and televised nationally” (Kalinina, 2012). In 1990, Ekos-Inform, a high-quality magazine published in Russian and English, was established. In 1992, the Russian market welcomed two other new periodicals: “Eurasia Monitoring” (today known as “Eurasia: Priroda i Chelovek” and “Greenpeace v Rossii”), a newsletter which

gradually transformed into a magazine currently available online. By the mid 1990s, the interest in environmental issues decreased considerably as the government invested less and less effort into tackling environmental issues and the press was battling to survive in the most severe economic crisis of the 1990s (Kalinina, 2012). Popular science magazines no longer highlighted the ecological perspective, diverting their focus instead to mythology, astrology and paranormal phenomena. Environmental issues were dealt with in the media in case of utter emergency caused by global environmental hazards: disasters, waste emissions, cataclysms, epidemics, etc. As Orekhova puts it, in today's press, ecological issues stay in the background (Orekhova, 2000). Even the most pressing issues are found only on the last pages.

In the 1980s and 90s, tactical and strategic communication within the field of popular science magazines lacked consistency. The sector split in two with the quality popular science magazine committed to deontological values on the one side, and the servile magazine, i.e. a dramatically different popular science magazine, on the other. The latter embraced commercialization, diversification of content to accommodate advertizing, convergence, infotainment, and, finally, switched to a glossy format. The influx of capital was facilitated by several factors. Firstly, when it came to print media, Russian legislation imposed ownership restriction on foreign companies. Secondly, cutting-edge technologies imported by Western glossy magazines showed the advantages offered by visual content over text, allowing impression to take priority over content. A popular science glossy magazine does not aim to alert its audience to environmental issues or provide critical information. Quite the opposite – it tries to adorn the everyday and create the festive mood that a person choosing a travel destination is supposed to have.

Thus, the educational function dominant in the early years of popular science press gave way to information and entertainment content, which is still in demand today. This functional transformation was caused by socio-cultural changes in social values and norms. While periodicals do exist, it hardly seems possible that they will ever gain original circulation numbers. Science is no longer popular with a mass reader. The circulation of reputed popular science magazines, such as “Nauka i Zhizn”, “Znaniya – Sila”, “Khimiya i Zhizn”, “Priroda”, “Zemlya i Vseennaya” has fallen by roughly 80 times (Vaganov, 2007).

The circulation of popular science magazines is indicative of the changing attitude of society toward science and technology. Declining circulation of science and popular science magazines was triggered by the low profile of science and the lack of public interest in science. Solving this worldwide problem necessitates considerable investment and mobilization of political will. To cite just one example, in his annual address to the Federal Assembly, Vladimir Putin singled out nanotechnology as the locomotive of Russia’s scientific and technological development strategy. About 180 bln. rubles was allocated to enable Russia to become a nanotechnology nation (Putin, 2007). This was immediately followed by a surge in publishing activity. However, Russia does not carry out any state policy regarding popular science magazines. The criteria for financial support of popular science press lack clarity. A popular science magazine is driven to survive; hence, its editorial policy and the communication of values are determined by consumer demands.

Popular science journalism: factors of diversification

The mid 1980s witnessed an ever increasing cultural exchange and import of goods from the West. Affluent lifestyle and consumption became ideology. Society grew addicted to glamour and tourism.

Bauman claims that globalization has numerous definitions, among which the “revenge of nomads” seems the most appropriate, if not the best (Bauman, 2001). Sociology offers a number of concepts that treat ideology as a set of discourses that use mass media to communicate their values (Althusser, 2000). Within this study, “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller”, the three most popular science brands of American and Western journalism, were chosen to illustrate this assumption. These brands regarded the new market sector as the “cash cow”. Their format was used as a model to launch “Vsemirny Sledopyt”, a new publication, and rebrand “Vokrug Sveta”, the oldest Russian magazine. However, the rebranding effort to make “Vokrug Sveta” competitive against “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” did not pay off. Today, local editions of international popular science magazines dominate the market; they enjoy almost one and a half times wider circulation and the greatest share of advertizing.

The effectiveness of information and communication functions of journalism depend primarily on content, which has to meet three basic audience needs: to inform, to educate, and to entertain. “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” do well when it comes to informing and entertaining their readers. Their needs are satisfied when proper content is provided because content is, at any rate, information. Information and knowledge are intangible values, a major economic resource and the driving force of economic activity. The problem is that the content of “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” is infotainment filled with advertisements and sensationalism. Their content is largely made up of news and sensational stories about the most desirable tourist destinations in the world. This is “alien” Western content that will definitely fail to instill a love and pride of Russia.

Conceptually, a servile popular science magazine focuses excessively on consumption rather than knowledge. Competitiveness, efficiency and profitability of such magazines depend on consumers, who look for information on hotels and their services and seek enjoyable shopping and culinary experiences when visiting famous tourist destinations. Baudrillard described consumption as a contemporary phenomenon peculiar to the affluent society where each individual member is constantly involved in a deep, intense process of exercising their consumer choice to keep their household up-to-date (Baudrillard, 1996). As travel magazine shows rapid growth, some popular science editions are switching to Lifestyle (LS) format. Alvin Toffler compared such magazines to factories producing models of lifestyles. If the business interest of popular science magazines subsides, then the ones that stay afloat are those magazines with the consumer in mind, i.e. the ones that manage to diversify their content by becoming glossy publications.

Gudova, citing Anderson, a renowned sociologist and editor of "The City Magazine", points out the exceptional role of both glossy magazines and the income-generating tricks this industry plays in forming the new type of consciousness. A growing number of people are opening up a glossy magazine to identify themselves and build ties with other people in entirely new ways (Gydova & Rakipova, 2010), i.e. by browsing, reading and discussing the latest issue. The latter is instrumental in communicating and shaping a certain mindset. The mindset, in turn, reflects the outlook and attitudes of both publishers and customers of advertising. From an economic perspective, a popular science periodical is a promising investment opportunity with financial gain as a driving factor of its performance and a major factor of its success as a media enterprise (Korkonosenko, 2011).

Foreign and Russian scholars alike consider LS magazines a powerful source of information and an effective tool to impose

patterns of behavior and ensure they become reality. Lately, much media research (both theoretical and applied) has been focused on manipulation techniques applied by LS magazines. Among them are messages promoting hedonistic stereotypes and consumption. What unites them all is an ideology of success irrespective of gender. Success is about a good job, a great career, a premium car, trips to exotic destinations and holidays at luxury resorts. This lifestyle is communicated via conceptual messages, e.g. “live your life to the fullest”, “nothing is impossible”, “program your mind for success”, “become a star”, “listen to your heart”, etc.

Popular science magazines set themselves apart from other media products as their consumption is determined by the ideological stance of the consumer. In this case, an exchange value is the price you pay to access information about a healthy lifestyle, possible holiday destinations, or celebrities, whereas a use value is the extent to which these needs were satisfied. The latter will vary depending on individual perceptions. The perception, in its turn, is shaped by abundant photography and graphics mostly featured in advertisements. The use value determines the demand for each particular magazine.

It is important to underline that mass media not only satisfies the need for information shaped by a person’s outlook, it also forms their outlook.

As Korkonosenko notes, mass communication is capable of strengthening old norms, creating the new ones (affecting new aspects of social life), or changing them radically. This observation is crucial when the press questions ideological or ethical postulates, addresses national or religious issues, or interrogates similar aspects of a belief system (Korkonosenko, 2011). Changes in outlook may affect the market size and structure of demand. Similar changes may be brought on by new achievements in science or a rapidly developing

IT sector. A magazine containing articles about theoretical or pilot studies in a particular field of science, culture or practical activities serves to disseminate knowledge and encourage self-education. This is, by far, the only type of periodical targeting a mass reader that encompasses deontological values.

Method and Deliverables

Popular science journalism is suffering an identity crisis. We are witnessing a massive failure of representation along with the diversification of content. The crisis is gaining momentum as the deontological principles are being eroded. Media products no longer play the part of responsible and ethical intermediaries between the complex world and the audience; rather, they act as agents who, in the pursuit of commercial success, pretend to fulfill a socially important educational function. This study uses content analysis and questionnaires to confirm its hypothesis about the diversification of the conceptual content in popular science magazines for a general audience. The keywords used in the study included “journey”, “science”, “knowledge”, “food”, and “shopping”; the search was limited to a time frame from 2009 to early 2015. The study examined over 50,000 articles from such magazines as “National Geographic”, “GEO”, “Condé Nast Traveller”. The questionnaire contained questions about thematic and genre preferences. The assessment criteria included: number of stories about travelling and scientific discoveries; number of stories on current issues in science and ecology; variety of genres; accessibility and creative representation; responses to the relevance of topics; responses to the timeliness of issues; responses to the scope of a magazine.

The study of regional aspects of innovation journalism involved monitoring local publications to see if they contained materials about innovative development, implementation of cutting-edge technologies, scientific discoveries, etc. Textual materials were selected by the structure of content (headlines, topics) and key words and phrases relevant to science and innovation. This was followed by content analysis of media texts. The criteria we applied included topic of publication, category, author, date of publication, references to individuals and places, newsworthy events related to the regional level of innovation and research, and tone (positive, negative, neutral) of statements about science and innovation.

*Conceptual framework of “National Geographic”,
“GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller”*

The conceptual framework of “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” reveals features typical for travel magazines: they target a mass audience, cover a wide range of topics, and include both educational and entertaining content. Thematically, magazines cover three key areas: travel stories (47%), popular science materials (31%), and socio-political articles (31%). Among the most popular topics regarding science are history (51%), physics (astrophysics, in particular, 29%), biology (genetics, in particular, 15%), and information technology (big data, gadgets, robotics, 5%).

This raises the question of how the potential audience perceives these magazines, i.e. as popular science magazines or, rather, as travelogues.

The audience, researched by their thematic preferences (the sample included 100 people), showed that the majority of respondents look for travel stories (83%), slightly fewer respondents are interested in science (74%), while others focus on socio-political

subjects (27%). The majority of the surveyed (86%) responded that they are interested in science and consider articles about science understandable and accessible. However, they also cited lack of scientific content. 9% of the respondents described textual material in magazines as unclear. It should be added, however, that they gave a negative answer when asked whether they read periodicals; the remaining 5% refrained from giving an answer.

The study also revealed that the respondents perceive “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” as travel magazines (63%) rather than as science magazines (34%). It should be noted that the opinions of the majority of the respondents who had previously read these magazines were divided: 20% considered “National Geographic”, “GEO”, and “Condé Nast Traveller” popular science magazines, whereas 21% rated them as magazines about regional geography. Those who had not previously read the magazines tended to label them as “travel magazines”.

Innovation journalism as a thrust of development in popular science media

Innovation journalism is one of the tools used to disseminate scientific knowledge in the media. It raises the profile of science and promotes success stories and the commercialization of scientific discoveries. There are two approaches to define innovation journalism. Just a few years ago, researchers from Russian Medialogia used the concept of innovation journalism to describe media convergence, the state of the profession and the introduction of new technology into journalism (Dzyaloshinsky, 2007; Kravtsov, 2012). Today, innovation journalism is defined as a type of journalism that focuses on commercially successful scientific discoveries making their way into everyday life. Science and scientific discoveries today hold value only as part of the innovation process, which involves three

key stakeholders: academia, business, and government. The general public is engaged as a social environment for the innovation process and an intermediary between the other parties (Shuvalova, 2012). The key to the effective development of science and innovation is communication between all the stakeholders. Innovation journalism serves as a tool to establish this communication through specialized (science and specialized professional periodicals) and mass publications.

Media are beginning to take on new functions in understanding and explaining the value of each new invention to every member of society, including the layman. We assume that stories about scientific discoveries and innovation promote a favorable social, moral and psychological climate (taxpayers see the results of scientific activity and how the budget is spent). They also help instill loyalty to the government and business community and raise the profile of science, scientists and engineering.

A modern journalist has to keep in mind that each stakeholder in the innovation process performs their specific function. With this in mind, stories about science will appeal to a larger number of consumers. This approach is referred to as the Triple Helix concept developed by Prof. Henry Etzkowitz of the University of Newcastle and Prof. Loet Leydesdorff of the University of Amsterdam.

The triple helix symbolizes the alliance between government, business and academia as the key element of a country's innovation system. Academia, playing a major role, is also responsible for the capitalization of knowledge and the commercialization of intellectual capital. Business applies scientific methods to improve efficiency, creates subdivisions dealing with applied research programs, and collaborates with universities. Government catalyzes innovation and removes barriers to the diffusion of innovations, improving innovative business climate. The public is aware of the

need for innovation and is actively involved in its implementation (Seleznev, 2015).

In 2009, innovation journalism and communication in science shaped a separate area of professional practice. Communication in innovation uses specialized tools and approaches to bring together innovators and encourages open dialogue and cooperation to facilitate the joint production of innovation.

Tatiana Olkhovaya, Vice President of the Russian branch of International Association of Business Communicators (IABC / Russia), says that the communication of innovation takes place on two levels – horizontal and vertical. The horizontal level is the dialogue between stakeholders representing completely different sectors: science, politics, business, education. They speak different languages and may fail to reach an understanding even when they are discussing the same issue (Olkhovaya, 2015). At the vertical level, communication is established between innovators and the public. This level is perhaps even more important since innovation is not considered successful until it has been implemented and “it has become a part of everyday life” (Olkhovaya, 2015).

Thus, innovation journalism today is a communication tool to promote scientific knowledge and the production of innovation and to cover the innovation processes. However, our study has revealed that the role of innovation journalism is underestimated. There are cases when journalists fail to find a common language with a mass audience, especially when it comes to technology and innovation. Without proper communication of new ideas, products and services, the implementation of innovation is doomed to failure.

Journalists do not show enough understanding of innovation as a topic of media coverage despite the growing demand for this information. The results of our study conducted in 2009 by interviews with 460 citizens of St. Petersburg revealed that publications on

science and innovation drew the interest of 30.6% of a mass audience. By comparison, 38.6% of readers are interested in municipal news, 35.1% look for event announcements, 30.8%, prefer entertainment pages and billboards and 27.9% show the interest in political content. Besides these, the respondents mentioned public administration and useful consumer information (24, 9%); comments, opinions, conclusions (23.9%); fashion (7.5%); leisure and tourism (7.2%); society pages (5.4%), etc. (Pavlushkina, 2013).

Science and innovation in the local media

Popular science publications are a useful tool for evaluating a city's level of innovation. Our study draws on popular science articles from fontanka.ru, an on-line newspaper popular in St. Petersburg. Established in 1999, fontanka.ru is a major newspaper for a general audience and is one of the most popular electronic media sources in St. Petersburg. According to Rambler Top-100, fontanka.ru attracts 3.4 mln. individual users per month (Rambler, 2015). Its audience is made up of St. Petersburg citizens, business representatives and public officials.

At the beginning of the study, we monitored publications on the city's level of innovation and local scientific discoveries. From January 1st to June 30th, 2015, we obtained 43 stories from the website. To select relevant publications, the fontanka.ru search engine was used. Search queries included structural components (headlines, thematic sections) and content and keywords/expressions related to research and innovation ("innovation", "science", "introduction of new technologies", "inventions", "patents", "industry", "creation", "scientific discovery", "investment", "development and production", "modernization", etc.).

The analysis of sections showed that stories about science and innovation are distributed in several groups: "Construction" –

9 articles, “Society” – 9, “Business” – 8, “The City” – 7, “Technology” – 3, “Company News” – 2, “Life” – 1, “Lakhta Center” – 1, “Ask Yourself” – 1, “Good Deeds” – 1, “Real Estate” – 1. “Technology”, which is supposed to cover science and the like and seems to have the most obvious target audience, scarcely publishes articles about the achievements of the St. Petersburg research community.

This suggests that the editors choose science stories with the average citizen in mind. This is evidenced by the number of articles published in the section “Construction” (coverage of innovations used in the construction of residential estates and in urban development), “Community” (new technologies that increase the efficiency of mobile communication, news on education, new enrollment system for kindergartens, schools, etc.), “The City” (new payment system for public transport, the creation of a science and production facility at the innovation center St. Petersburg’s special economic zone, a magnetic levitation suburban train, innovative solutions for a large-scale spectacular senior prom The Scarlet Sails, etc.).

The “Business” section publishes materials for specific audiences. These include news on ecology, energy saving, the operation of a St. Petersburg LED factory and its cooperation with Finnish companies, partnership agreements, as well as news on the development of science and innovation triggered by the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum (SPIEF).

A glance at the frequency of the publications on the city’s science and innovation shows that the coverage, though not intense, is regular, featuring on average 3 to 7 news items per month.

March (7 articles), May (7 articles), and June (18 articles) proved to be the most informative. The abundance of publications in June is partly due to the SPIEF, where public and private

companies signed numerous agreements on science, technology and innovation. Additionally, fontanka.ru included articles about import substitution, the introduction of innovation to optimize production and overcome the effects of the economic crisis.

Innovations mentioned in the Internet edition fall into several categories that lend themselves to innovation, i.e. business (14 articles), construction (12 articles), education (5 articles), medicine (3 articles), mobile communication (3 articles), ecology (1 article), science (1 article), society and culture (3 articles) and production (1 article). Developments in IT are described in 9 news items. It is interesting to note that one of the articles highlights the central role of St. Petersburg in the development of the Arctic region.

Genres include news items (30), news summaries (3) interviews (3), features (2), news reports (2), reviews (2), and obituaries (1). Note that the obituary, despite its mournful tone, provides a detailed report on the contribution of Prof. Alexander Smolyaninov, General Director of Pokrovsky Bank of Stem Cells, to the development of the medical science. This explains why this item was included in the study. News items proved to be the most popular genre to talk about science and innovation. This is due to their concise representation and up-to-date information which avoids in-depth analysis and detailed explanation of the facts. That said, news items almost never explain what stands behind new concepts and terms.

Achievements and discoveries made by St. Petersburg scientists get better coverage in interviews (e.g. Kuznetsova, 2015), news reports (e.g. Ignatov, 2015), and features (e.g. The Virtual Construction Site vs. Drawing Paper and the Pencil (Dmitrieva, 2015)). These articles contain a large number of specific concepts. As our next step, we identified the frequency of lexical units indicative of St. Petersburg's high profile as a center for science and innovation.

The word list comprises “innovation” (7 hits), “new” (7 hits), “European” (4 hits), “global trends” (2 hits), “implementation” (3 hits), “technology park” (2 hits), “energy efficiency” (2 hits), “technology” described as new, cutting-edge, innovative, modern (20 hits), “technical development” (6 hits), “modernization” (2 hits), “technological projects” (9 hits), “high-tech” (4 hits), “development” (2 hits), “effective solutions” (2 hits) “modern” (5 hits), “unique” (2 hits), and “digital revolution” (2 hits). Several units were used only once, e.g. “tailor-made”, “technological progress”, “quality mark”, “breakthrough”, “equipment with outstanding features”, “new generation”, “New Era”, “priority sectors”, “optimization”, “potential”, “new approach”, and “standard”. Unfortunately, the study did not reveal any such terms as “scientific discovery”, “Petersburg scientists”, “the best”, “number one”, “exceptional”, “invention”, “know-how”, “patent”, etc. If used, these could raise the profile of St. Petersburg as a center of science and innovation. Besides Academician Zhores Alferov, the Nobel Prize Winner, fontanka.ru gives no reference to other St. Petersburg scientists.

Out of the 43 texts studied, 28 texts on science and innovation were positive, 7 were negative, and the remaining 7 were neutral. 9 out of the 43 texts are promotional and were accordingly marked “for publicity purposes”. Different innovation-driven companies introduce different innovations. This diversity increases the chances of attracting potential customers. To put it differently, new technologies become publicity stunts.

Despite the seeming intensity of coverage at first glance, the news agenda seldom includes news items about particular achievements of the St. Petersburg science and local research community. This explains the low profile of St. Petersburg as a center of science and innovation despite the city’s obvious innovative potential.

The St. Petersburg list of innovation infrastructure numbers 350 items. St. Petersburg is home to the Science Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences with over 40 research institutes, St. Petersburg State University and its Science Park, 9 public research centers, 6 national research universities, as well as numerous accelerators and major business incubators, innovation centers, technology parks and research laboratories. Much of what happens there is not being covered by the online newspaper.

Conclusions

This historical and typological model of Russian popular science press is based on a multidisciplinary approach, embracing both science and art. The diversified popular science magazine of today is no longer viewed as a means of education. It is more likely to be regarded as a media enterprise driven by financial concerns. In talking about the globalization of media, scholars have always pointed out that the USA can no longer act as the only manufacturer of the world's system of meanings. Today, it is fairer to speak about a set of media images and meanings that absorb the particular needs and preferences of regional audiences. It is an average set of values that enables media enterprises to function effectively in today's global marketplace. Values can revive popular science magazines if they set their priority on education as means of developing and enlightening their readers. This requires a shift from income-generating policies of magazines that markets themselves as science periodicals to content-generating requirements. The latter implies a comprehensive promotion of scientific knowledge created by the exact sciences, the natural sciences and the humanities.

Since popular science magazines have much potential as a segment of the media market, they merit further research. Successful new projects are likely to arise, e.g. in the segment of historical magazines or, more broadly, magazines in human and social sciences. Another promising area of studies is represented by periodicals from the thriving segment of innovation journalism. This field of journalism is a marker of the country's innovative and scientific development and is crucial when it comes to the promotion of innovations and technological entrepreneurship. Understanding the specific principles of innovation journalism will allow, firstly, to identify the leverages it uses to impact the reader, secondly, to understand the tools it uses to promote Russian science and innovation, and, finally, to establish effective communication channels between the general public, academia, business, and government.

References

Akopov, A. I. (2002) *Nekotorie voprosi zhurnalistik: istoriya, teoriya i praktika* [Some Questions of Journalism: History, Theory and Practice]. Rostov n/D.: Terra.

Althusser, L. (2000) Ideology Interpellates Individuals as Subjects. *Identity: A Reader*. London: SAGE Publ. p. 31–38.

Balashova, Y. B. (2007) *Shkolnaya zhurnalistika serebryannogo veka* [Silver Age School Journalism]. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University.

Baudrillard, J. (1996). *The System of Objects*. London: Verso.

Bauman, Z. (2001) *The Individualized Society*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bynum, M. (2012). *A Little History of Science*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Dmitrieva, E. (2015) *Virtualnaya stroika protiv karandasha i bumagi* [The Virtual Construction Site vs. Drawing Paper and the Pencil]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.fontanka.ru/2015/05/25/094/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Dzyaloshinsky, I. M. (2007). *Innovatsionnaya zhurnalistika. Modnoe slovosochetanie, ili putrazvitiya SMI* [Innovation Journalism: A Catchword or the Development Path of the Media]. TeleTsentr (Telecentre).1. p. 50–53.

Foucault, M. (2012). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. St. Petersburg: Humanitarian Academy.

Gromova, L. P. & Maevskaya, M. I. (2012) *Nauchno-populyarnaya zhurnalistika v Rossii v XVIII – XIX veke: vekhi stanovleniya* [Milestones of Russian Popular Science Journalism in the 18-19th Centuries]. St. Petersburg: Faculty of Philology, SPbSU.

Gydova, M. U. & Rakipova, I. D. (2010) *Zhenskie glyantsevie zhurnali: khronotop voobrazhaemoi povsednevnosti* [Women's Glossy Magazine: The Chronotope of the Imaginary Everyday Life]. Yekaterinburg: URGU.

Ignatov, D. (2015) *Na Geek Picnic mozno pozhat ruku kiborgu I ispatat virtualnii uzhas* [A Geek Picnic: Shake Hands With A Cyborg or Feel Virtual Horror]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.fontanka.ru/2015/06/19/237/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Kalinina, N. V. & Malceva O. P. (Eds.). (2012) *Faktori ekologizatsii otechestvennikh sredstv massovoi informatsii: istoricheskii aspect* [National Mass Media Going Green: Historical Approach]. Vladivostok: Publishing house DVFU.

Korkonosenko, S. G. (2011) *Vvedenie v zhurnalistiku* [Introduction to Journalism]. Moscow: KnoRus.

Kravtsov, V. V. (2012) *Innovatsionnaya zhurnalistika i vlast v sovremennom mediinom prostranstve* [Innovation Journalism and Power in Contemporary Media Space]. Moscow, 2012.

Kuznetsova, E. (2015) *Professor Amano podsvetil Peterburg sinei mechtoi* [Professor Amano Lights St. Petersburg up with a Blue Dream]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.fontanka.ru/2015/06/02/058/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Lazarevich, E. A. (1981) *Populyarizatsiya nauki v Rossii* [Popularization of Science in Russia]. Moscow: Moscow State University.

Muraviova, I. A. (2004) *Vek moderna: panorama stolichnoi zhizni* [The Modern Age: Picture of City Life]. St. Petersburg: Pushkin Fund.

Olkhovaya, T. (2015) *Innovatsionnaya zhurnalistika – pervii shag na puti k innovatsionnomu obshchestvu* [Innovation Journalism: The First Step Towards an Innovative Society]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.regionpr.ru/page402.html> on [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Orekhova, I. (2000) *Ekologicheskie problemi v informatsionnom pole* [Environmental Issues and Information]. *Index: Dossier on Censorship*. 12.

Pankov, A. V. (1973). *Populyarizatsiya nauki v periodicheskoi pechati (na materiale literaturno-obshchestvenno-politicheskikh zhurnalov)* [Popularization of Science in Print Media: Evidence from Magazines on Literature, Society and Politics]. Moscow: Moscow State University.

Rambler (2015). Statistika Rambler Top-100. Fontanka.ru [Rambler Top-100. Fontanka.ru]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://top100.rambler.ru/resStats/177340/> on [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Pavlushkina, N. A. (2013) *Relevantnost massovogo periodicheskogo izdaniya: rol informatsionnogo diskursa* [Relevance of Mass Periodicals: Importance of Information Discourse]. *Mediascope*. 4. [Online]. Accessed from <http://www.mediascope.ru/node/1426> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Putin, V. V. (2007) Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly. *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. 4353. (1).

Seleznev, I. (2015) Podhod innovatsionnih kommunikatsii v zhurnalistike nauchnih otkritii [Innovation Communications Approach in Journalism Scientific Discoveries]. In: *Media v sovremennom mire. Molodie issledovateli*. p. 332–334.

Shuvalova, O. R. (2012). Zainteresovannii gruppi v sfere nauki I innovatsii: “novie” steikkholderi ili “starie” tekhnokrai? [Stakeholders in Science and Innovation: New Stakeholders vs. Old Technocrats]. *Sotsiologiya nauk i tekhnologii*. 3. pp. 73–96.

Sokolskaya, L. V. (2006) Pervie zhenskie zhurnali dlya Rossiiskikh chitatelnits (konets XVIII – pervaya polovina XIX veka) [First Women’s Magazines for Russian Female Readers (Late 18th –early 19th Century)]. *Bibliosphere*. 2.

Shostak, M. I., & Shkondin, M. V. (Eds.). (2007) Zhurnaly v sisteme SMI: tipologiya i “nishi” izdaniia [Magazines in Media: Typology and Niche Periodicals]. In: *Tipologiya periodicheskikh izdaniia*. Moscow: Aspect-Press.

Toffler, A. (1990) *The Third Wave*. New York: Bantam Books.

Vaganov, A. G. (2007) Nauchno-populyarnaya zhurnalisika i prestizh nauki v obshchestvennom soznanii [Popular Science Journalism and Public Profile of Science]. *Rossiiski Khimicheski Zhurnal*. 51. p. 86–90.

**RUSSIAN MEDIA IN TELEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE
AS A METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE:
RECONSTRUCTING GOALS FOR
UNDERSTANDING EFFECTS**

**РОССИЙСКИЕ СМИ
В ТЕЛЕОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ ПЕРСПЕКТИВЕ
КАК МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ВЫЗОВ:
РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ ЦЕЛЕЙ
ДЛЯ ПОНИМАНИЯ ЭФФЕКТОВ**

*Viktor M. Khroul, PhD in Philology,
Associate Professor, Chair of Sociology of Mass Communications,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
amen@mail.ru*

*Виктор Михайлович Хруль, кандидат филологических наук,
доцент, кафедра социологии массовых коммуникаций,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
amen@mail.ru*

The media effects studies are more precise in a teleological perspective implying that the effects are analyzed in terms of goals. The teleological approach to journalism must be based on an analysis of the transparency and regularity of the goal formation process, the level of consistency and hierarchicality of goals and their compliance with the social mission of the media. The author considers it useful to engage in an interdisciplinary cooperation in the area of teleological studies of journalism and mass media with sociologists, linguists and psychologists.

Key words: *journalism, goals, teleological model, social mission, intent analysis.*

Изучение эффектов деятельности СМИ корректно проводить с учетом поставленных целей, то есть в телеологической перспективе. Телеологический подход к журналистике подразумевает анализ степени прозрачности и системности процесса целеполагания, уровня согласованности и иерархичности целей, а также их соответствие социальной миссии СМИ. Автор полагает, что плодотворность такого подхода во многом зависит от состояния междисциплинарного сотрудничества в области исследований эффектов СМИ, взаимодействия исследователей медиа с социологами, лингвистами и психологами, в частности, при развитии метода интент-анализа.

Ключевые слова: *журналистика, цели, телеологический подход, социальная миссия, интент-анализ.*

Invisible Problem with Fundamental Impact

There are many papers and books analyzing the current state of Russian media – from its technological aspect to its ethical perspective, and there is no shortage of estimates and prognoses (Vartanova, 2013; Ivanitskiy, 2010). However, the overall context of perception and evaluation of national mass media, in our opinion, lacks a perspective on journalism in terms of its goal-setting or, in other words, a *teleological* perspective. Such a perspective is necessary for the construction of a *normative* model to overcome the current crisis – not only structural, technological, but also ethical and axiological. Thus, we are dealing with the *teleological* nature of

the processes that are increasingly the subject of analysis in the texts of philosophical or theological approach.

The formation of strategic and tactical agendas and the configuration of information filters at all levels of communication are directly related to the goal-setting media activities which form the primary, basic system of goals, that later develops into an extensive network of more concrete objectives and aims. At all levels, goal-setting is based on the will of editors, journalists, publishers, business and political actors, etc. Some of them are internal players, some act from the outside of media institutions, but in any case goal-setting is a natural arena of their conflicts, mediated via negotiations or fights, finished with victory, defeat or consensus.

The purpose of this article is to examine Russian journalism theoretically from a *teleological* perspective and to invite colleagues to an empirical analysis of journalistic practice in the framework of the question of *diachronic (temporal)* and *synchronic (structural and hierarchical)* aspects of goal-setting's fundamental importance. The first of these aspects is connected with goal production and its development through various stages of media, and the second – a teleological correlation (coherence of the objectives in relation to their conflicts) between different “levels” of modern Russian media system and their impact on journalism.

In the framework of this paper we consider the teleological factor as normative and will-based with all relevant legal and ethical consequences. We are convinced that the accountability of journalism – in any society – starts with goal-setting (at all levels), therefore the teleological approach is considered to be an integral part of any media accountability analysis. If you are not able to retrieve and reconstruct the goals of media – how can you evaluate and measure their accountability?

Teleology in Historical and Contemporary Context

Teleology (from the Greek. *teleos* – “goal” and *logos* – “teaching”) is called: 1) ontological doctrine on nature and society objective goals; 2) methods of learning in terms of goal-setting, and 3) a description of the activities from the perspective of goal-setting and achieving goals.

The word “*teleology*” was first used at the beginning of the XVIII century by H. Wolf – one of the disciples of Leibniz – and originally stood for the part of the natural philosophy that deals with the description and explanation of the nature of things in terms of their objectives.

However, the teleological approach has been known since the times of ancient philosophy. “There are external and internal teleological perspectives. First, the *Plato approach* proposes the consideration and explanation of the organization of the world in relation to the behavior of the subject of intentional action. Intentionalism considers human behavior as conscious, as a deliberate pursuit of certain goals. People can foresee the possible deployment of the events and organize their behavior in order to realize their intentions. The second, *Aristotle approach*, suggests that the world itself has within itself its own goals – immanent forms. Everything has its own fundamental purpose and all entities are designed to realize that purpose. Goals are criteria to measure the maturity and completeness of things. Each of the goals presupposes the existence of a definite plan, which governs the development of the world or of things” (Entsiklopediya, 2009: 209).

It is important to note that Plato’s and Aristotle’s teleological concepts developed in the centuries that followed, presenting heuristically rich background to study *subjective* goals designed for media by political subjects and media managers and the *immanent*,

objective mission of journalism: the “gap” between what is being done and what should be done. A “gap” between the two modes of professional reflection becomes obvious when analyzing the results of sociological research; in the polls, journalists are in favour of ethical behaviour, while in everyday practice they often make exceptions and violate ethical codes (Anikina, 2013).

The concept of the ultimate goal (*causa finalis*) has been developed in medieval philosophy and theology. According to Thomas Aquinas teleological proof of God’s existence, every active act has a goal, and ultimately goes step by step to some higher source of goal-setting, that is, God.

In modern times, the rationalization of knowledge has superseded the transcendental teleological approach to the periphery of scientific research (Benedict Spinoza even called the concept of an ultimate goal to be a “refuge of ignorance”), but Leibniz brought back teleological principle in the arsenal of scientific knowledge (though over the centuries it remained in the shadow of positivist methodology).

“The projection of the mechanical view of the world of natural science on human life and activities in the sphere of morals threatened to eliminate the concepts of purpose and meaning from this area,” – suggested P. Gaidenko (Gaydenko, 2003: 24). Then the scholar notes that by the end of the XIX century the principle of expediency in the natural sciences has been narrowed down to a causal link “in the sense of acting, mechanical; rather than the target, the ultimate cause” (Gaydenko, 2003: 25). Gaidenko calls to form the basis of natural science and the cultural sciences from single source, “a single principle of expediency, breaking at last their chronic dualism” (Ibid.).

Moreover, a number of modern researchers consider it necessary to return to the “final cause,” underlining its heuristic potential and

noting that teleology is not only sacred but also rational in nature (Razeev, 2009: 22).

Historians of philosophy point out that the teleological approach, returning from the “exile” of modern times, consolidates its position in psychology, sociology (in particular, the teleological Weber’s concept of *goal-oriented* rational action), cybernetics, systems theory and other disciplines, providing at the same time increasing influence on modern science.

The “comeback” of goal-oriented approaches is becoming more prominent in contemporary Russian journalism studies. In particular, it is a remarkable fact that the new series of “Theory of Journalism Proceedings” has opened the collection of works “Mass media and the value-centred attitude of society,” which is considered as the methodological approach to the study of values in the public sphere (Lazutina, 2013).

In this article we will not analyze transcendental goals or consider journalism as part of an immanent teleology; instead, we will focus on rational goal-setting without correlation with transcendental factors. Stressing the rationality of goal-setting, some researchers propose to replace the term teleology to “teleonomy”, but it seems excessive to us.

Goal-setting in Russian Journalism: Actors and Manifestations

The question “for what purpose?” has been missing in different models of communication for quite a significant amount of time. In particular, the first Lasswell’s model – “who – says what – in which channel – to whom – with what effect?” – did not contain it (Lasswell & Bryson, 1948: 117). A question about the effect of

communication contains a latent question about the purpose (as the effect is the result of the process of achieving the goal), but the question itself “for what purpose?” appears in an improved model in the late 1960s (McQuail, 1993: 13–15).

The delay of teleological questioning and furthermore, teleological analysis in comparison to structural and functional analysis seems to be quite understandable: researchers firstly deal with more simple, obvious and empirically observable things.

However, it is not only theoretically, but also practically possible to compare the different media systems in terms of their teleological goal-setting: the transparency of the process, the level of consistency, the hierarchy and subordination of goals, the degree of autonomy/dependence from political forces and other factors.

The differentiation between goal-setting of the media system in longer terms and goal-setting in the texts, in the content, leads to two possible levels of teleological analysis – sociological systematic analysis on a macro-level of the national or even transnational media system and content analysis on the micro-level of journalistic texts transmitted by all kinds of media.

The evaluation of the goal’s effects on the audience consciousness presumes the third kind of analysis on the level of public opinion. However, academic discourse on the effects of journalistic texts and the effectiveness of the media in general in many cases does not take into consideration real objectives of journalists and media managers. Theoretical models need a more detailed “operationalization”, and empirical studies aimed at identifying the real objectives pursued by the journalists themselves and other influent players. We consider to be appropriate at least three levels of such an analysis: strategic, tactical and operational.

In Soviet times, the process of setting goals to a large extent – at the strategic level – was removed from journalism, and there was

only a tactical goal-setting on the instrumental level. The post-Soviet journalism with declared independence had a chance to regain the full frame of goal-setting, but, according to our observations, it has not happened.

Russian journalists were offended by provocative statements of Deputy Minister of Communications and Information Aleksei Volin made during the International Conference at Lomonosov Moscow State University, Faculty of Journalism in February 2013. He said: “The task of the journalist is to make money for those who hired him” (Oskin, 2013).

Therefore, facing difficulties in mainstream media, the dialogue on the media teleology – both at the tactical level, as the goal-setting of the individual journalist, and at a strategic level, as the social mission of the entire profession – is being moved to social networks.

Teleological questions about the real purposes of politicians and media managers cause simulative quasi-dialogue about the basic values of the most influential media (first of all – TV). The reduction of a wide range of values to a narrow set of political or consumer interests cannot be the work of only the politicians, the “curators” of media in government. Journalists – in their goal-setting – are also involved in the crisis in the media, but with varying degrees of responsibility and liability, depending on the degree of freedom of decision-making.

The symptoms of the crisis of goal-setting, which manifest themselves primarily in the real contradiction between the objectives of the journalists and the common good, the public interest, further manifest in the following ways:

1. The lack of systematic goal-setting. According to precise observation of Russian researchers, today’s media face “a deep deficit of goal consistency in a long-term run.” (Pankeev, 2013: 236);

2. Pragmatic, business-oriented goal-setting. Public interest and societal strategic goals are subordinated to profit and commercial success.

In both cases, journalists face ethical challenges related to their awareness of their social mission. Leading journalists of “*Russkiy Reporter*” – Andrei Veselov, Victor Dyatlikovich, Dmitrii Kartsev, Andrei Konstantinov, Konstantin Milchin, Evgenia Ofitserova, Ekaterina Nagibina, Anna Starobinets and Dmitry Sokolov-Mitrich, thinking about the main trends in the media, journalism and public communication, are trying to help colleagues in setting goals, coherent to audience needs: “Only now, after the fever of subjectivity and the anabiosis of objectivity, Russian journalism is gradually obtaining a harmonious way of development. The audience requests the quality of real meaning, real sense. People are not willing to pay those who provide them with a maximum of news or entertainment, but to those who save them from the noise of too much information and emotions” (Veselov, Dyatlikovich et al., 2012).

According to the authors of “*Russkiy Reporter*”, the strategy of further survival of the media in the market is directly linked to the exact definition of objectives in the context of a social mission: “Those media will benefit in the next decade in the media market that will guarantee the highest standards of journalistic work, will provide social navigation for the audience, will respond to the main issues of our time and eternity” (Ibid.).

The future of Russian media will show whether these predictions and warnings are heard. Meanwhile, awareness of the social mission of journalists in Russia appears in slightly different forms.

In March 2012, in the midst of political rallies (also an important form of representation of values and their presentation to the public) there was another initiative – an initiative of the rally “against all

rallies.” Journalists claimed they were tired of working overtime on covering rallies. It is interesting that journalists manifested against rallies, i.e. against the freedom of speech and assembly, but they did not criticize their employers. It is hard to imagine that, in countries with established journalistic culture and journalistic standards, the journalists came to “rally against the rallies...”

Dmitry Kiselev, the head of the International Agency, “Rossia Segodnia,” who is also the author and presenter of the program “Vesti Nedeli” on the TV channel “Rossiya 1” put the social mission of Russian media in the following statement: “Russia, of course, wants to compete in the field of international information, as information warfare has become the practice of modern life and the main type of warfare... Earlier there was artillery action before the attack; there is information warfare now” (Kiselev, 2014). According to the head of the agency “Rossia Segodnia,” propaganda is acceptable in journalism: “I am accused of the fact that I’m doing propaganda. But ‘*propaganda*’ from the Greek is just ‘the dissemination of information, ideas, thoughts, and philosophical positions’” (Ibid.).

The articulation of the social mission is a very important challenge for journalism, but the Russian journalistic community was not successful in surmounting it. “There are journalists in Russia, but there is no journalism. Journalism as a profession which unites a large number of people who consider themselves the fourth power. There are some journalists who are honest, professional, accountable, and who work in risky conditions with clear social mission. But they are a minority,” said well-known journalist Vladimir Pozner (Pozner, 2013). Meanwhile, a well-formulated, clear, and understandable mission that is accepted by the journalistic community could become a source of setting strategic goals that enhance the credibility of the profession and social dialogue.

The set of goals should be classified according to several criteria: the time (long-term, medium-term and immediate), the level of priority; the level of implementation, etc.

Attempts to consider the goals of the reporting in various media “from below,” i.e. from the standpoint of audience understanding, do not bring satisfactory results. Visiting the site of the leading Russian TV channels, we found manifestos and program declarations with teleological content (missions, goals, objectives, etc.), but in most cases the statements are of “self-advertising” nature focused mostly on how attractive the channel is for advertisement placement. Here are some examples: “The Channel One Russia credo is to be on the leading edge, to set the market trend, to be full of surprises and not afraid of experiments. Day after day, Channel One Russia lives up to its name by producing unique entertainment, news, and analytical content, releasing world premieres, localizing the best international formats, exclusively broadcasting sports and musical events, producing Russian film releases to great box office success, and developing thematic TV broadcasting. Today, Channel One Russia is the leader among Russian TV broadcasters in reach and popularity, both in Russia and abroad... Being the most loved and popular among its audiences, being demanded among advertisers, being the benchmark of quality among partners and competitors, and being the leader in reach is exciting, interesting, and challenging, and the only possible mission for Channel One Russia” (Pervyi, 2015).

“The TV channel “Rossiya” – one of two national television channels – has a broadcasting coverage of almost the entire territory of Russia. Its audience is 98,5 percent of the Russian population. The TV channel “Rossiya” today is a dynamic broadcaster, is a leader in documentary and feature film screenings, production of television entertainment programs, a leader in information broadcast.” (TV Russia, 2015). “Today the media holding REN-TV is one of the

largest Russian national broadcasters” (REN-TV, 2015). Even the channel “Dozhd”, whose positions differ a lot from the mainstream channels, indicates its attractiveness and uniqueness: “Dozhd” is the first and only Russian TV channel broadcasting on all existing platforms, delivering its signal to the viewer in all possible ways” (TV Rain, 2015).

Difficulties with the understanding of media goals by the audience are rooted also in a low level of teleological reflection. The limitations of freedom naturally lead to the dysfunctions in the system for setting objectives and their interpretations, and this phenomenon is observed not only by journalists, but also media managers.

Teleological Analysis: Methodological Challenge

Goal-setting in any field of activity, including journalism, does require an understanding of the role and the mission and derives from the fundamental mission of human development.

The mission of any activity is closely linked to the interests of all stakeholders. The *owners* of the media expect the stability of the media business, the increase of revenue, and they can be agents of certain political objectives, which are not always transparent. The *media workers*, in addition to the stability of labor relations, expect respect for their professionalism and their values. They need to be critical space of autonomy, which implies a personal choice and personal responsibility for it. The *audience* expects quality media products, which would have preserved the balance of objective information, education and entertainment, information sources and partners. The *advertisers* expect respect and mutually beneficial cooperation, competition, compliance, loyalty and manageability.

Society as a whole expects the totality of the media to perform functions for the common good.

According to teleological normative model of social dialogue optimization (Khroul, 2013), there are some goals that seem to be important for Russian media:

- the pursuit of the common good;
- qualitative and quantitative completeness of the agenda;
- optimization of channels;
- mediation, moderation, and creation of platforms for discussion;
- peacemaking and peacekeeping;
- professional solidarity.

Due to the lack of transparency of the goals of modern Russian media as well as the possibility of a fundamental discrepancy between the goals declared and actual, teleological analysis will be useful for many professionals – media experts, researchers, the media, sociologists, psychologists and others. Teleological analysis as a matter of course will face objective difficulties connected to the reconstruction of the true goals of the subjects of communication.

The teleological “matrix” of the goals of journalism elaborated according to the concept of civil society imposed on the practical journalism in Russia might be a tool that exposes the real hierarchy of objectives of media owners, media managers and other subjects.

In addition, the term “teleological analysis” seems to produce output in interdisciplinary space, in particular, methodical and methodological consultations with psychologists and linguists who are engaged in so-called “intent-analysis” – the direction of the research questions focused on the reconstruction of the speech of a subject and its intentions (intentions, goals, focus, and consciousness of an object). The researcher’s task is to reveal the hidden meaning, implications and true purpose of the speech that are not available

in other forms of analysis. (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Pavlova, 1998).

Teleological analysis in media studies – as intent-analysis in linguistics – seems to be promising from a heuristic perspective, as it could generate interesting results which would help to understand and explain the current situation of journalism in Russia.

References

Anikina, M. E. (2013). Rossiyskiy zhurnalist nachala XXI veka: mezhdru proshlym i budushchim [Russian Journalist between Past and Future]. In: *Teoriya i sotsiologiya SMI. Ezhegodnik*. Moscow. p. 5–24.

Atkinson, J. M. & Heritage, J. C. (1984) *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge.

Channel One (2015) *Channel One Russia. The mission*. [Online]. Accessed from <http://eng.1tv.com/mission> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Entsiklopediya (2009) *Entsiklopediya epistemologii i filosofii nauki* [Encyclopedia of Epistemology and Philosophy of Science]. Moscow.

Gaydenko, P. P. (2003) *Nauchnaya ratsional'nost' i filosofskiy razum* [Scientific Rationality and Philosophical Reason]. Moscow.

Ivanitskiy, V. L. (2010) *Modernizatsiya zhurnalistiki: metodologicheskiy etyud* [Modernization of Journalism: A Methodological Study]. Moscow.

Khroul, V. M. (2013) Zhurnalistika i subiekty tsennostnogo dialoga v obshchestve [Journalism and the subjects of the social dialogue on values]. In: *Massmedia i tsennostnye otnosheniya obshchestva*. Moscow. p. 95–103.

Kiselev, D. (2014) *Povedenie Zapada granichit s shizofreniei* [Western Activity is Close to Schizophrenia] [Online]. Accessed from <http://izvestia.ru/news/568611> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Lasswell, H. & Bryson, L. (eds.) (1948) *The Structure and Function of Communication in Society*. In: *The Communication of Ideas*, New York.

Lazutina, G. V. (ed.) (2013) *Massmedia i tsennostnye otnosheniya obshchestva* [Mass Media and Values Dialogue in Society]. Moscow.

Levada Center (2012) *Obshchestvennoe mnenie – 2011* [Public Opinion – 2011]. Moscow.

McQuail, D. & Windahl, S. (1993) *Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communications*. 2nd ed. New York.

Oskin, A. (2013) *Volin ne dolzhen byt' uvolen. Zamministra nuzhno pokhvalit'* [Volin Must not be Dismissed. The Deputy Minister Should be Commended]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://echo.msk.ru/blog/oskin/1010468-echo/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Pankeev, I. A. (2013) *Deontologiya zhurnalistiki kak otrazhenie svyazi tsennostey obshchestva i professional'nykh zhurnalisticheskikh tsennostey* [Deontology of Journalism as a Reflection of the Values of the Society and Professional Journalistic Values]. In: *Massmedia i tsennostnye otnosheniya obshchestva*. Moscow.

Pavlova, N. D. (1998) *Intent-analiz teleintervju* [Intent Analysis of TV interview] [Online]. Accessed from http://www.iling-ran.ru/library/psylingva/sborniki/Book1998/articles/2_5.htm [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Pozner, V. V. (2013) *V Rossii est' zhurnalisty i net zhurnalistiki* [There Are Journalists and No Journalism in Russia]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://ria.ru/interview/20131204/981962136.html> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Razeev, D. N. (2009) *Teleologiya Kanta* [Kant Teleology]. Saint-Petersburg.

REN-TV (2015) *O kanale* [About the Channel]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://ren.tv/o-kanale> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

TV Rain (2015) *Media-kit telekanala "Dozhd"* [TV Rain Media Kit]. [Online]. Accessed from <http://tvrain.ru/about/> [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

TV Russia (2015) *O telekanale* [About the TV channel] [Online]. Accessed from http://russia.tv/article/show/article_id/7481/ [Accessed: 25/02/2016].

Vartanova, E. L. (2013) *Postsovetskie transformatsii rossiyskikh SMI i zhurnalistiki* [The Post-Soviet Transformation of the Russian Media and Journalism], Moscow.

Veselov, A., Dyatlikovich, V. et al. (2012) *Divnyy informatsionnyy mir. 7 glavnykh trendov v media, zhurnalistike i obshchestvennoy kommunikatsii* [Wonderful World of Information. 7 Major Trends in Media, Journalism and Social Communication]. [Online]. Accessed from http://rusrep.ru/article/2012/09/04/info_world [Accessed: 25/02/2016].



**CONTEMPORARY
DEBATE**

PARTICIPATION OF THE PUBLIC IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: THE ROLE OF MEDIA¹

ОБЩЕСТВЕННОЕ УЧАСТИЕ В СОЦИАЛЬНОМ РАЗВИТИИ: РОЛЬ МЕДИА

*Iosif M. Dzyaloshinsky, Doctor of Philology,
Professor, Faculty of Communications, Media and Design,
National Research University "Higher School of Economics",
Moscow, Russia
imd2000@yandex.ru*

*Иосиф Михайлович Дзялошинский, доктор филологических наук,
профессор, факультет коммуникаций, медиа и дизайна,
Национальный исследовательский университет
"Высшая школа экономики",
Москва, Россия
imd2000@yandex.ru*

*Marina I. Dzyaloshinskaya, PhD in Philology,
Professor, Department of Public Communications and Advertising,
Academy of Labor and Social Relations,
Moscow, Russia
marinika2000@yandex.ru*

*Марина Иоанновна Дзялошинская, кандидат филологических наук,
профессор, кафедра общественных коммуникаций и рекламы,
Академия труда и социальных отношений,
Москва, Россия
marinika2000@yandex.ru*

*The authors of this paper elaborate on the idea that in the
modern postindustrial information society, social development*

¹ This publication was prepared within the framework of scientific project No. 15-03-00514 powered by the Russian Foundation for Humanities.

is closely connected with the process of communication enhancement. That is to say that the transfer from monologue to dialogue and from isolated communication channels to integrated ones in the field of communications predefines an inevitable activation of citizen participation in shaping the direction and means of social development. The authors consider the transfer from media support to media collaboration to be a new motion vector to the organization of public participation in social development. This paper states that an open and effective dialogue is a sign of conscious and actively realizable media collaboration.

Key words: *media support, media collaboration, humanistic approach, dialogue.*

В данной статье авторы развивают тезис о том, что в современном постиндустриальном, информационном обществе социальное развитие тесно увязано с совершенствованием коммуникаций. То есть переход в коммуникационной сфере от монолога к диалогу, от разрозненных каналов коммуникации к интегрированным предопределяет неизбежную активизацию участия граждан в формировании направлений и мер социального развития. Авторы рассматривают переход от информационного сопровождения к информационному партнерству как новый вектор движения к организации общественного участия в социальном развитии. В статье утверждается, что открытый и результативный диалог — признак осознанного и активно реализуемого информационного партнерства.

Ключевые слова: *информационное сопровождение, информационное партнерство, гуманитарный подход, диалог.*

Introduction

Humanity has entered an absolutely new phase of communication development. Communicative competence of all participants in this process (both initiators of communication and addressees) has increased. That means that they have both become almost equally conversant in communication methods, have equal knowledge of and skills in new technology use, know modern communication methods, etc. Therefore, the attitude of the audience has changed and, strictly speaking, the audience is no longer an audience as it can participate in the process of communication not only as a recipient. As a consequence, the changes in communicative behavior² of the modern communication process stipulated by the shaping of a new communicative consciousness³ has occurred.

While neglecting of some the particulars, this refers to fundamental singularities mentioned below.

1. Modern communications provide all individuals with expanded opportunities to get different information without restrictions.

2. Reality interpretation range increases. In the postindustrial age the system of media in its increasing diversity has become the main sense-producing “plant” helping an individual to find direction in

² Communicative behavior is behavior (verbal and accompanying non-verbal) of a person or a group of persons in the process of communication regulated by communication conventions and traditions of a definite society.

³ Communicative consciousness is a total of communicative knowledge and mechanisms providing the whole complex of communicative activity of a person. These are communicative attitudes of consciousness, aggregate of mental communicative categories as well as the set of communication conventions and rules commonly accepted in a definite society.

today's social realm. Public consciousness in the modern age is first and foremost "media-centered".

3. Possibilities to create and develop different communities consolidated through different non-political and non-social attributes expand and these communities want their communication to be considered socially important. Moreover, such communities strive for constant quantitative increase.

4. The availability of modern communication platforms turns passive participants of social process into conventionally active ones and their interests are distinctly articulated and taken into account. Such involvement of larger number of conventionally active participants gives an opportunity to more steadily appeal to the "union of the public". Both the anonymity of communication and the possibility to "play" with definite roles and construct the plural "I" promote this.

5. The possibility to enrich, complement, and reconstruct reality, "virtualize" it up to full diving of the user or his/her virtual "extension" into it appears.

6. The possibility of active self-actualization through involvement in virtual projects, for example, reality shows creating a quasi-reality that the audience can access with pleasure, appears.

These and other singularities of communication processes demand a fundamental review of the technologies of interaction between the subjects implementing different social projects. Traditional communication models that were formed in pre-industrial (Aristotle, Quintilian) and industrial (Lasswell, Lazarsfeld, Schramm, etc.) ages and based on the idea of domination of an initiator of communication defining the direction, theme and tone of the communication process do not obviously work and should be substituted with other models taking into account fundamental changes in the interrelation of the initiator and addressee in the communication of post-industrial age.

Media Support as the Technology for Agreeing Attitudes of the Subjects of Social Development

At present, the process of information and communication interaction between social institutions and society (or different target audiences) is described with the help of different notional and conceptual systems. The most popular among them are “public relations” (PR), advertising, and propaganda. In recent years, such concepts as “media support” and “media collaboration” have been elaborated even more actively.

The notion “media support” is used intensively in the scientific works of many Russian and foreign authors, namely: D. P. Gavra (Gavra, 2003); O. A. Gulevich (Gulevich, 2007); I. B. Gurkov (Gurkov, n.d.); M. A. Shishkina (Shishkina, 2002); A. P. Markov (Markov, 1997); K. M. Volkov (Volkov, 2006); Yu. Yu. Kursova (Kursova, 2003); A. N. Nazaykin (Nazaykin, 2007), etc. Five International Research and Practice Conferences under the title “Media Support of Social Projects in the Modern Society” held in Moscow in the years 2010-2014 were devoted to this topic (the Research School “Communicative Discourse of Social Projecting”, 2010-2014).

In English sources the issue of media support was considered by F. Kotler (Kotler, 2006); F. Jefkins (Jefkins, 2000); S. Cutlip and A. Center (Broom & Sha, 2012); U. Agi and G. Cameron (Agi, Cameron, etc., 2004); F. P. Sitel (Sitel, 2002), etc.

Quite often the media support of someone (the activity of a public person) or something (an organization, the introduction of new products to the market, a social project, etc.) is regarded as a synonym for public relations, namely as “a complex of actions aimed at project image management to form the right perception of a company, brand, product by the target audience. PR-support executed in accordance

with strategic and marketing objectives of the project aims at provision of the most complete and long-term project presence in media space” (Media Support of Activities, 2013).

In other words, the notion of “media support” is usually used to denote the formation of the desired image of a subject (organization, individual, product, service) and the introduction of this image into social and/or group consciousness to attract and maintain the interest of the target audience. Sometimes one can find even more radical definitions. For example, this one: “Media support of an event or an activity is broadly defined as purposeful creation of ‘infoglut’ in the Internet and off-line mass media” (Media Support of Activities, 2013).

It is thought that in the case of media support, the public, to be more precise, the potential target audience for which the project was created, acts as a recipient of information. The communication channel serves as a connecting link between developers of the project and the target audience. In this case, the information distributed plays the major role. Therefore the communicator tries to adapt the created and transferred message in such a way that it is most understandable for the recipient (Robertson & Murachver, 2003). The message can be written, audio or audiovisual and targeted at the potential audience that in its turn should decode it and take some action in response. Behavioral response is often this action and it in many ways depends on the meaning of message.

In due time we have formulated a slightly different viewpoint, in accordance with which the aim of media support serves the public interest of an individual, organization, event, or project providing for translation of not only that information, in the distribution of which the subject of communication is interested, but also of the information in the distribution of which the subject of communication may not be interested, but which raises the

interest of the public. The other peculiarity of the media support consists of the fact that it is focused not on unilateral data transfer but on attraction of the parties concerned to a dialogue concerning an individual, organization, product, or project in order to develop through collective intellectual efforts in the course of equal discussion the series of actions optimal for each definite problem, the execution of which will lead to positive results for both the initiator of such discussion and the other party involved. Thus, not a subject-object but subject-subject paradigm of information interaction is built and it provides for involvement of the largest possible group of persons in mutually beneficial discussion (Dzyaloshinskaya, 2011: 29).

The media support understandable to this end focuses on the provision of the most complete description and definition of any fact, event, or phenomenon. The aim of media support is serving the public interest of an individual, organization, event, or project and providing for translation of not only that information in the distribution of which the subject of communication is interested, but also the information in the distribution of which the subject of communication may not be interested, but which raises the interest of public. Thus, an increase of organization transparency is an overarching objective of media support.

The tools of media support include such technologies as the provision of free access to information, and the creation of newsworthy information and construction of information flow. One of the key factors to increase efficiency of the project media support is transparency. Information disclosure is stipulated by the following factors: it is done on a regular basis and in time; access to appropriate information is free; the disclosed information is complete and accurate; the disclosed information is relative and documentary supported.

Despite content-related complications and conceptual overlap in approaches to the understanding of the media support, final conceptual formulation of this category was reached at the V International Research and Practice Conference, “Media Support of Social Projects in the Modern Society” that was held in April 2014 in Moscow. Practical paradigms of media support execution processes concerning not only definite social issues but also social development in general were also analyzed during the conference (ed. Dzyaloshinskaya, 2014).

The analysis of the projects, the authors of which studied forms of media activity in presentation of such social problems as alcoholism, drug abuse, computer addiction, child homelessness (social orphanhood included), infanticide, attitude toward disabled persons, attitude to AIDS sufferers and HIV-infected persons, child and adolescent aggression, domestic violence, etc., as well as original projects and concepts of the media support such as, for example, the project aimed at the struggle against domestic violence “Help Yourself – Stop Being Afraid!”; the social project “Country For Everyone”, the aim of which is to improve attitude to persons with disabilities, increase the disabled employment level and activation of their participation in the life of society; the social project “Assistance For Homeless Children”, etc. allows making conclusion on more often used media and non-media forms of the media support.

Besides the traditional forms of media support such as topical conferences, fair exhibitions, placement of materials in mass media, etc., social networks offering a possibility to rapidly provide information and begin a dialogue with the audience arrange opinion polls and voting is used intensively. The modern program of media support of a social project is provided below:

1. development and launch of the project website, forum (with the possibility to take part in polls, voting, ask questions, answer them, share experience);
2. creation and active participation in keeping accounts on such social networks as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, VKontakte, creation of special interest groups;
3. production of video clips/social advertising for reposting in the Internet;
4. placement of advertisements on social networks;
5. arrangement of SMS-distribution of information about the project and particular events;
6. conducting a performance show with participation of all the target project groups;
7. distribution of attractively designed informational leaflets at events popular among representatives of the target project groups;
8. development of a mobile application (description of the project, news, polls, etc.).

But the communicative discourse of social project planning provides for a wider and more varied viewpoint on the issue concerned, especially as a new stage of social development the modern globalizing society is entering dictates new approaches connected with theoretical and practical apprehension of information and communication contexts. In particular, it can most definitely be stated that at present, problems are brewing in the world and that they are so complicated that public participation is needed not only in order to characterize the problems but also to formulate their reasons and possible consequences. Thus, this issue enters a new stage providing for consideration of not only media support but also media collaboration of social development subjects as the most important factor for apprehension and solution

of global social problems with the highest possible degree of public involvement.

Media Collaboration as the Technology for Joint Determination of Problem Areas and the Search for Solutions Optimal for All Concerned Subjects

It should be noted that the status of the notion “media collaboration” is quite contradictory at present. On one website, the following definition can be found: “Media collaboration is a free coverage of the customer’s event at the project pages in exchange for placement of the project advertising materials during event coverage as well as in the course of event itself” (Media Collaboration. Rules of Interaction, n.d.).

On another website, under the heading “Media Collaboration”, information about the involvement of media sponsors for the purpose of covering the preparation for and the results of the All-Russia Forum “Recreation-2015” is given (the All-Russia Forum “Recreation-2015”, 2015). It is also stated that the media sponsors can be any Russian or foreign specialized or general mass media: printed periodicals, radio, TV, video programs, newsreel programs, web-portals or specialized network mass media, or any other form of periodic mass information distribution. Depending on the volume of sponsorship rendered, the sponsors of the Forum will get the following statuses: General Media Sponsor of the Forum; Official Media Sponsor of the Forum; Media Sponsor of the Forum. The sponsors are offered different service packages in accordance with the status assigned.

The women’s magazine “Farishta.uz” in the section “Collaboration” is also looking for cooperation with everyone “who

is concerned with women's aspirations and hopes, their problems and achievements, sorrows and joys, their doubts, worries and confidence in future" and, using all the possibilities of web-space, is ready to provide its partners with the possibility to address directly to every representative of the beautiful half of humanity 24 hours a day, 365 days a year and to have a permanent connection with them all the time (Farishta, 2012).

I. F. Rakhmatullin in his paper "Media Collaboration as the Strategy of Informational Development of Economics" says that at present, an information resource has become one of the most important factors of successful business that puts an issue of market transparency increase on the order of the day. Therefore a necessity to form a collaborative work environment, within which all the resources, online and concurrent, are interconnected, arose. Within this environment, the strategy of information market players is immediately connected with planning and mutual concern in generating the necessary transparent resources and their efficient management. "This collaboration system allows almost reformulate the concept of relations between producers and consumers of information product, it is built on absolutely new basis namely – possibility of collaborative development and management of information resources and core knowledge. Collaboration allows almost reformulate the concept of relations between producers and consumers of information product, it is built on absolutely new basis namely – possibility of collaborative development and management of information resources and core knowledge. This will allow not only saving materials, resources and products. But the managers can also form sales forecast in accordance with economic potential, geographic regions, products. Finally, this will allow solving a key task of information market – formulation of reliable information resources" (Rakhmatullin, 2005).

Thus, it can be stated that there is an extremely wide variety of approaches to using the term “media collaboration”.

Our viewpoint in relation to this notion can be formulated in the following way. Media collaboration is created not when the initiator of communication satisfies the interest of the addressee in one or other information and not even when information and data exchange takes place enriching both parties of information interaction. Proper media collaboration is possible only in the case that all the participants in the communication process are ready for efficient, practically important dialogue (polylogue) aimed at, for one, the clear formulation and structuring of complicated social problems and, for another, searching for ways to solve it. And what is important – the result of such discussion should not only be the forming of an optimal solution to the problem concerned but also the development of a solution implementation program.

The advantages of media collaboration are quite obvious:

1) all the empathic persons who enthusiastically and with interest share their expert view and ideas get involved in the discussion of complicated problems;

2) the quality of the solutions found increases as there is the possibility to involve diverse information that is structured and used as a basis of the search for the best practical solutions;

3) the implementation of the solutions found becomes easier as all the participants in the discussion at all levels accept responsibility for the solutions found and actively support their implementation.

The principles of media collaboration in accordance with such understanding provide for the following:

- the rejection of corporate monologue in favor of corporate dialogue ensuring constant equal interaction with all interested parties based on complete, reliable information;

- the active use of different events not for the demonstration of its corporate responsibility but for the attraction of people for joint solutions to social problems;
- the creation of conditions and possibilities for provision of interactivity, operational efficiency and the widest possible coverage of the persons and organizations concerned.

The most powerful technology of media collaboration is crowdsourcing. This is a phenomenon used to define the transfer of definite production functions to an indefinite range of persons on the basis of public offer not implying conclusion of the labor agreement and providing for the presence of definite motivation of each participant to cooperate with the company or any other subject using crowdsourcing. The subject himself/herself should be ready to disclose information about his/her works to a wide range of persons (Il'in, 2012).

Crowdsourcing as a technology provides for direct interaction of the subject with a wide range of persons to solve a definite task. Thus, the audience is chosen in a natural way: the subject does not just translate the message about himself/herself to the audience that in his/her opinion influences his/her development, but also offers collaboration, in other words, joint execution of some action. Hence, such an offer is mostly accepted by those people who are really interested in solution of the task set. Crowdsourcing is a technology allowing finding a common ground with the wide range of representatives of an external audience not directly connected with the subject's activity. Crowdsourcing is based on a large number of people's genuine interest in collaborating. The subject using this technology creates the conditions to gain the experience of collaboration with him/her for a wide range of persons.

The interest of persons, participants in different projects, in the solution of one task or another is evident in crowdsourcing's use in

the scientific sphere. One of the most popular projects is Folding@home at Stanford University (Folding@home, 2013). Among the tasks set there is modeling of protein molecule coagulation that is important in studying such diseases as cancer, Alzheimer's disease, Parkinson's disease, and sclerosis. The number of participants that provided their processors for calculations constantly is constantly growing and has already exceeded 350 thousands.

During the first three projects, the budget of which surpassed 1 million US dollars each, Jonathan Rothberg, the founder and Director General of the company Ion Torrent, offered researchers the chance to invent methods making Ion Torrent technology production even more efficient, more precise and cheaper (Sansom, 2011).

The example of Google (the Project 10 to the 100, 2008) shows how crowdsourcing technology can be used for the realization of social responsibility programs. In 2008, Google launched the Project 10 to the 100, by which 10 million US dollars was allocated to finance the five best ideas offered by users. Ideas able to change the world and help the highest possible number of people were accepted from anybody who was interested. Google offered eight contest categories: "Community", "Opportunities", "Energy", "Environment", "Health", "Education", "Safety", and "Other". Under the terms of this contest, it was highlighted that five winners would not get anything except good karma and the sense of satisfaction that came with realizing all the human benefits. Sixteen ideas reached the final round and they were published at the project site and then the five winning ideas were chosen by voting. The advantage of crowdsourcing as a tool for the realization of the social responsibility programs in this case is that Google finds projects aimed at solution for real-world problems.

Google also (Alizar, 2007) demonstrates that a powerful brand with a good reputation can use crowdsourcing to attract the highest

possible number of resources to solve its own tasks. This is how the maps of India for Google's map resource were made. The company conducted a unique experiment in fifty Indian cities: the citizens got free GPS devices and were assigned the task of marking the coordinates of all the important objects they passed by in the city. If information was received from several sources – the object was marked on the map. In this way, detailed maps of cities with public transport stops, sights, restaurants, municipal facilities and the other buildings were made in a short period of time.

Additionally, it is proven that the use of crowdsourcing has a positive influence on making the image of a social subject (Kogan, 2012: 90-94). In terms of business, the range of regularities confirming this point is also traced. About 10 of the 50 Global Most Admired Companies of the Fortune list use crowdsourcing technologies in their practice and six of them are among the top twenty in this ranking (Fortune, 2011).

The following characteristics of crowdsourcing as a means for collaborative communication can be emphasized:

- transparency – it is necessary to disclose a definite amount of information about yourself to make people interested and involve them in collaboration;
- trust – without trust, collaboration is quite complicated if not absolutely impossible;
- dialogue – crowdsourcing provides for multilateral communication as well as the ability to find common ground and make a compromise;
- thoroughness – common interest of the subject using crowdsourcing and the persons participating in the project in solution of a problem/task;
- expert audience – the audience concerned, the one that is important for the development of the subject and that can

offer the most adequate solutions, is mainly involved in projects.

In Russia crowdsourcing platforms became commonly used during the fires in 2010 when a hundred thousand people used the platform Ushahidi allowing for the obtaining and processing of the large volumes of information from different sources and the creation of Help Map on its basis, which provided for operational processing of information and coordination of actions (Help Map for the Fire-Ravaged, 2010).

But other vivid examples of crowdsourcing use in Russia could not be found. In the field of business, this technology is mainly used to solve simple marketing tasks – creating titles, slogans, and logos. The issue of its use for more serious processes has not even been raised. Small companies without the money to pay for the services of professional agencies often try to use crowdsourcing. One can find such calls on the web; “Help creating a title”, etc. But most of these projects do not bring worthy results. Successful companies resort to crowdsourcing much less frequently and the results of such campaigns are much more modest than those of Western companies. This can be explained with rather low level of transparency in Russian business. Additionally, experienced and qualified specialists are not willing to offer their time and efforts for free.

Direction of the Shift from Media Support to Media Collaboration

Despite media collaboration’s obvious promise, its practical application in institutional communications is hardly forthcoming. The main problem of the resistance of Russian advertisers and public relations specialists to the ideas of media collaboration is

connected with the predominance of the so-called technocratic approach in the professional perception of these types of activities' representatives.

The central idea of technocracy privileges the power of technical specialists or embodiments of technical rationality. On the one hand, this is a strict (administrative-command) form of production organization and the whole of human life. On the other hand, it is the nature of modern civilization itself to be called "machine" or technogenic in modern science. Under this approach, the human is considered a component of the system, a cog not valuable as such. "Technocratization... expects the human to manufacture products in large quantities with less effort. The human becomes an instrument for manufacture of products. The thing becomes higher than the human" (Berdyayev, 1990: 149).

The technocratic mindset has created a constantly bored human-consumer, the values of whom include material wealth and acquisition. The environment becomes hostile to beauty and harmony. The loss of harmony with the world creates an unhealthy, distorted vision of the world and of a person himself/herself; abnormal thoughts lead to an incorrect view of life and this in turn creates incurably perverse and destructive social "structures": destructive sects, show business. Deformations in the development of a personality, in the integrity of manifestation of human virtues and in human abilities are immanent for the technocratic approach, in terms of which a human is not interesting and not valuable as he/she is and is instead considered exclusively as a means to achieve an objective external to him/her. Thus, the essence of technocracy is in the distortion of human integrity, the reinforcement of irreciprocity, fractionality, unidimensionality and "linearity" of his/her way of thinking and acting; a pre-programmed state of enchainment and dependence.

Technocratic perception as if factorized moral criteria and grounds for evaluation of one or another activity leaving in its field of view just technological, functional approach. Technocracy in thought and action leads not only to the devaluation of the human world. Another of its important consequences is the wide ability to manipulate the human as a cog in a large sophisticated system of objective achievement, a system that is often beyond cognition and particularly beyond the sphere of influence of the human-executor involved in the process (Istyufeev, 2007).

The specialist with a technocratic way of thinking strives to mold any idea into a resource to control the human mind and human behavior.

The concept of media collaboration following our perception is based on a humanistic approach to social processes. Broadly speaking, humanism is a historic paradigm recognizing the value of a human as a personality, including his/her right to be free, happy, to develop and manifest his/her abilities, as well as considering human well-being as a criterion for evaluating social institutions and viewing the principles of equality, justice and humanity as desirable standards of people's relations. The principles of humanistic approach can be formulated as involving the following characteristics:

- respect for the human, his/her dignity, interest and needs;
- the principle of free and independent development of the human;
- the principle of self-actualization: no one can be used as a means to realize well-being of the other

The humanistic approach is characterized by the transparency of objectives of human work and the absence of manipulation. Such transparency can be ensured through clearing the sense of joint actions, collegiality in objective formulating and choice, provision of the objectivity to all the persons concerned for review,

ability to correct them originally included into algorithm of the technology.

Dialogue can be considered a core feature of the humanistic approach. Therefore, the intent to provide conditions for a dialogue is characteristic for any humanistic technology. Mostly this involves the intentional building of subject-subject relations that have a mutually developing nature. This means that the participants in communication strive to hear, see, and understand each other's intentions and formulate a plain language of communication.

Equality in a dialogue involves equality in intention and the right to participate in the search for truth, as well as the readiness to share other points of view, freedom and responsibility for your own thoughts, actions and decisions.

To acknowledge the equality of all the dialogue partners and their equal right to have their interests accommodated, their points of view taken into account and their offers considered when forming solutions is an initial condition of good dialogue relations. The course and the results of the negotiation process in its different parts and forms, figuratively speaking, owe the half of their success to the overall and comprehensive desire to obtain positive results. Such desire is strong if it is based on a clear understanding of the existing peculiarities of modern social life (the complexity of social structures, the necessity to use non-violent forms of problem solution; the necessity of making joint solutions and taking joint actions involving all the participants of social process). Therefore it is clear that the dialogue takes form only in the case that each participant realizes his/her affiliation not only to "the party" (group, country, union, community, etc.) but also to humanity in general. Otherwise, focusing on "the particular" without the desire to search for "the general" is inevitable. It is also obvious that true dialogue relations are imbued with humanism and democracy in the spirit of

a deep modern understanding of these principles of relations and activity (Prohorov, n.d.)

Without all the aforementioned, a situation known as anti-dialogue relations arises. Such a point of view from one of the parties can objectively appear, even in its mild form, as the unwillingness to have a dialogue with “such” a partner. However, it usually hides the idea that the contradictions that cause a conflict are of an antagonistic nature and their settlement can be reached only through “the victory” of your own point of view. This leads to the position of a dictate or the intrusion of a definite way to settle the conflict and solve the problem on your terms. To justify this line of conduct “an image of an enemy” is created; a perception of the opponents as the “irreconcilable opposition”, “always obsolete”, and “fallen behind forever”; their interests, points of view and aspirations are not worth consideration and have intruded in social consciousness.

The development and introduction of the dialogue model of public relations is executed not only in the USA but also in Western Europe in the form of consensus-oriented public relations (abbreviated COPR). The first and main project of the concept of consensus-oriented public relations was published by P. Burkart in 1991 in the *Publizistik Journal*. Since that time, COPR were further worked out as a tool for planning and evaluating PR-communications (Zajcev, 2013).

Summarizing the judgments exercised in these and other works, the following conditions, observation of which will ensure the success of a dialogue as a result of media collaboration, can be formulated.

Social conditions of the successful dialogue:

- the existence of a serious social problem in which potential participants of the dialogue are really interested;

- the absence of a clear-cut solution to this problem;
- the application of the methods of force to solve the problem is acknowledged to be impossible;
- the recognition of each dialogue participant's right to his/her own point of view (pluralism);
- the recognition of the equality of all dialogue participants and all points of view.

Psychological conditions of the successful dialogue:

- the congruency of communication partners (natural and transparent character of communication);
- the unbiased perception of the partner's personality;
- the perception of the partner as an equal;
- the observation of the principle of equal psychological safety;
- a commitment to problem, polemical character of communication;
- a readiness to conduct dialogue (informational and psychological);
- a personified character of communication;
- the understanding and readiness to provide assistance;
- a similar interpretation of reality.

Organizational conditions of the dialogue:

- a clear definition of the character of problem situation, its essence and the participants in the conflict;
- a precise and clear formulation of the issues to be solved;
- the provision of participation in the dialogue of representatives of all the parties by a twist of circumstances involved in "a conflict of interests";
- the provision of taking into account all the aspects of each involved party's point of view on the conflict.

Conclusion

All the aforementioned give grounds for concluding that open and successful dialogue is a sign of conscious and actively realizable media collaboration. Detailed elaboration of the standards of communication based on an open dialogue is able to give fresh impetus to advertising, PR, and journalism. The need to develop in this direction is defined by several important processes that have taken place in the depths of the information and communication universe.

At present the number of “not average” consumers (that is those who need specific forms of communication) has dramatically increased. The audience continues segmenting and differentiating on new grounds and by its own initiative, not under the influence of media. The system of authorship is changing drastically: the Internet provides the right of public authorship to everyone and media utilizes user generated-content, that is, content created by the users themselves and sent for editing, with increased intensity. Another important tendency is a shift from the concept of feedback and interactivity to the concept of a media dialogue: communication portals, discussion clubs, etc. are created in place of traditional mass media. In point of fact, the process of the gradual elimination of distinction between “professional journalism” and “amateur journalism” is taking place and it is, at present, the global communication tendency.

Therefore it can be stated that we are on the verge of a thorough review of the deep basis for the organization of communication between the social subjects. The study of the processes mentioned above and the training and retraining of the specialists in the sphere of communications will favor a relatively mild transfer from monologue-manipulating practices to the more dialogue-heavy methods of media support and media collaboration.

References

Agee, W., Cameron, G. et al. (2004) *Samoe glavnoe v PR* [Essentials of Public Relations]. St. Petersburg: Piter.

Alizar, A. (2007) Google Uses Crowdsourcing to Plot Maps of India. [Online]. Available from <http://habrahabr.ru/blogs/crowdsourcing/12832/> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Berdyaev, N. A. (1990) *Smysl istorii* [The Meaning of History]. Moscow: Mysl.

Broom, G. M., Sha, B.-L. (2012) *Cutlip and Center's Effective Public Relations*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Comagency.ru (2013) *Informacionnoe soprovozhdenie deyatelnosti* [Information Support of Activities] [Online]. Available from <http://comagency.ru/pr-support-of-evets> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Dzhaloshinskaya, M. I. (2011) *Auditorija v sisteme informacionnogo soprovozhdeniya socialnykh proektov, ili sem voprosov o tom, kak nam obustroit socialnyy dialog* [Auditory in the System of Social Project Information Support, or Seven Questions on How we Should Organize a Social Dialogue]. *Materials of the II International research and practice conference "Project information support in modern society."* Moscow: "ATiSO" Publishing House.

Dzhaloshinskaya, M. I. (ed.) (2014) *Informacionnoe soprovozhdenie socialnykh proektov v sovremennom obshchestve* [Information Support of Social Projects in Modern Society]. *Materials of the V International research and practice conference.* Moscow: "ATiSO" Publishing House.

Farishta. Website for Lovely Ladies (2012) *Partnerstvo* [Partnership]. [Online]. Available from <http://farishta.uz/administratsiya/766-partnerstvo> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

foldings.stanford.edu (2013) Website for Providing Help to Stanford University. [Online]. Available from: <http://foldings.stanford.edu> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Fortune (2011) *World's Most Admired Companies*. [Online]. Available from http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/mostadmired/2011/full_list/ [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Gavra, D. P. (2003) *Socialno-kommunikativnye tekhnologii: segodnya i zavtra* [Social and Communication Technologies: Today and Tomorrow]. *PR-dialog*. 2(3).

Gulevich, O. A. (2007) *Psikhologiya kommunikacii* [Communication Psychology]. Moscow: Moscow Institute of Psychology and Sociology.

Gurkov, I. B. (n.d.). *Vnutrennyaya informacionnaya otkrytost kompanii. Kniga instrumentov* [Internal Informational Openness of a Company. The Book of Tools]. [Online]. Available from http://gurkov.ru/sem/org_dev/vnutr_inf_otkr.pdf [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Ilyin, A. S. (2012) *Kraudsorsing kak instrument modernizacii gosudarstvennogo i municipalnogo upravleniya* [Crowdsourcing as a Tool for State and Municipal Government Modernization]. *Materials of the VIII international research and practice conference "Regions of Russia: Strategies and mechanisms for modernization, innovative and technological development."* Moscow: INION RAN (Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of RAS). [Online]. Available from <http://ukros.ru/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/ильин.doc> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Samopoznanie.ru (n.d.) *Informacionnoe partnerstvo. Pravila vzaimodeystviya* [Informational Partnership. Interaction Rules] [Online]. Available from http://samopoznanie.ru/project/informacionnoe_partnrorstvo_pravila_vzaimodeystviya/ [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Istyufeev, A. V. (2007) *Krizis gumanizma v usloviyakh sovremennoy tekhnogennoy civilizacii* [Crisis of Humanism in the Conditions of Modern Industrial Civilization]. *Vestnik Orenburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*. 7. [Online]. Available

from <http://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/krizis-gumanizma-v-usloviyah-sovremennoy-tehnogennoy-tsivilizatsii#ixzz3ZIZTCKHq> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Jefkins, F. (2000) *Advertising (Frameworks Series)*. London: Financial Times Prentice Hall.

Kogan, E. V. (2012) Kraudsorsing kak faktor reputacii [Crowdsourcing as a Reputation Factor]. *Problemy teorii i praktiki upravleniya*. 1.

Kotler, F. & Pfoertsch, W. (2006) *B2B Brand Management*. Heidelberg: Springer Berlin.

Kursova, Yu. Yu. (2003) Opređenje celevych auditoriy i postanovka celey pri provedenii PR-kampanii [Target Audience Determination and Goal Setting in PR Campaign]. *Marketing i marketingovye issledovaniya*. 44.

Markov, A. P. (1997) *Osnovy sociokulturnogo proektirovaniya* [Social and Cultural Project Planning Basics]. SPb.: SPbGUP.

Nazaykin, A. N. (2007) *Mediaplanirovanie na 100%* [100% Media Planning]. Moscow: Alpina Buisness Books.

Petrinchik, A. N. (2003) *Razrabotka programmy kommunikacionnoy deyatel'nosti kompanii i ocenka ee effektivnosti* [Development of a company's communication activities program and evaluation of its effectiveness: thesis for Ph.D. in Economics]. [Online]. Available from <http://economy-lib.com/razrabotka-programmy-kommunikatsionnoy-deyatelnosti-kompanii-i-otsenka-eyo-effektivnosti#ixzz2l2GTznnt> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Project10tothe100.com (2008) *Proekt 10 v sotoy stepeni ot Google* [Project 10 Raised to the Hundredth Power by Google] [Online]. Available from <http://www.project10tothe100.com/intl/RU/index.html> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Prokhorov, E. P. (n.d.). *Dialog kak osnova uchastiya zhurnalistiki v formirovanii tolerant'nogo obshchestva* [Dialogue as a Base for

Journalism Participation in the Formation of Tolerant Society]. Available from <http://www.tolerance.ru/Dialog-kak-osnova.php?PrPage=SMI> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Rakhmatullin, I. F. (2005) *Informacionnoe partnerstvo kak strategiya informacionnogo razvitiya ekonomiki* [Informational Partnership as a Strategy for Economy Informational Development]. Available from <http://www.cfin.ru/bandurin/article/sbrn07/18.shtml> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Robertson, K. & Murachver, T. (2003). Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered Language Styles. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. 22.

Russian-fires.ru (2010) *Karta pomoshchi postradavshim ot pozharov* [Fire Relief Aid Map]. Available from <http://russian-fires.ru/page/index/1> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

rumed.ru (2015) *Vserossiyskiy forum "Zdravnitsa-2015"* [All-Russian forum "Zdravnitsa-2015"]. Available from http://rumed.ru/?page_id=186 [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

socinfo.my1.ru (n.d.) *Nauchnaja shkola "Kommunikacionnyy diskurssocialnogoproektirovaniya"* [Scientific School "Communicative Discourse of Social Project Planning"]. Available from <http://socinfo.my1.ru/index/konferencii/0-14> [Accessed: 26/02/2016].

Saytel, F. P. (2002) *Sovremennye publik rileyshnz* [Modern Public Relations]. Moscow: Consulting group "IMIDZh-kontakt"; INFRA-M.

Sansom, C. (2011) The Power of Many. *Nature Biotechnology*. 29 (3).

Shishkina, M. A. (2002) *Publik rileyshnz v sisteme socialnogo upravleniya* [Public Relations in the System of Social Management]. Moscow: Pallada-media.

Volkov, K. M. (2006) *Kommunikacii, integrirovannye vo vremeni* [Communications Integrated in Time]. *Marketingovyie kommunikacii*. 2 (32).

REVIEW



**MEDIA SYSTEM ASPECTS
OF SYNERGY ANALYSIS**
(review of the book “Media System of Russia”)

**АСПЕКТЫ МЕДИАСИСТЕМЫ
СИНЕРГИЧЕСКОГО АНАЛИЗА**
(рецензия на книгу «Медиасистема России»)

*Irina N. Demina, Doctor of Economy,
Professor, Dean, Faculty of Journalism,
Baikal State University,
Irkutsk, Russia
demina-in@isea.ru*

*Ирина Николаевна Дёмина, доктор экономических наук,
профессор, декан, факультет журналистики,
Байкальский государственный университет,
Иркутск, Россия
demina-in@isea.ru*

*Mikhail V. Shkondin, Doctor of Philology,
Professor, Chair of Periodical Press, Faculty of Journalism,
Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
skond@mail.ru*

*Михаил Васильевич Шкондин, доктор филологических наук,
профессор, кафедра периодической печати, факультет
журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
skond@mail.ru*

In the context of an increasing role of information, especially the society information potential of Russian social media, there is a need for a substantial update of all major media system components and an

increase in their capability to provide mass audiences with a necessary set of knowledge, axiological, and projective behavioral resources. The media's worldview as reflected in the consciousness of its audience must have such information potential that allows individuals and different social communities to completely meet their needs for information and thereupon to actively, successfully, and cooperatively participate in the processes of learning about the world and its transformation on the way to social progress.

By setting the goal of media system study within a synergistic approach, a team of authors of the recently published book “**Media System of Russia**”¹ strictly follows these requirements.

The book emphasizes that the media system is a complex system object that actively interacts with its environment, using the potential of this environment for its unimpaired operation and development. First of all, it refers to different media subsystems, including an informational one, which must contain all critical knowledge as well as axiological and projective behavioral resources for a society and the world community as a whole. The editorial subsystem should be a wide editorial organization uniting all creatively active representatives of the spiritual field, in addition to the fields of management, economy, policy, etc. The organizational subsystem is designed to include not only editorial management but also a wide system of information policy and management as well as the legal apparatus of the media, legislative, executive and judicial authorities engaged in media system organization.

¹ Vartanova E. L. (ed.) (2015) *Mediasistema Rossii: Ucheb. posobiye dlya studentov vuzov* [Media System of Russia: Manual for Graduate Students]. Moscow: Aspect Press, 384 p. (in Russian) Approved by ERO for classical university education as a manual for students of Departments and Faculties of Journalism at universities.

The authors of the book fairly include in the media system its technical and economic resources and analyze the impact of social networks, internet portals and mobile means in connection with the media system's functional and structural parameters.

The book studies the active influence of the political and economic fields as well as the spiritual field of society on the Russian media system. It characterizes the factors leading to politicization and commercialization of the mass media. It is noted that the politicization and the commercialization of mass media distort the media's worldview in the consciousness of its mass audience. There is also a need for genuine publicity of the policy and economy, as well as a necessity of broad participation in information exchange with the governance and capital of civil society and different public groups: ethnic, regional, religious, social, etc., including based on the modern processes of labor division.

As noted in the book, global trends, including globalization, affect the nature of the domestic media system. However, it is not less affected by unique patriotic history, political culture, the ethnic structure of society, ethical attitudes, or any number of other nationally determined features (p. 24).

The authors name the following as the main factors of environmental influence on media system:

- country geography, territory size, climate, as well as administrative and territorial system principles;
- societal multinationality and polyethnicity;
- economic development of a country that controls the amount of media capital;
- cultural, linguistic and religious differences;
- political regime peculiarities (p. 20).

The book is focused on the nature of media system integrity, which is treated by the authors as an integrative result of interaction

between its subsystems. In the process of continuous information interaction between social subjects that create and perceive mass information, the society information potential is being founded, enriched and updated, which is then reflected in the consciousness of the mass audience as the media worldview.

The researchers pay considerable attention to the functional integrity of the media system, considering the integrity as an integrative combination of editorial management functions, journalistic creative activities, and the functions of various social institutions that implement most of their target programs via the media system.

According to the authors' idea, the functional integrity of the media system provides realization and corresponding actualization of its various functions. Media system functional organization is based on editorial management, which provides optimal implementation of all management cycle stages in relation to all procedures of collection, processing, distribution and dissemination of published information. Its tasks as a mass information process organizer include actualization of journalism functions as a creative activity, as well as actualization of communicative functions of various social activity subjects: scientific, educational, political, economic, and etc. The implementation of advertising and PR functions is to a large extent carried out by the media system, and the nature of the activity is studied in certain chapters of the book.

Media scene characterization as an integrative entirety, as its new integrative feature arising in the process of structural and functional components interaction described in the book is of a great interest. When studying system concepts contained in the work, we see that the researchers make distinctions between the media system and media structure. This important concept rationalized by the fact that the media system means a combination of components

the interaction of which generates new integrative qualities of the system as a whole. One of these qualities is the media structure as a way of system components communication, as its composition. System organization is impossible without it.

The media scene means a structural formation that serves to ensure actualization of various potential qualities of the system's components. They may be actualized only if each special social space based on media structures will have open, public relations between social subjects as part of this space.

The media scene means an integral media structure that is not limited by the structure of combined editorial bodies and covers not only communicating components of the media system but also a significant part of their environment. This all-embracing mass information complex involves the totality of the potential subjects of the mass information process: producers and distributors of spiritual and information products constituting the basis of the societal information potential. It also includes those who develop the societal information potential by interacting with those who produce and distribute mass information. In other words, all social subjects actively and successfully participating in the fields of spiritually theoretical, aesthetic, spiritually practical, as well as practical activities become both potential and actual participants of information interaction processes carried out via the media system. The media scene is not only a network of information relations. It also means economic, legal and organizational relations connected with the carrying out of mass information activities that cover the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of mass information.

The mass media typological structure is characterized in the book as an optimized media scene existing in the framework of global, national, regional or any other social space, where

the public media sphere and information relations between subjects of production, distribution and consumption of mass information occur. When characterizing the differentiation of the media system typological structure, the authors proceed from the characteristics determined by the audience's nature, its information needs, as well as judge by the functional, thematic, technological, economic, and other models of media system (See Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7).

The book studies the degree of Russian media system optimization and the nature of its participation in production, distribution, and development of societal information potential. According to the first chapter, in addressing these problems, the Russian media system rests both upon global patterns and trends, as well as upon national specificities intending to combine national and global characteristics (p. 28).

The authors note the dominance of public terrestrial federal channels in these processes, which are the most successful in the coverage of national policies and in mass entertainment. The role of regional print and terrestrial media in responding to the informational requests of local audiences is also noted. The positive role of new media (online media, social networks) forming corporate and alternative agendas is also characterized in the book. Non-terrestrial subscription channels focus the attention of the audience on thematic and specialized programs. Moreover, printed periodicals have significantly weakened their positions in the national public sphere, notwithstanding certain achievements of weekly publications and magazine editions(p. 26).

The book "Media System of Russia" contains a wide range of chapters which:

- characterize system patterns of the media and the mechanism of their implementation (Chapter 1);

- identify the basis of mass media legal regulation in Russia (Chapter 3);
- study the audience of Russian mass media (Chapter 14);
- characterize historical stages of domestic media system development (Chapter 2);
- give a structural analysis of the domestic media industry (Chapter 13);
- contain a typological characterization of the domestic systems of television, radio, print media, on-line media, and information agencies (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8);
- define the nature of interaction between the media system and advertising and PR (Chapters 9, 10);
- study the features of interaction between the film industry and the media system (Chapter 11).

The publication contains appendices:

- Table 1. Legislation Related to Mass Media in the Russian Federation (1991–2015);
- Table 2. Basic Documents Related to Mass Media Self-Regulation in Russia;
- Table 3. List of Organizations Governing Mass Media Activities in the Russian Federation;
- Table 4. The Largest Media Enterprises of Russia.

The study of the domestic media system and media systems of other states is an important media research trend in Russia. There are many unanswered problems in the study of mass media system patterns and the mechanisms of their implementation. A comprehensive analysis of media system integrity problems as well as its functional, structural, communicative, and organizational aspects lies ahead. Under current conditions, extreme importance is given to the optimization of the media system as an integral part of the information sphere and as one of the main factors of

the formation, enrichment, and update of the societal information potential, and its opening by the mass audience.

An important step in this direction is the publication of the book “Media System of Russia”, which summarizes many detailed studies carried out in recent years at the Faculty of Journalism of Moscow State University. It will play a significant role in the implementation of the scientific research of this thematic problem-driven trend, as well as in the professional training of future journalists who study at Russia’s universities.

CONFERENCE REPORT



**REPORT ON THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA MANAGEMENT
ACADEMIC ASSOCIATION (IMMAA) IN 2015**

**ОТЧЕТ О ЕЖЕГОДНОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ АССОЦИАЦИИ
ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЕЙ МЕДИАМЕНЕДЖМЕНТА
(ИММАА) В 2015 ГОДУ**

*Anna A. Gladkova, PhD in Philology,
Senior Researcher, Chair of Media Theory and Media Economics,
Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Moscow, Russia
gladkova_a@list.ru*

*Анна Александровна Гладкова, кандидат филологических наук,
старший научный сотрудник, кафедра теории и экономики СМИ,
факультет журналистики,
Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова,
Москва, Россия
gladkova_a@list.ru*

On September 17-18, 2015 the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University hosted the annual conference of IMMAA organization. IMMAA (International Media Management Academic Association) is an international academic platform, which unites researchers of media economics and media management from different parts of the world. The main goal of IMMAA network is to develop international research on media management by conducting original research projects and holding international conferences and workshops centered around issues of media economics and media management. In 2015, IMMAA's annual conference was organized under the umbrella of the Seventh

International Media Readings in Moscow “Mass Media and Communications-2015” with support from the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation.

During the two days of the conference scholars from more than fifteen countries (Portugal, Germany, France, Austria, Russia, China, Republic of Korea, USA and many others) discussed the state of global and national media markets, the issues of media entrepreneurship in the age of digitalization, transformation of the advertising markets in the world, current development of public media and media policy in different countries.

The conference included several plenary meetings, a series of round table discussions, a workshop, a poster session, and a number of thematic sessions in both English and Russian languages. During the thematic session devoted to the media systems in BRICS countries, researchers outlined main similarities and differences between media in these countries and compared them to some Western media systems. The session on the development of social media in the world brought together representatives of media companies and scholars, who shared their thoughts on the role of new media in journalistic practices, and discussed the effects new media currently have on media business and media consumption.

During poster session, young researchers and PhD students presented the results of their research work and interacted with other conference participants while answering their questions and discussing their latest research findings. The most popular issue to cover during this session turned out to be the efficiency and specifics of different business models at the national media markets today.

Along with an intensive academic program, the conference offered its participants an opportunity to attend a number of cultural events, including the guided tour of Red Square and Arbat street, and a visit to “Russia Today” TV channel. The managing director of

“Russia Today” Aleksey Nikolov discussed the information policy of the channel and shared his view of the importance of journalistic ethics in everyday media practice.

Last but not least, IMMAA’s board gathered to discuss the next annual conference, which is scheduled for October 27-30, 2016. The conference will be hosted by the School of Media and Communication, Korea University with support from Korea Media Management Association. In addition, IMMAA’s board members discussed the conference in Moscow and spoke about possible ways to broaden IMMAA’s international outreach in the future.

Closing the conference, IMMAA’s chairman Professor Paulo Faustino (Porto University, Portugal) extended thanks to the Faculty of Journalism. The Dean, Professor Elena Vartanova mentioned that the conference has become an important event for Russian media studies, which gives Russian and foreign scholars an opportunity to discuss the future of mass communications and journalism in different parts of the world.

