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Edited by Elena L. Vartanova

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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-2018* is **September 15, 2017.**

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 modernizazii konzepzii 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

Peer Review

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

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

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EDITOR'S NOTE

To the authors, reviewers and readers of "World of Media"

It gives me great pleasure to offer you the current edition of "World of Media". Published since 2009, the journal has proved to be an effective platform for sharing knowledge, research and experiences among scholars interested in media and communication studies. The journal's close affiliation with the National Association of Mass Media Researchers (NAMMI) makes it an important means of establishing common academic ground for Russian and international 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 other countries: Austria, Australia, Belgium, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Kazakhstan, Poland, Sweden, and the U.S.A. Their professional expertise and deep knowledge of the media world ensure that the articles accepted for publication are of a high quality and originality. For the last few years we have also had the pleasure of collaborating with Colby College (U.S.A.) for English-language editing of the journal. Let me express my sincere gratitude to editors, reviewers, publishers and other supporters who work on "World of Media" and contribute to its advancement.

I am particularly happy to report that the 2017 edition is truly international in nature, featuring articles prepared by scholars from Russia, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Namibia, and Nigeria. It is gratifying to see how the journal, which began as a publication focusing primarily on Russian media, has turned into an international platform for sharing the latest research findings in the sphere of journalism and media studies among scholars from across the world.

The current issue features a lead article – *"Subject competence in journalism: issues of responsibility and ways to tackle them"* by T. Frolova (Lomonosov Moscow State University), which points out the significant role that subject-matter expertise plays in attempts to raise the content quality of the media.

The articles included in the "World of Media" 2017 edition represent both empirical and theoretical research conducted by authors from a wide range of cities and institutions. *"Conceptual evolution of the digital divide: a systematic review of the literature over a period of five years (2010 – 2015)"* by B. Acharya (University of Ottawa) presents the analysis of the scholarly articles published between 2010 and 2015, which focus on different aspects of digital inequality. The article *"Buying a gun not to use it? A study of the change in Czech media ownership and its political instrumentalisation"* by J. Krecek (Charles University) argues that media ownership in Czech Republic can be studied in the context of several time periods: the 1990s, the economic crisis of 2008, and the period from 2013 on. *"Transformations in the Bulgarian media system: tendencies and challenges"* by L. Raycheva (The St. Kliment Ohridsky Sofia University) discusses the changes Bulgarian media system experienced after the transition to civil society and a market economy. V. Khroul (Lomonosov Moscow State University), in *"Christian media in Russia in the age of "networkization"*, discusses the transformations Christian media are undergoing in the face of the impact of digital technologies today.

J. Wilson and N. Gapsiso (University of Maiduguri) discuss the role of mobile technologies in Nigeria in their article *"Communicating in the absence of mobile telephone network during the state of emergency in Borno state, Nigeria"*. E. Akpabio (University of Namibia) claims in *"Women in the Tanzanian media: a critical analysis"* that women are generally marginalized in the Southern African and Tanzanian media. The paper *"Ethical education at Western schools of journalism"* by I. Kumylganova (Lomonosov Moscow State University) presents the results of a comparative analysis of Western approaches to teaching courses on journalistic ethics at universities. In *"Violations of the journalist ethics: professional negligence or a pattern?"* I. Dzialoshinskiy (Higher School of Economics) and M. Dzyaloshinskaya (Academy of Labor and Social Relations) reflect on the violations of the journalistic ethics in modern Russian media and discuss types and amounts of such violations in different media outlets.

E. Kalugina (Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University) attempts to draw a line between online media and other network resources in *"The influence of citizen journalism on the Internet media sector: demarcation between online media and other network resources"*, using as demarcation factors the spheres of professionalism, self-positioning as media, performance of journalism functions, and the degree of media independence. Last but not least, Abigail O. Ogwezzy-Ndisika and Shuaibu H. Husseini (University of Lagos) draw attention to the issues of the safety of journalists in their paper *"Freedom of expression and safety of journalists in the digital age"*.

The section devoted to contemporary debate features the paper *"Media criticism as a form of literary journalism: updating theoretical approaches to a meta-genre"* by A. Teplyashina and N. Pavlushkina (St. Petersburg State University), which examines current practices of literary journalism represented by a column as its meta-genre, and media criticism as its global content.

The issue also includes a review of the recently published monograph *"Magazines "Rabotnitsa" and "Krestjanka" dealing with women's question in the USSR in 1920-1930s: model of propaganda support to social reforms"* by O.D. Minajeva (Lomonosov Moscow State University). The review was prepared by A. Grabelnikov (Peoples' Friendship University of Russia). Finally, the issue includes a report on the Eighth International 'Moscow Readings' Conference *"Mass Media And Communications-2016"* organized in Moscow in 2016. The report was produced by A. Gladkova (Lomonosov Moscow State University), secretary of the local organizing committee.

Our aims for the next edition remain straightforward: to encourage the submission of thought-provoking and interpretive articles; to process and review manuscript submissions in a timely fashion; and to publish as swiftly as possible the results of recent communications and mass media research. Let us note that the journal welcomes innovative submissions from young scholars and hopes to continue expanding our international reach.

Finally, we thank all of the authors for their investment of research time in the current articles and for submitting their work to our journal, "World of Media".

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

LEAD ARTICLE

SUBJECT COMPETENCE IN JOURNALISM: ISSUES OF RESPONSIBILITY AND WAYS TO TACKLE THEM

ПРЕДМЕТНАЯ КОМПЕТЕНТНОСТЬ ЖУРНАЛИСТОВ: ПРОБЛЕМА ОТВЕТСТВЕННОСТИ И МЕТОДЫ ЕЕ РЕШЕНИЯ

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The content strategies of modern Russian media are frequently subject to criticism by the public sector, researchers and expert groups. The author points to the significant role that subject-matter expertise plays in attempts to raise the quality of media content. The thematic modules employed as a pedagogical technique at Moscow State University's Faculty of Journalism aim to provide a deep understanding of a range of subject matters and to familiarize students with the special characteristics and/or peculiarities of the operative social spheres. Public sphere journalism is considered for its potential as a beneficial addition to academic programs for young journalists. The article includes the results of a student opinion poll as well as the outcome of a data research focusing on formation of future journalists' professional and ethical values.

Key words: *social responsibility of the media, media content, media content strategy, journalists subject competence, educational innovation, and thematic module.*

Современные контент-стратегии российских СМИ нередко вызывают критические оценки со стороны общества, исследователей, профессиональных групп. Автор показывает, что среди факторов повышения качества медиаконтента немалую роль играет предметная компетентность журналистов. Тематические модули, введенные в практику преподавания на факультете журналистики Московского университета ориентированы на получение и углубление предметного знания, на специфику освоения и интерпретации соответствующих сфер общественной жизни. На примере журналистики социальной сферы рассматривается потенциал образовательных программ для журналистов. В статье представлены результаты опросов студентов, обучающихся по программе модуля, а также анализ данных с позиций формирования профессионально-этических установок будущих журналистов.

Ключевые слова: *социальная ответственность СМИ, медиаконтент, контент-стратегии СМИ, предметные компетенции журналиста, образовательные инновации, тематический модуль.*

Introduction

New academic programs in the field of journalism have been given “a test run” at Moscow State University. The pilot academic project reconstructs real-life conditions of today’s media market, which has been shaped by post-Soviet transformational processes.

The topics covered in thematic modules correspond to the key categories of media content. The project, overall, is structured in such a way as to provide future journalists with basic subject-matter expertise and to sharpen and expand skills of cognitive reasoning and critical thinking.

The quality of media content concerning professional competence: a statement of the problem

The program of thematic modules reflects a need for the improvement in media content. We note that, both theoretically and methodologically speaking, the analysis of media content should be regarded as a topical scholarly and practical problem in that it concerns such issues as the social responsibility of journalism, the threat posed to media space by dehumanization, how journalism seeks to position and identify itself in this country and ways to cope with the conflict between audience demands and industry objectives. Debates on the social mission and responsibility assumed by journalism, as well as its public agenda and values, remain as challenging as ever and constitute the key subject of controversy within academic and professional communities. The question of social responsibility and the media encompasses a vast array of opinions on a wide range of themes and issues.

An approach to the question that currently enjoys popularity is Habermas' "public sphere concept" (J. Habermas, 2000 and other works), which establishes a "public service ethos" or, in other words, the theory of the social responsibility of the press (McQuail, 2013: 46–54; Siebert, Schramm, Peterson, 1998: 112–155). Moreover, the social function of the media has been regularly touched upon in works by numerous Russian researchers. E.L. Vartanova points out that the involvement of Russian press in existing market relations has altered the national media system significantly, but stresses the fact that the new political and economic reality have also brought about a conflict between actual media performance and societal expectations. “Surprisingly,” she writes, “government, business and civic communities are united in their criticism of the Mass Media, although each of these constituencies could be criticized in their own right (Vartanova, 2009: 451). By readily accepting the challenges of commercialization, “the model of for-profit media has ousted a whole range of socially and culturally meaningful issues, replacing them with today’s consumerist values <...> New principles and values <...> have almost completely replaced vital alternatives in media production, as well as the system of values of the press and, first and foremost, of television journalism” (Vartanova, 2013: 23). This conflict of values has accentuated the need for a deeper understanding of the concept that journalists should operate in socially responsible ways.

L.G. Svitich argues that both research on the conventions of today’s press and the outcomes of opinion polls demonstrate a certain “value dualism” characteristic of modern journalism (Svitich, 2013: 5). V.M. Gorokhov and T.E. Grinberg, writing on the problem of dehumanization of information, contend that society “gets stuffed” with data that is expedient only for political and business elites, while the actual informational interests of the audience are, for the most part, neglected (Gorokhov, Grinberg, 2003: 22–27). S.G. Korkonosenko expresses his disontent with today’s media by bringing up the issue of «asocial press» (Korkonosenko, 2010). V.L. Ivanitsky’s works contain harsh yet well-supported criticism of the present media environment. The author mentions the «low professional level, tendency towards catastrophism, complete misunderstanding of people’s true needs, obvious reluctance in promoting the national values, <...> and corruption.» (Ivanitsky, 2010: 6-7). The conceptual disbalance of the press caused by a whole array of media malfunctions is investigated by I.D. Fomicheva (Fomicheva, 2012). I.M. Dzyaloshinsky believes that widespread commercialization has forced many for-profit media to abandon their initial informative mission and their cultural and educational functions. (Dzyaloshinsky, 2012: 77). Y.M. Ershov concentrates on the importance «of indicators of human sustention, of cultural and informational development» (Ershov, 2012: 6). Similar judgments can be found in most mongoraphs and academic journals issued in recent years (Mansurova, 2002; Oleshko, 2003; Sidorov, 2012; Shaikhitdinova, 2004, etc.).

While recognizing that the problem is urgent, one must keep in mind that not only external factors (for instance, the existing media environment), but also internal, subjective factors affect the quality of media content. In a certain way, the objective factors seem to leave journalists with no other choice than having to focus on ratings or circulation figures despite their personal view of journalism as a major social benefit. By capitulating to external stimuli, they give up any professional self-reflection and thus create a situation in which the subject of content generation no longer plays a key part in the process. V. Gatov, a media analyst, points out the enormity of this problem in the statement, «a typical characteristic of journalists today is their lack of proper education, the shallowness of their fundamental knowledge both within their profession and outside of it», and identifies this as «the crucial problem of contemporary media civilization» (Gatov, n.d.). We, too, are certain that there is a direct correlation between the lack of journalistic competence and the low content quality in media.

Both their employers and industry experts often mention the low level of subject-matter expertise of young journalists. However, it is not only beginners whose lack of social background and skill is easily explainable; their more experienced colleagues are also part of this unfortunate trend. Truly, knowledgably and authoritative journalists are rare in our day. As a result, media content relies on two positional extremes: there is news, and there is opinion. Consequently, the intermediate stage, wherein analysis helps to shape concepts and ideas, is almost entirely lacking. It is therefore essential that journalists expand and update their command of subject-matter fields. This involves increasing the journalist's fund of knowledge not merely through random discoveries concerning aspects of contemporary life, but also through improving a repertoire of skills and substantially augmenting the journalist's thesaurus.

We proceed now to offer a review of a pedagogy that instills this broad range of knowledge and skills by concentrating on one of the leading media content segments: the public sphere. Matters relevant to the public sphere are represented in the «Society» section of press publications in general, and in a variety of subsections when it comes to television and radio programs, the specialized press and – possibly the most widespread and dense media – online websites and social networks. It is not enough for a journalist to be personally involved in everyday issues: «The authors of most publications and television programs devoted to social problems are overly absorbed in revealing the 'ulcers of society' and accentuating their public condemnation... It is, however, necessary to expand the range of social themes by means of the analysis of up-to-date trends in public life» (Frolova (ed.), 2005: 16-17). Consequently, the specialized subject-matter training of journalists may be viewed as quite a significant challenge at the present time.

An analysis of educational programs for public sphere journalists

The need for more profound thematic specialization on the part of journalists is highlighted by a number of researchers (Misonzhnikov, Teplyashina, 2014: 50–53). We, in our turn, are prepared to provide an overview of existing educational programs that aim to raise both the thematic and technological awareness of public sphere journalists. The structure of the overview includes several steps: identifying a program; defining its status; characterizing its subject and objectives; clarifying its function and content; and delineating the methods and formats by which its objectives are realized. The schematization of academic programs in Russia also contains references to particular programs and some statistics compiled during opinion surveys.

These projects, different in content and specialty, were carried out by various subjects and meant for a wide range of target groups (ref. *Table 1*):

- Media education programs for schoolchildren;
- High school studio programs and digital projects;
- Non-profit organization programs for journalists;
- Corporate programs for journalists and freelancers;
- Hackathons involving journalists;
- Distance teaching programs;
- Educational online programs.

Special attention should be paid to the new generation of university degree programs distinguished by a completely different and enhanced educational quality. These programs have been tested at the Moscow State Lomonosov University Faculty of Journalism. One of them, «Social Journalism», covers four semesters and six disciplines (in-class exercise format), and includes the preparation and release of the student magazine and TV-program Mass Media, as well as project development (for instance, social advertising or the coverage of acts of charity). Participants included 184 students from the regular daytime, part-time evening and extramural departments who enrolled, for the full academic cycle of the program under discussion, while approximately a hundred more students are still completing their course.

The open classroom format involves a specialized course featuring lectures by outside experts, educational excursions and the hands-on operation of a creative studio. Over time, this methodology has been picked up by other institutes of higher education in Barnaul, Ekaterniburg, Murmansk, Nizhny Novgorod, Penza, Perm, Saint-Petersburg, Ulianovsk; where social journalism studios have been launched. With the help of the Faculty's partner, the Social Information Agency, a special distance-teaching program was elaborated. The program has drawn about a thousand participants, with 30% practitioner-journalists, 24% non-profit organizations representatives, 22% students and teachers, 15% businesspersons, and 9% goverment sector employees (Reducing the Distance, 2007: 13–15).

The approval of new educational standards as well as the possibilities arising from the high status of Moscow State University contributed a great deal to the process of raising student competency levels. Thanks to an up-to-date stance on media communications and journalism, and to convergence and a multimedia environment, the program has acquired an interdepartmental and interdisciplinary nature. Today, lectures are delivered by instructors from several departments, representatives from the Social Information Agency, non-government organizations and human rights activists; by newspaper, magazines and internet media journalists. A number of new disciplines have been introduced: Social Advertising, Social Engineering, and Social Journalism Typology. The educational concept is based on the principles of humanism and the idea of

Mass Media as a social service. As far as the practical aspect is concerned, the release of a student magazine, a television program, an advertising project and a charity foundation PR-campaign are an integral part of the curriculum.

A special role in the curriculum is played by the course «Current problems in the public sphere», which represents the actual informational core in the procedures aimed at the development of student subject-matter awareness. The respective lectures include both generalized topics (the social history of Russia; the public sphere in post-Soviet Russia: the price paid for the reforms; social policies and social security; social and psychological issues in Russia; social deviation and abuse) and specific subjects (labor, employment, income; personal finances; financial awareness; education; health, healthcare and healthy lifestyle; family, children and orphaned children; home life; urban life; communal services; charity and volunteer work; the environment and environment protection, and more). Each lecture looks into the structure of a given arena of the public sphere: its background from cultural and historical perspectives, its status and statistics, the names of key personalities, an overview of the most urgent problems, best practices in problem solving from both Russia and abroad. Lecturers renowned in a certain field share especially collected data, and liaise with outstanding experts to arrange events and excursions.

Refer to *Table 2* for detailed information on the thematic module «Social Journalism».

Content quality and media space subjects: final strokes

In a discussion of subject-matter training for journalists, it behooves us to mention certain characteristic traits of content generators. One stage of the research process included conducting a student poll, which might allow for the assemblage of a profile of a future journalist in terms of professional, social, ethical, psychological and educational attributes. We present the results of 237 questionnaires completed in 2013-2016. For the most part, the survey included open questions aimed at assessing the respondent's civil and professional motivation, their interest in public sphere problems, current awareness of certain problems, the level of understanding and controversial aspects of the problem, and their perspective on ambiguous social issues.

The *first* block of questions concentrated on the students' involvement and their public sphere awareness. Analysis of the responses demonstrates that the future journalists believe this sector to be highly important. Following are a list of citations gleaned from the survey: «public sphere journalism provides numerous professional self-realization opportunities», «information is the most valuable resource in the sphere of social development», «we are concerned about social issues», «I object to unfairness», «the problem range is enormous», «one gets a chance to try a hand at charity», «social advertising is quite creative», «I feel humanitarian issues matter more than politics», «I feel public sphere journalism is what this country needs most and what I need for my personal growth», «I am interested in the everyday problems society has to face», «it provides opportunities for improvements in human-to-human relations», «it is the most useful, significant and urgent sphere for a journalist», «it combines intellect and creativity», «this is journalism for the people», «I feel the need for some action», «I have always been interested in other people's problems», «real life is most attractive and worth some attention», «we all live in society», «it works for the people», etc.

The very understanding of the notion of «public sphere problems» is often established through the description of its attributive qualities – or through the enumeration of many detailed cases. This can be viewed as evidence of the students' awareness of, and their attention to, human and humanitarian issues in general. The ranking of problems based on the degree of their urgency (rf. *Diagram 1*) makes up another noteworthy trend. What did the students feel was most important? Both their civic spirit and their scope of interests, as well as the priorities they set for themselves, once again demonstrate an undisputable broadmindedness (rf. *Diagram 2*) At the same time, we cannot help but notice a certain confusion in the perception and the development of a firm stance on the problem; students tend to place attention on the phenomenon as such and not on its essential, underlying meaning; there is a poor level of correlation between issues in the public sphere and their roots in politics or the economy; problem urgency dominates over problem significance, and so forth.. Both the content generators and content consumers lack a systematic approach to the topic at hand. As a result, an environment predominates in which questionable decisions are made, even at the highest level of performance.

The *second* block of questions was designed to expose the respondents' attitude toward a number of complex problems:

- Who, in your opinion, should be responsible for funding the medical support of ill or disabled children: the government, the citizens, non-profit organizations or other entities?
- Do you support the idea of razing the retirement age in this country?
- Do you believe issues of feminism and gender inequality to be urgent in this country?
- Should Russia provide humanitarian aid to other states?
- What is your opinion of the idea of introducing drug tests at schools and universities?
- Should education and healthcare be provided free of charge, and if yes, to what extent?

Within the framework of the survey, the respondents were urged to provide arguments in favor of their respective positions. It was this stage of the research that revealed a lack of subject-matter expertise significant enough to prevent students from looking into the controversies and conflictive aspects of the above-mentioned problems. On the one hand, the respondents demonstrated a highly humane approach to public sphere issues: «the retirement age ought not to be raised», «education and health care should come free of charge», «the medical care for sick children is to be provided by the state», «we should help other countries», «and drug tests are to be introduced». On the other hand, future content suppliers neither mentioned the need for more in-depth research on the complex topics they were analyzing, nor suggested any external expert sources, which might facilitate finding quality solutions to the problems in question.

The analysis of the answers to the second block of questions demonstrates that both the students and professional journalists are certainly wanting in the sort of profound subject-matter expertise which might help them assess the various aspects of problems that have become imminent through the past decades, It allows us to see that humanism alone can by no means be viewed as a universal panacea (or, to be more precise, acceptance of humanism as a reigning principle sometimes presupposes non-evident or unpopular solutions). Should the mass media fail to convey nuanced understandings; their audience will get confused as well. This problem looms large as one looks into the student answers: the respondents have proven themselves to be situated among content consumers, aware that certain complications do exist, but unable to find ways to handle them. Consequently, it is necessary to fortify the academic training of journalists with the influx of various kinds of information, and especially with techniques allowing systemizing and integrating information into a broad view of the world.

The *third* block of questions was optional and aimed at establishing the respondents' general intelligence level, which, in its turn, allowed researchers to assign an approximate quality-index in regard to their understanding of the Humanities, which after all constitute the essence of the profession. The students were questioned on their favorite pastimes, their personal cultural preferences, their media content consumption routines. Despite the stereotypical assumptions, reading led the list by a large margin. The selection of authors leaves no doubt about the validity of the answers, with the top positions given to A.P. Chekhov and F.M. Dostoevsky, followed by N.V. Gogol, L.N. Tolstoy, I.S. Turgenev, I.A. Bunin, V.V. Nabokov, S.D. Dovlatov, I.A. Brodsky. It should be mentioned that the favorite authors represent not only the various schools and periods in literature (aside from the traditional mandatory reading program), but also the various cultural spheres: cinema, art, music, theatre. Traveling (domestic itineraries included), photography, music, socializing, cinema (including documentaries and Soviet-era films) and out-of-town activities were named amount the most popular pastimes. About a quarter of the respondents had had a background in volunteer work, which they characterized as highly valuable. It also became known that the students had quite a clear notion of the current state of the media industry: all of the most distinctive media start-ups and editions of today were known by the respondents. The dynamics of preferences might also be interesting: two to three years ago, the highest rankings from students were garnered by "RIA Novosty", "Lenta.ru", "The Russian Reporter", "Kommersant'", "Novaya Gazeta", "Echo Mosckvy" and "Afisha"; while today such resources as "Meduza", "Takie Dela", "RBC", "MediaZone", "The Village", "Esquire", "First Channel", "Iod" are leading the field. The Russian Reporter, MK, and Vokrug Sveta have managed to retain their positions.

All of the results presented above allow us to conclude that our students are potentially ready to internalize vast volumes of informational knowledge from the various fields of the humanities. It is now the lecturers' responsibility to select, systemize and update this information and to apply (or even invent) the most suitable methods of conveying it to their mentees.

Future journalists crave action; they demand interesting lectures and the development of practical skills. However, they have not yet fully acknowledged their lack of expertise, both functional and theoretical, or perhaps, they still regard it as a default condition. In their feedback, students hardly ever appeal to the knowledge paradigm or to requests to fill classroom hours with the delivery of complex and highly challenging information that requires advanced critical thinking skills to digest. They request immediate, useful data, presumably without noticing the firm link between their academic subject and real-life conditions. This might be because the professional competencies are still largely viewed as mere practical skills by many undergraduates. The crucial point here is that a distinct line should be drawn between the fundamental and operational blocks of personal information storage, as those are the educational cornerstones upon which special focus should be placed.

To sum up, we argue that it is crucial to establish a connection between the quality of media content and a journalist's understanding of social responsibility, since this juncture reveals the necessity of improving and reinforcing the subject-matter expertise of content creators. The above requires an elaboration of new academic projects in various forms, the articulation of new themes and the pursuit of new research subjects. We believe that the pilot run of the new professional modules by the Moscow State University Faculty of Journalism presents some features of substantial interest. The research outcomes show that our students feel the need for a more profound understanding of social and political realities, but do not always acknowledge the link between the creation of quality media content and the quality of knowledge as such. Academic entities should join efforts with non-profit, professional or corporate bodies in order to develop advanced training programs utilizing up-to-date distance learning techniques.

The editor did not go through the tables below: they consist of fragments and phrases, all of which look accurate.

Table 1

"Social Journalism": academic course format

Academic Programs (Specializations and Subjects)	**Content (examples)**	**Source of Information**
Educational media projects for schoolchildren (secondary schools, universities, non-profit organizations)	Moscow University: school newspaper competition, journalism contests, academic courses and trainings for school media leaders, research projects. Saint Petersburg University: "Teenagers are our future" (a project aimed at reproductive healthcare and protection against HIV), guidance and special courses, academic programs for teachers, specialized teaching aids, teenage magazine, web-site	Vartanova E.L., Smirnova O.V. (eds.). (2010). Media education at schools: academic programs collection. Moscow: MediaMir. Media education at Russian schools: new concepts and approaches. (2013). Moscow: MSU Faculty of Journalism; Media education for young adults. (2013). Moscow: Center for Editing and Publishing, Sholokhov Moscow State Humanitarian University; Berezhnaya M., Asp. A. (2007). Teenagers are our future. Resume on the decade-long Russian-Swedish partnership in the field of teenager health protection. S. Petersburg: Moby Dick

Academic Programs (Specializations and Subjects)	Content (examples)	Source of Information
High school classroom programs and discreet projects	Social Journalism studios at Russian universities: Moscow, Murmansk, Barnaul, Nizhny Novgorod, Yekaterinburg, Penza, Perm etc. A extended coverage of public sphere problems: lecture modules, expert resource, case studies, text analysis, master classes, excursions, practice. Projects by the Sholokhov Moscow State Humanitarian University	Social Journalism: profession and perspective. (2005). Compiled by A. Sevortyan: edited by T. Frolova; Moscow, SIA. [Online]. Accessed from http://mic.org.ru/new-book/524-schaste-v-ozjorakh-osobennosti-formirovaniya-mediasredy-malykh-gorodov-rossii-na-primere-g-ozjory-moskovskoj-oblasti
Non-profit organizations programs for journalists	Open Healthcare University: «Public healthcare: business, government, society» (doctors, business community representatives, public organizations, journalists)	[Online]. Accessed from http://www.ohi.ru/

Academic Programs (Specializations and Subjects)	Content (examples)	Source of Information
Corporate programs for journalists and freelancers	Russian Journalists Union, Center for Creative Programs: educational and enlightenment programs; Mass Media contests on social, cultural and other themes; creative projects support; festivals; scholarships. «Russian Reporter: Summer School»: a social and educational platform for interdisciplinary programs and projects carried out by students, lecturers, schoolchildren, journalists and researchers.	Russian Journalists Union Website: [Online]. Accessed from http://www.ruj.ru/_projects/projects.php [Online]. Accessed from http://letnyayashkola.org/soc-jour/
Journalists' hackathons.	«Social Technologies Greenhouse»: a social and educational project aimed at forging links between the non-government sector and IT-community; advisories, conferences, master classes, round table discussions, TEST-camps.	Social Technologies and Civic Applications. Interview with E. Tomicheva. «Svoboda» radio station, 2012. 8 September [Online]. Accessed from https://te-st.ru/
Distance learning programs	MSU-based programs featuring the Social Information Agency: «Social Journalism», «Charity Guide for Beginners», «Gender Study Guide for Beginners»	Cutting Down The Distance: Public Sphere-Oriented Distance Learning Background. (2007). Moscow: SIA.

Table 2

Social journalism: thematic module program

Objectives	Content Structure	Educational Technologies and Means of Analysis
«Public Sphere: Current Problems»: acquiring the basic humanities-oriented background and creating the platform for future specialized subjects within the module aimed at establishing the subject-matter competence of a journalist	Insight into the humanitarian media agenda; social and cultural layers of the Russian society; social costs and lessons learned from past reforms; Russia in the global humanitarian ratings; social and cultural policy of the state; humanities segmentation; social groups and social dialogue issues; ethical and psychological issues on the personal and public level; social deviations and ways to tackle them.	Open classroom activities by lecturers and external experts, discussions, excursion program. Expert writing based on specialized methods.

Objectives	Content Structure	Educational Technologies and Means of Analysis
«***Social Journalism Typology***»: getting to know the existing media platforms, discovering the best practices and understanding the negative factors affecting the present communicative strategies.	Communicative strategies applied by social journalism; public sphere topics in the information agencies performance, newspapers' and magazines' best practice; social television and radio journalism; public sphere Internet	Lectures, workshops, visits to editors' offices. Exam paper based on the up-to-date means of media analysis
«A Journalist's work in the Social Journalism Sphere»: shaping the basic technological skills in the sphere of social journalism taking from the professional ethics perspective	Selecting and developing social agenda topics; efficient genres and formats for social themes; peculiarities of work in the print and electronic public sphere-oriented media; ethic norms in the sphere of social journalism	Practical modules; student media releases: a magazine issue, a TV-program, a non-profit organization web-site concept. A test paper based on the suggested solutions to practical issues

Objectives	Content Structure	Educational Technologies and Means of Analysis
«Author Technologies in the Sphere of Social Journalism»: getting familiarized with the best practices by the leading social journalism representatives, understanding the discreet working patterns to be appled to the future texts of one's own	Human rights issues (Z. Svetova). Mutual help journalism (V. Panyushkin). Contemporaries' portraits as a society simulator (L. Guschina). Lower levels of the society: social report (E. Kostyuchenko). Social conflict coverage (D. Sokolov-Mitrich). Social investigations (O. Gerasimenko). Volunteer movement (O. Allenova) Public sphere-oriented columns (N. Radulova). Drivers' rights protection (D. Evdokimova). Social aspects of war journalism (A. Babchenko). Healthcare topics (E. Gordeeva).	Master classes by the leading public sphere journalists. Test paper on the journalists' experience.

Objectives	Content Structure	Educational Technologies and Means of Analysis
«*Social Advertising*»*:* getting the basic knowledge of social advertising, discovering the West-European, American and Russian social ad best practices and corporate social responsibility projects; developing the creative advetising skills	Social advertising background in this country; today's social advertising in Russia; social advertising as a means of corporate social responsibility; legal and ethical regulations in social advertising	Lectures; an advertising project development. Test paper on the project outcome
«Social Engineering in the Mass Media»: acquiring the basic knowledge and the essential information on social engineering; getting to know the non-profit organizations expertise; discovering the PR methods of civic initiative promotion	Social *PR*. Social engineering in the third sector; volunteer projects with the non-profit organizations and Mass Media; social engineering in creative journalism; social projects in action	Lectures; excursions; expert analysis; group project participation. Exam essay paper on a non-profit organization, project presentation

Diagram 1

Most urgent public sphere problems as viewed by MSU students

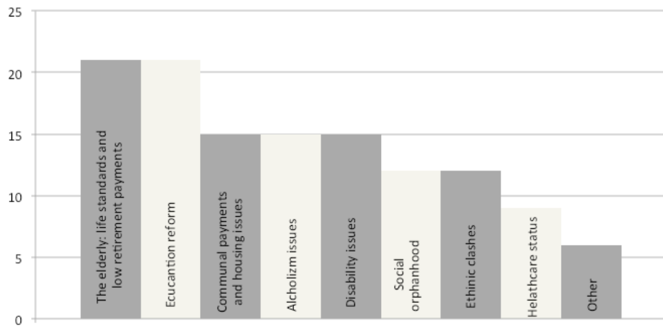
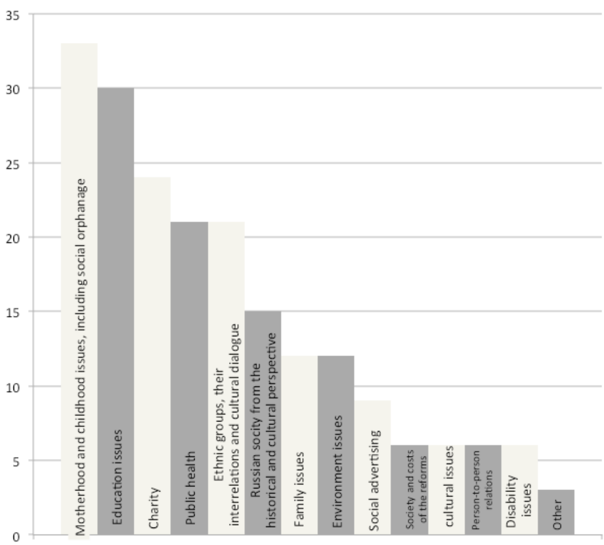


Diagram 2

Public sphere problems to be covered first



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ARTICLES

CONCEPTUAL EVOLUTION OF THE DIGITAL DIVIDE: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OVER A PERIOD OF FIVE YEARS (2010–2015)

КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНАЯ ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ ТЕРМИНА «ЦИФРОВОЕ НЕРАВЕНСТВО»: СИСТЕМНЫЙ ОБЗОР ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ ЗА ПЯТИЛЕТНИЙ ПЕРИОД (2010–2015)

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Throughout the last twenty years the digital divide – a multi-dimensional concept – has evolved in a manner that takes account of various technological, socio-economic, socio-political, and socio-cultural considerations. The objective of this study is to access recent conceptualizations of the term and to identify emerging considerations. In this paper I employ Okoli and Schabram's (Okoli, Schabram, 2010) systematic literature review framework as a basis for examining 21 digital divide focused scholarly articles that were selected from 118 peer-reviewed journal articles published between 2010 and 2015. The findings suggest that scholarly literature published in this domain during the last five years has identified user attitudes towards technology, motivations for use of technology, and socio-cultural backgrounds as factors influencing the notion of the digital divide. Despite the lack of a widely agreed upon definition of the digital divide, recent conceptualizations appear to be moving away from the traditional emphasis on technological and economic gaps. The central theme of the selected articles is that without addressing long existing socio-economic and socio-cultural inequalities, which are real and deep divides, bridging the technological gaps might not end the real issue of digital divide.

Key words: *digital divide, conceptual evolution, skills and usage gaps, socio-cultural disparity, systematic literature review.*

В течение последних двадцати лет многомерный концепт «цифрового неравенства» развивался, вбирая различные технологические, социально-экономические и социокультурные аспекты. Цель данного исследования – определить установившееся в науке понимание термина, а также выявить теоретический вклад недавних работ в развитие этого концепта. В настоящей работе, основываясь на структуре системного обзора литературы, представленного Околи и Скабрамом (2010), мы приводим результаты исследования 21 научной статьи, рассматривающих проблему цифрового неравенства, выбранных из 118 рецензируемых журналов и опубликованных с 2010 по 2015 годы. Полученные данные свидетельствуют, что работы последних пяти лет в числе факторов, влияющих на цифровое неравенство, рассматривают отношение пользователей к технологии, их мотивацию для ее использования, а также социально-культурные особенности. Несмотря на отсутствие общепринятого определения, актуальные концепции отказываются от традиционного акцента на технологических и экономических проблемах. Центральная идея изученных статей со-

стоит в том, что без преодоления долговременных социально-экономических и социально-культурных разрывов устранение технологических пробелов не может по-настоящему решить проблему цифрового неравенства.

Ключевые слова: *цифровое неравенство, концептуальная эволюция, проблемы навыков и применения, социально-культурное неравенство, систематический обзор литературы.*

Introduction

The term "digital divide" primarily refers to the disparity between information-rich and information-poor people due to their access to computers and the Internet. Digital divide occurs when a group of people lacks access to information and communication technology (ICT) means and is thereby prevented from various socio-economic opportunities, such as education, income and employment (Eastin, Cicchirillo, Mabry, 2015: 416–437; Nguyen, 2012: 251–268; Sparks, 2013: 27-46; Van Dijk, 2012: 57–75). This research essay based on the systematic literature review method is an attempt to assess recent understanding of the concept of and trends in the digital divide, which has been proliferating in various dimensions and scholarly discourses.

The concept of the digital divide has been evolving and has expanded into several fields since it was first discussed in the mid-1990s. Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a paradigm shift with respect to the understanding of the digital divide from users' access to ICT means to users' capability to handle these means. During the first five years of this century, the discussion on the concept of the digital divide focused on users' unequal skills and knowledge of handling ICT devices. This gap was introduced as the second layer of the digital divide (Dewan, Reggins, 2005: 298–337;

Hargittai, 2002). After 2005, usage of digital devices was also added to the discussion, the focus being on whether or not the usage of computers and the Internet has brought any positive changes in users' everyday lives. Scholars (such as Wei et al., 2011) argue that the inequality of users' capacities to exploit ICT means can seriously affect the expected outcomes, creating the third layer – "digital outcome divide". Hence, the concept of the digital divide – confined in the beginning to a bipolar division with respect to access to computers and the Internet – has been evolving to multiple levels.

Scholars argue that bridging the digital divide is a challenge in any country, either developing or developed. Developing countries are struggling for ICT infrastructure and affordable ICT devices. In contrast, developed countries are working hard to bridge gaps in digital inequalities with respect to skills and usage among various groups, such as immigrants versus non-immigrants, males versus females, young versus old, rural versus urban and high-income versus low-income.

The concept of the digital divide has been developing with respect to various technological, socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Since the mid-1990s, approximately every five years, a new concept has evolved on the subject of the digital divide, such as access divide during 1995-2000, skills divide during 2000-2005, and usage gap during 2005-2010. Drawing from various scholarly articles written between 1995 and 2015, this essay will identify evolving definitions and trends of the digital divide from 2010 to 2015.

Literature review

Before the terminology "digital divide" was popularized during the mid-1990s, the "information divide" was widely discussed in connection with multiple issues in society, such as education equality, information-based economy and universal access to information (Compaine, 2001; Yu, 2006: 229–252). From the 1960s to the early 1990s, there were a number of discussion agendas in academia with regard to the information gap and its potential consequences on education, the economy and the social well-being of the public. There was great optimism in contemporary western societies that information equality can help enhance lifestyle, which was possible through universal access to computers, telephones and email (Anderson et al., 2001: 86-87; Katz, Aspden, 1997: 170–188; Maitland, 1984; Yu, 2006: 229–252). Hundreds of studies were conducted focusing on various aspects of information, such as information inequality, the knowledge gap, the information divide, information-rich versus information-poor and information-haves and have-nots (Compaine, 2001).

During the 1980s and the early 1990s, unequal access to the personal computer (PC) was a discussion agenda because the PC was the only tool used to exchange information through electronic mail or "email" (Compaine, 2001). Even though the email system originated in 1969, electronic information exchange became popular only after the availability of the PC in the 1970s and later (Anderson et al., 1997: 86-87). Therefore, during the 1980s and early 1990s, computer literacy, the knowledge gap, PC gaps and email gaps were popular in denoting the present-day "digital divide" (Yu, 2006). Interestingly, the term "digital divide" was initially defined based on computer ownership regardless of the owner's access to the Internet (Tapscott, 1998).

During the early 1990s, there was a shift from the traditional information divide to a computer and Internet-based information divide because personal computers and the Internet were becoming widely available (Kim, Kim, 2001: 78–91; NTIA, 1999; Yu, 2006: 229–252). The status of having or not having access to information stored in ICT devices, such as computers and the Internet, was termed as the "digital divide" during the mid-1990s (Hoffman, Novak, Schlosser, 2001; Yu, 2006: 229–252).

The National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), a government agency of the United States, conducted a series of surveys entitled "Falling Through the Net", which gathered statistics on access to telephone, computer and the Internet (NTIA, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2000). The survey results revealed that Americans were more connected to ICTs than ever before, but at the same time, the digital divide between the information-rich and information-poor had not decreased. Yu argues that during the late 1990s, "the Internet was widely recognized as the most significant divider between information rich and information poor" ((Yu, 2006: 230). During that time, the digital divide was considered to be a binary division between people's access and non-access to computers and the Internet regardless of users' knowledge and skills (Anderson et al., 1997: 86-87; Dewan, Riggins, 2005: 298–337; Katz, Aspden, 1997: 170–188). Until 2000, most of the studies on the digital divide concentrated on the gap in access to computers and the Internet, based on various factors, such as income, gender, education, geographic location and ethnicity (Hargittai, 2002; Kim, Kim, 2001; Yu, 2006). By end of the 20th century, there were more than 14,000 publications that discussed the issue of the digital divide (Yu, 2006). The key concept of most of the definitions of digital divide was – the gap between having access to computer and the Internet and not having them (DiMaggio et al., 2004; Harambam, Aupers, Houtman, 2013: 1093–1114; NTIA, 1999; Yu, 2006: 229–252).

Furthermore, the concept of the digital divide began to be understood in a broader perspective in the beginning of the 21st century. Several scholars (such as Dewan, Riggins, 2005: 298–337; DiMaggio et al., 2004; Hargittai, 2002; Paré, 2005: 85–97; Selwyn, 2004: 341–362; Van Dijk, Hacker, 2003: 315–326; Warschauer, 2003: 297–304; Yu, 2006) argue that the concept of the digital divide should be interpreted based on several factors, such as digital devices, quality of Internet connection, availability of relevant content, knowledge and skills of users and the purposes of usage. In other words, there is more than one digital divide.

During this period, there were two groups of studies on the digital divide. The first group emphasized the divide from a vertical perspective with an emphasis on qualitative growth (Kim, Kim, 2001; Pare, 2005: 85–97; Warschauer, 2003: 297–304). This group looked at access, skills and usage gaps. The second group of studies emphasized a horizontal perspective, focusing on the Internet access on a national and global scale. The first group of studies argued that having access to computers and the Internet is not enough to bridge the gap of the digital divide and proposed a broader definition. For instance, Warschauer (Warschauer, 2003: 297–304) contends that “access to online information” is not sufficient to reduce the digital divide because the divide in people’s everyday lives is connected within political, economic, institutional and linguistic contexts. In a similar tone, Daniel Paré argues that the interpretation of the digital divide as “the binary distinction between haves and have-nots is not appropriate” because the digital divide is “a compendium of interrelated social, economic, and technological considerations that influence Internet access and use” (Pare, 2005: 85).

The second group of studies emphasized the mitigation of the horizontal disparity in Internet access on a global scale (see, Dewan, Riggins, 2005: 298–337; Huang, Chen, 2010: 248–264; Norris, 2001). Researchers of this group argue that transformation of the definition of the digital divide from access to skills and usage is appropriate in the context of a few developed countries, but not for many developing countries that are lagging behind with regard to ICT infrastructure. Huang and Chen, for instance, observe that the digital access divide is still a serious issue on a global scale because the digital gap seems to be narrowing in developed countries, whereas it is widening in many developing countries. Although developed countries have already turned their focus on skills and Internet usage, the gap in Internet access between developing and developed countries will be deep and wide in the long run because of socio-economic factors.

Hence, most of the studies from 2001 to 2010 looked beyond access to computers and the Internet while defining the concept of the digital divide, and identified second and/or third levels of the divide. During the first decade of the 21st century, the preliminary understanding of the "digital divide" concept evolved to cover users' skills and usage gaps. Despite there being inconsistencies in the interpretation of the term, scholars defined the digital divide concept as a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon, which has a constantly evolving nature.

So, what next? How has the concept of the digital divide been evolving now? The main objective of this essay is to identify trends in the understanding of the digital divide during the second decade of the 21st century. I intend to address the following questions:

RQ: What is the definition of the digital divide in the last five years?

Sub-Q: Is there any contribution in shaping up or expanding the definition of digital divide?

Methodology

This study employs Okoli and Schabram's (Okoli, Schabram, 2010) systematic literature review (SLR) method. SLR is a "systematic, explicit and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners" (Okoli, Schabram, 2010: 4). This method helps to identify the most relevant scholarly articles related to a research question, assess the quality of each article and synthesize the findings in a systematic and impartial way.

There are several studies available on the digital divide. These studies were done using various research methods. They looked at access to computers and the Internet, as well as knowledge, skills and usage gaps. No scholarly articles, based on a systematic literature review, which can substantially and systematically assess the conceptual evolution and recent trends of the digital divide, have been found however. This study, which uses a SLR method, will be relevant in assessing the current understanding of and trends in digital inequality.

Potential databases were identified as available in the University of Ottawa's online library through "uozone", a student interactive portal. Okoli and Schabram recommend that consulting an experienced librarian is an excellent way to begin an SLR. Therefore, four databases – "Communication Source", "Business Source Complete", "Web of Science", and "ProQuest" – were selected in consultation with a librarian at the University of Ottawa. In order to make this research practical, manageable and relevant to recent trends in the digital divide, peer-reviewed articles published in English language scholarly journals between 2010 and 2015 were searched for in the four databases by using the same words or phrases (*Table 1*).

Table 1

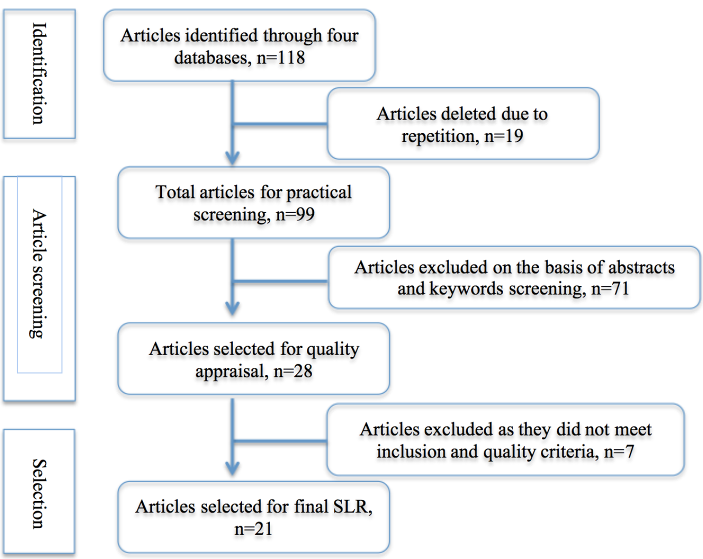
Article selection criteria

Database (# of Articles)	Boolean/ Phrase Used	Published Date Range	Journal Type	Article Type	Language
Communication source (37) Business Source Complete (27) Web of Science (19) ProQuest (35)	"digital divide" OR "digital access*" AND "knowledge and skill*" AND gap OR gaps, disparity or disparities	2010 Jan to 2015 Oct	Scholarly academic	Peer-reviewed Full text	English

Based on these search criteria, 118 articles were retrieved, and 19 of them were deleted because of repetition. Of the 99 articles, the abstracts and keywords in each article were carefully reviewed and rated on a Likert scale, in which 1 refers to the least relevant and 5 refers to the most relevant to the research topic. A total of 28 articles, which were rated either 4 or 5 were selected for the quality appraisal, the fifth stage of a systematic literature review (Okoli, Schabram, 2010). In this stage, the main parts of the articles (such as introduction, research questions and discussion section) were read to make sure that the articles were relevant to the research topic. Finally, 21 articles were selected for the systematic literature review (*Figure 1*).

Figure 1

SLR flow diagram



Findings

Even though studies on the digital divide conducted during the first decade of the 21st century already identified digital inequalities with regard to skills and usage (see, Dewan, Riggins, 2005: 298–337; Dimaggio et al., 2004: 355–400; Hargittai, 2002; Pare, 2005: 85–97; Yu, 2006: 229–252), the authors of the selected 21 articles reiterate the existence of these gaps and try to interconnect them with socio-economic disparities. For instance, Correa stresses that the digital divide has moved beyond the adoption and access concept to "a multifaceted concept that involves cognitive access and width and depth in adoption and use of technologies such as the Internet" (Correa, 2010: 72-73). Wei and Hindman mention that the traditional understanding of the digital divide consisting of "inequalities between technological haves and have-nots" is gradually shifting to actual use (Wei, Hindman, 2011: 217). Hanafizadeh et al. interpret the digital divide as referring to "social stratification due to unequal ability to access, adapt and create knowledge through ICT", in which stratification is not a binary division but "a continuum based on different degrees of access to information technology" (Hanafizadeh, 2013: 34). This reiteration of an already explored understanding may not sufficiently contribute to the evolution of the digital divide's conceptual growth.

Table 2

Article selected for the systematic literature review

Author	Coverage	Article Title	Study Subjects	Research Method	Key Arguments/Findings
Abad, (2014)	Global	Media literacy for older people facing the digital divide	Elderly people	Meta-analysis	The study of the digital divide cannot be limited to the analysis of Internet access, but must go further and become involved in the analysis and determination of the uses and intensity of Internet use, where concepts such as digital literacy, digital skills and digital inclusion acquire a greater impact.
Alam & Imran, (2015)	Australia	The digital divide and social inclusion among refugee migrants	Refugees	Focus Group Discussion	The first level of the digital divide has narrowed in recent years. The second and third levels of the digital divide are found across age, income, gender and employment. The main reasons for not using ICT were cost, language and skills.

Chen, (2013)	US	The implications of social capital for the digital divides in America	Households	Survey	Even though the digital access divide has narrowed in many aspects around the world, digital divides do not just disappear because socio-economic status affects web skills and Internet activities.
Correa, (2010)	US	The participation divide among “online experts”	Online participants	Survey	This study explores the role of the Internet experience, online skills, and psychological factors in the participation divide with respect to the Web. Psychological factors are the most important predictors of content creation.
Dixon, et al. (2014)	US	Digital divide between males and females in Internet public access sites	Low-income households & University students	Participant observation and interviews	The digital divide has emerged along the lines of previously existing social divides. New technologies have benefited those who already had access to other resources at greater rates than people who had fewer resources.

Author	Coverage	Article Title	Study Subjects	Research Method	Key Arguments/Findings
Eastin, Cicchirillo & Mabry (2015)	US	Digital divide conversation to explain knowledge gap	Ethnic groups	Survey	Although research on the Internet and the digital divide continues to be an important component of knowledge gap research, a holistic approach to the complex media landscape may provide a more accurate perspective on how gaps develop.
Haight, Quan-Haase, & Corbett (2014)	Canada	Impact of demographic factors on access to internet, level of online activity and SNS usage.	Random individuals	Analysis of Survey on Canadian Internet Use Survey 2010	The digital divide not only persists, but has expanded the digital inequality in the third level: SNS usage. The first and second levels are: internet access, and online activity. Social and demographic factors affect Internet adoption patterns.

Hanafizadeh, Hanafizadeh, & Bohlin (2013)	Global	Digital Divide and e-Readiness	N/A	Meta-analysis	The digital divide suffers from lack of theory and consequently, lack of conceptual elaboration and definition. No single factor, such as gender, age, race, education, income or geographical location alone can fully explain the concept of the digital divide.
Harambam, Aupers & Houtman (2013)	Netherlands	The contentious gap	Individuals	Case study, Survey, Interviews	People's attitude is important in the decision-making process on the domestication of technology. Cultural perception, rather than computer access and skills, plays a vital role in the usage/non-usage of the Internet.
Huang & Chen, (2010)	Global	Global digital divide	N/A	Data analysis of 48 countries	There are three types of digital divide across countries. The gap of Internet diffusion between two countries will never close. Factors that are likely to affect the global digital divide in the long run are income, education, national culture.

Author	Coverage	Article Title	Study Subjects	Research Method	Key Arguments/Findings
Nguyen (2012)	N/A	The digital divide versus the digital delay	N/A	Argumentative essay	The digital divide is unlikely to diminish completely in the near or more distant future for two reasons: due to continuously upgrading nature of the Internet, and socio-economic/socio-cultural phenomena.
Olphert & Damodaran (2013)	UK	Older people and digital engagement	Elderly people	Meta-analysis on case study researches	The digital divide experienced by older people cannot be explained by a simple interpretation of lack of access, lack of skills or lack of interest or motivation. Low-level digital engagement of old people can be the fourth digital divide.
Park & Jae Kim (2014)	South Korea	Lessons from South Korea's digital divide index (DDI)	Households	Data analysis of NISA Index 2003-2012	A second-level digital divide emerges as penetration increases. Even though access gap is diminishing, gaps in skills and uses remain persistent.

Sparks (2013)	N/A	What is the "digital divide" and why is it important?	N/A	Meta-analysis	There are three major traditions of research into the subject of the digital divide: (a) physical access, (b) skills and cultural competencies to utilize the ITCs, and (c) socio-cultural role in ICT usage.
Van Deursen & van Dijk (2014)	Netherlands	The digital divide shifts to differences in usage	Online participants	Survey	Even if the access gaps diminish, differences may remain in skills and usage of the Internet. The Internet usage gap, which is different from the knowledge gap, is increasingly reflected in people's cultural relationships.
Van Deursen & Van Dijk (2015)	Netherlands	Internet skill levels increase, but gap widens	Online participants	Online survey	The second-level divide focuses on gaps in skills and digital engagement. Levels of internet skills change over time. Education influences Internet skills positively.

Author	Coverage	Article Title	Study Subjects	Research Method	Key Arguments/Findings
van Dijk (2012)	Netherlands	Evolution of digital divide	N/A	Literature review	The discourse of the digital divide has shifted from unequal motivation and physical access to inequalities in skills and usage. Four types of access and six types of skills are proposed to bridge digital gaps.
Wei & Hindman (2011)	US	Comparing the effects of new media and old media use	Random adults	Data analysis and Survey	Social consequences of the digital divide have not yet received adequate attention in research. The differential use of the Internet is associated with a knowledge gap, which can create greater divides than usual.
Wei, Teo, Chan, & Tan (2011)	US & Singapore	Conceptualizing and testing a social cognitive model of the digital divide.	Secondary school students	Survey	There are three levels of the digital divide: digital access divide, digital capability divide, and digital outcome divide. Digital access divide can influence digital capability divide, which in turn impacts digital outcome divide

Wijetunga (2014)	Sri Lanka	Use of the mobile telephone by underprivileged youth in Sri Lanka	Mobile using youths	Survey	Even though mobile phone devices are considered to play a key role in alleviating the digital divide, cheap mobile phones have prevented underprivileged users from utilizing computer-based communication features.
Zhao, Collier & Deng (2014)	Global	A multidimensional and integrative approach to study global digital divide and e-government.	N/A	Meta-analysis	Digital divide and e-government development are interrelated because they share the same dimensions and factors. Simply increasing investment in ICT projects may not lead to increasing the use of ICTs.

Similarly, thirteen of the 21 articles do not define the concept of the digital divide. They simply borrow definitions from previous studies undertaken between 2001 and 2010, and examine certain features of the digital divide empirically within different demographic segments. For instance, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines the digital divide as “the gap between individuals, households, businesses, and geographic areas at different socioeconomic levels with regard to both their opportunities to access information and communication technologies and their use of the Internet for a wide variety of activities” (OECD, 2001: 5). Several articles selected for this study (such as Abad, 2014: 173–180; Sparks, 2013: 27–46; Wei et al., 2011: 216–235) have used the aforementioned definition, which broadly links the issue of the digital gap with the information gap, the opportunity gap and socio-economic disparities. Moreover, Park and Jae Kim (Park, Jae Kim, 2014: 72) used Warschauer’s (Warschauer, 2003: 297–304) definition, which interprets the digital divide as a social stratification, not as a binary division. It is, rather, a continuum based on different degrees of access to information technology. Similarly, Eastin et al. borrowed Mossberger, Tolbert and Stansbury’s (Mossberger, Tolbert, Stansbury, 2003) definition, which describes the digital divide as “an access divide, a skills divide, an economic opportunity divide, and a democratic divide” (Eastin et al., 2015: 2).

In contrast, some of the scholars try to interpret the digital divide in their own way. For instance, Wei and Hindman believe that “disparities in actual use patterns of the Internet are more pronounced between social strata than gaps in technological access” (Wei, Hindman, 2011: 229). According to Nguyen, the “digital divide is a social rather than technologically driven phenomenon, caused by variation in many factors beyond access and skills” (Nguyen, 2012:

251). For Harambam et al., the digital divide between the haves and the have-nots is just "another manifestation of socio-economic inequality – a reproduction or transformation of already existing disparities, favoring the rich and aggrieving the poor" (Harambam et al., 2013: 1094). Similarly, Chen believes that "digital divides are multidimensional and multilayered – whether and the extent to which individuals have Internet access, how they use it, what they use it for, and the returns they gain from use" (Chen, 2013: 13-14). These definitions, however, are not significantly different from the "borrowed definitions" from the first decade.

Some authors of the selected articles either add elements to or elaborate upon the concept, propose new models to interpret or define the existing definitions of the digital divide, or identify factors that influence the digital divide. For instance, Huang and Chen (Huang, Chen, 2010: 248–264) point out economic, educational and cultural factors as the major causes of digital divides on a global scale. Extending Dewan and Riggins' (Dewan, Riggins, 2005: 298–337) conceptual framework, Wei et al. (Wei et al., 2011: 170–187) add a third level of digital divide – digital outcome divide – which arises due to the second level digital divide and socio-economic factors.

Van Dijk (Van Dijl, 2012: 57–75) introduces "motivation" as the primary factor that may significantly influence digital divides related to access, skills and usage. He identifies six types of skills used to handle computers and the Internet, and explains usage gaps based on the frequency and diversity of users' activities. Van Dijk argues, "many of those who remain on the 'wrong' side of the digital divide have motivational problems" (Van Dijl, 2012: 62). Extending Van Dijk's model of the digital divide, Hanafizadeh et al. propose "impact of usage" as the next stage of the digital divide because impact of usage, according to them, is the "ultimate goal of the process of technological appropriation in the shape of particular applications” (Hanafizadeh et al., 2013: 37). Seventeen scholars of the select studies (such as Dixon et al., 2014: 991–1009; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2015: 782–797) argue that socio-economic complexities and cultural aspects behind the digital divide are more important and need closer attention than the focus on technological aspects.

Even though the categorization of various levels of the digital divide vary among scholars, they agree that access, skills and usage are closely interrelated when defining the concept of the digital divide. Nine of the select studies (such as Alam, Imran, 2015: 344–365; Haight et al., 2014: 503–519; Park, Jae Kim, 2014: 72) have indicated that the digital divide should be understood in three levels, namely access, skills and usage. Some scholars (such as Harambam, 2013: 1093–1114; Olphert, Damodaran, 2013: 564–70; Wei, et al., 2011: 170–187; Wijetunga, 2014: 712–726) want to use “capabilities” instead of “skills” because, they argue, the term “capabilities” can incorporate users’ skills and abilities together. Some other scholars (such as Abad, 2014: 173–180; Correa, 2010: 71–92; Wei, Hindman, 2011: 216–235) include skills and usage in the same level because, according to them, skills are tested when they are used, therefore, they are inseparable. Furthermore, scholars’ categorizations of the third level of the digital divide vary significantly. For instance, Correa (Correa, 2010: 71–92) and Olphert and Damodaran (Olphert, Damodaran, 2013: 564–570) propose content creation as the third level of the digital divide, but Park and Jae Kim (Park, Jae Kim, 2014: 72) and Wei et al. (Wei et al., 2011: 170–187) propose “outcomes” and “utilization” respectively as the third level of digital divide. Similarly, Harambam et al. (Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114) recommend “cultural divide” and Haight et al. (Haight et al., 2014: 503–519) submit

"SNS (social network site) usage" as the third level. Moving ahead, Olphert and Damodaran (Olphert, Damodaran 2013: 564–70) suggest "digital engagement" as the fourth level of the digital divide. Even though there are strong correlations between the levels of digital divide, there is a lot of confusion and differences among scholars about the classification of various levels.

Nineteen of the select articles for this study (such as Alam, Imran, 2014: 344–365; Chen, 2013: 13–25; Dixon et al., 2015: 991–1009; Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114; Hight et al., 2014: 503–519; Park, Jae Kim, 2014; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2015: 782–797) point out that access to ICT is just the starting phase of digital exclusion, which can be diminished sooner or later. Digital divides with respect to new skills, content creation, outcomes and impact, however, do not disappear because of the continuously upgrading nature of the Internet and long existing social divide (see Nguyen, 2012: 251–268; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 507–526). Further, scholars interpret the digital divide as a social divide, finding its new connection to socio-cultural spheres, because they believe that social and cultural factors are pivotal in technology appropriation in many societies (Haight, 2014: 503–519; Hanafizadeh et al., 2013: 30–75; Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114; Sparks, 2013: 27–46; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 507–526). Hanafizadeh et al. argue that the digital divide should be interpreted from a socio-cultural perspective, which emphasizes users' perceptions and psychology while adopting a new technology. In addition, Van Dijk (Van Dijk 2012: 57–75) focuses on users' feelings towards technology, such as technophobia and computer anxiety. For him, without addressing users' attitudes, moral reasoning and ethical aspects, the digital divide cannot be understood properly. Similarly, Harambam et al. argue that having access to ICTs or not having them is more a culturally informed decision – "a matter of cultural polarization" –

than the result of socio-economic inequalities (Harambam et al., 2013: 1109). They suggest that research undertaken from a cultural perspective should be seriously considered because people's perception about the significance of technology to their livelihood is very important. Similarly, Van Deursen and Van Dijk (Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 507–526) observe that use of the Internet is increasingly reflecting users' socio-cultural relationships in the offline world and argue that a portion of inequality will continue for a long time because of users' socio-cultural preferences.

Based on the articles selected for the study, bridging the digital divide with respect to all sorts of disparities – access, skills, outcomes, motivation – is unlikely for two reasons: First, one hundred percent of people in the world will never have access to the Internet because there are not only have-nots, but also want-notes. Van Dijk (Van Dijk 2012: 57–75) points out that nearly 14% of U.S. households made an informed decision not to connect to the Internet either because they were not interested in it or because they did not need the service. Even if there is 100% access to computers and the Internet, access to computers and the Internet may not bridge digital disparities because ICTs need constant updates, which may create a constant gap between users in terms of skills, content creation and outcomes (Haight, 2014: 503–519; Sparks, 2013: 27-46; Van Dijk 2012: 57–75). The digital divide may also never be bridged due to socio-cultural factors, which are pivotal in technology adoption in many societies.

To sum up, although there is no widely accepted definition and classification of the digital divide, the articles reviewed for this study have contributed greatly to extending its understanding, focusing on long-existing socio-economic disparities rather than on technological gaps. Scholars of the select studies realize that the digital divide is a multidimensional phenomenon, and identify various stages or levels of digital divide, such as unequal motivation, access, skills, usages, outcomes, and so on. Recent conceptualization of the digital divide, according to these journal articles, is moving away from the traditional understanding of technological and economic gaps.

Discussion and conclusion

All countries across the globe – developed or developing – are working hard to bridge the digital divide reflected at various levels, ranging from access, skills, usage and outcomes/ impact. The articles selected for this study have interpreted the concept of the digital divide from both horizontal and vertical perspectives. The horizontal perspective interprets the meaning of the digital divide on individual, regional and global scales, and focuses on ICT infrastructure, as well as the availability and affordability of ICT devices (see Huang, Chen, 2010: 248–264; Haight et al, 2014: 503–519; Wijetunga, 2014: 712–726). The vertical perspective looks at the qualitative growth of digital access, ICT handling skills, usage of digital devices and the outcome of users' digital activities with respect to facilitating their livelihood (Abad, 2014: 173–180; Sparks, 2013: 27-46; Wei et al., 2011: 170–187). Scholars are optimistic that the access-related digital divide will be overcome sooner than the capability and usage-related digital divide (Chen, 2013: 13–25; Correa, 2010: 71–92; Dixon et al., 2014: 991–1009; Van Dijk, 2012: 57–75). Digital divides other than the access gap, according to these scholars, are more challenging due to various barriers, such as language, skills and knowledge in handling ICT means. For instance, Sri Lanka is struggling to overcome a digital access divide, whereas Canada has almost overcome this divide (Haight et al., 2014: 503–519; Wijetunga, 2014: 712–726). Canada, however, is focusing on a skills and usage-related digital divide, particularly with respect to users in multicultural communities and First Nation peoples. Unless and until both the vertical and horizontal divides are eliminated, the digital divide will continue.

Through a review of literature on the digital divide written over the past fifteen years (1995-2010), it is found that several past studies focused on technological and digital inequalities with regard to access, skills and usage. Most of the selected articles for the systematic review (2010-2015), however, focus on socio-economic and socio-cultural aspects in order to define and/or interpret the digital divide, in which access is only one of the issues. More than a half of the selected articles borrow definitions from the studies of the first decade of the 21st century (notably from OECD, 2001), and interpret them in their own way (such as Abad, 2014: 173–180; Sparks, 2013: 27–46; Wei et al., 2011). Other scholars (such as Chen, 2013; Harambam et al., 2013; Nguyen, 2012; Wei, Hindman, 2011: 216–235) try to define the concept of the digital divide in their own ways. The common element for both groups is the realization that the digital divide is not just a technological divide, but also a consequence of long-existing socio-economic disparities. There is no agreed upon definition of the digital divide among the selected articles. Scholars have their perceptions of the digital divide and use their own approaches to define it.

Some scholars have significantly contributed to extending the concept of the digital divide (see, Van Dijk, 2012: 57–75; Hanafizadeh et al., 2013: 30–75; Wei et al., 2011: 170–187). They explain the existing understanding of the digital divide by elaborating or re-interpreting their past studies, proposing their own models on digital divides or extending some aspects of others' studies on the divides. For instance, Wei et al. propose a digital divide model that tries to incorporate both vertical and horizontal perspectives. Based on his past studies, Van Dijk elaborates upon the concept of ICT skills and usage, and argues that motivation is the basic requirement for bridging digital divides of any type. Even though many of the selected studies discuss that gaps in ICT skills and usage are the second and third levels of digital divide, some scholars propose that content creation, SNS usage, impact and culture make up the third level of the digital divide. As the levels of the digital divide increase, diversity of opinions among scholars also increases.

Another important observation on these articles is that definitions and interpretations of the digital divide have been moving away from the grip of a technology-focused conceptualization of the divide. The technological gap is a minor issue with respect to the conceptualization of digital divide, whereas the major issue is socio-economic and socio-cultural inequalities among users. Access to ICTs, skills and usage are also secondary to several scholars who argue that technophobia, psychological factors, attitudes and cultural perceptions are primary factors that motivate users to use or not use ITCs (see Correa, 2010: 71–92; Hanafizadeh et al., 2013: 30–75; Harambam et al, 2013: 1093–1114; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 782–797; Van Dijk, 2012: 57–75). More than a decade ago, OECD rightly pointed out that "there is no single, clearly defined divide, but rather a series of gaps, brought about by a variety of factors, which often come together, many of which do not have their roots in technology" (OECD, 2000: 51). The OECD interpretation of the digital divide is still relevant today because there is a growing realization among scholars that socio-economic and socio-cultural disparities, not technology, are the major causes of the digital divide.

Based on the research objectives and the focus of the study, the selected articles can be categorized into three main groups. The first group claims that the disparity between people having access to ICTs and those who do not have access to them (see, Huang, Chen, 2010: 248–264; Wijetunga, 2014: 712–726; Zhao et al., 2014: 38–62) is a development constraint between and within countries, and has blocked economic progress. This sort of digital disparity can be avoided through government interventions with respect to the development of ICT infrastructures and the availability of affordable ICT devices. The second group of articles portrays the idea that the digital divide is neither just a development constraint, nor merely a technological gap. It is rather a socio-economic issue because some sections of society enjoy better opportunities while the rest are excluded (see, Chen, 2013: 13–25; Eastin et al., 2015: 416–437; Haight et al., 2014: 503–519.; Hanafizadeh et al., 2013: 30–75; Wei, Hindman, 2011: 216–235). Studies from the third group concur with those from the second group, predicting that there is a deep social divide because of culture, attitudes, perceptions and motivations, which may hinder the efforts of bridging digital disparities at different levels (see Alam, Imran, 2015: 344–365; Correa, 2010: 71–92; Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114; Van Dijk, 2012: 57–75; Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 507–526). For instance, Harambam et al. argue that "the digital divide may be more a matter of cultural polarization than of socio-economic stratification and more a culturally informed choices than the result of cultural limitations" (Harambam et al., 2013: 1109). Similarly, Van Deursen & Van Dijk argue that "overcoming digital divides is a rather complex challenge that goes beyond improving access or Internet skills... to individual motivations and socio-cultural preferences" (Van Deursen, Van Dijk, 2014: 522). Hence, the third group of studies seems more innovative with respect to exploring a new level of interpretation of the digital divide from the perspective of human psychology.

Many scholars from the early years of the 21st century (such as Paré, 2005: 85–97; Warschauer, 2003: 297–304) question the idea that the scholarly discourse focused on the “digital” rather than the long-existing social “divide”. They argued that the digital divide is not caused just by ICT gaps, but also by socio-economic and socio-cultural inequalities, such as income and education. The shift in the focus of the digital divide discourse is reflected in many articles selected for this study (such as Correa, 2010: 71–92; Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114; Nguyen, 2012: 251–268; Park, Jae Kim, 2014; Wei et al., 2011: 170–187), which have discussed the digital divide in relation to socio-economic inequalities. In recent studies, scholars express the opinion that current discourse concerning the digital divide has actually distracted from the major problem, which is rooted in socio-economic and socio-cultural grounds (Abad, 2014: 173–180; Chen, 2013: 13–25; Harambam et al., 2013: 1093–1114; Nguyen, 2012). They conclude that without addressing long existing socio-economic and socio-cultural inequalities, which are real and deeper divides, bridging the technological gaps might not end the real issue of the digital divide.

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BUYING A GUN NOT TO USE IT? A STUDY OF THE CHANGE IN CZECH MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND ITS POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALISATION

КУПИТЬ ОРУЖИЕ, ЧТОБЫ ЕГО НЕ ИСПОЛЬЗОВАТЬ? ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ИЗМЕНЕНИЙ В СТРУКТУРЕ СОБСТВЕННИКОВ ЧЕШСКОГО МЕДИАРЫНКА И ИХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ИНСТРУМЕНТАЛИЗАЦИИ

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This article covers changes to media ownership in the former Eastern Bloc, which first started in the 1990s (de-nationalisation, privatization, the entry of foreign owners), and then by other changes brought by the economic crisis after 2008 (the fleeing of foreign owners, the rise of domestic capital). In the Czech Republic we can talk about another, the third stage of media ownership from 2013, when Andrej Babiš, entrepreneur, the chair of a political party, and later the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, became the owner of the MAFRA Publishing House.

The theoretical debate of our contribution looks at the first two historical stages and discusses point-by-point the individual concepts that the literature mentions in this context (party-press parallelism, Italianisation) and some of which may be in conflict with the normative expectations placed on the media in democratic and pluralist societies (business parallelism, impure publishing, instrumentalisation).

The subsequent empirical part of the paper is dedicated to this "third stage" of media ownership in the Czech Republic. The method of quantitative content analysis focuses on Babiš's two dailies, MF Dnes and Lidové noviny, and, by comparison with the contents of other dailies, examines whether there has been political instrumentalisation that has robbed them of their independence so that they side with their owner.

The research – in comparison with both expert and public opinion – produced surprising results. Although media siding was measured with the aid of openly expressed sympathy for various political actors or by measuring the attention devoted to each political actor and their arguments, almost no tendency towards partisanship was recorded. The input hypothesis about the pernicious impact of merging political and media power in democratic public debate was found to be false. Interpretation of these results, however, does not mean this danger should not be heeded, and offers three possible explanations as to why there has been no political instrumentalisation in this area so far.

Key words: *media ownership, media parallelism, Italianisation, media moguls, instrumentalisation.*

Данная статья рассматривает изменения, происходящие в структуре собственников медиарынка в странах бывшего Восточного блока, начавшиеся в 1990 году (денацио-

нализация, приватизация, допуск иностранных собственников), а также трансформации, произошедшие под влиянием кризиса 2008 года (отток иностранных собственников, увеличение объема внутреннего капитала). В случае Чешской республики мы можем говорить о новом, третьем этапе изменений, начиная с 2013 года, когда предприниматель, глава политической партии, а в дальнейшем вице-премьер и министр финансов Андрей Бабиш стал владельцем издательского дома MAFRA.

В теоретической части работы рассматриваются первые два исторических этапа, последовательно обсуждаются теоретические концепты, обычно упоминаемые в данном контексте (политико-медийный параллелизм, «итальянизация»), некоторые из которых могут вступать в противоречие с нормативными ожиданиями от медиа в демократическом и плюралистическом обществе (бизнес-параллелизм, инструментализация).

Эмпирическая часть статьи посвящена «третьему этапу» трансформации структуры собственников в Чешской республике. Количественный контент-анализ двух ежедневных газет Бабиша MF Dnes и Lidové noviny, а также их сравнение с другими ежедневными изданиями помогают понять, имел ли место политический инструментализм, лишивший их независимости и поставивший на одну сторону с владельцем.

Результаты исследования — особенно в сравнении с общественным мнением и суждениями экспертов — выглядят неожиданно. Несмотря на то, что позиция СМИ изучалась и с помощью фиксации выражений открытой симпатии к ряду политиков, и с помощью измерения объема внимания к тому или иному политическому актору и его аргументам, не удалось

обнаружить тенденций к партийности. Изначальная гипотеза о вреде интеграции медийной и политической власти в демократическом публичном дискурсе была опровергнута. Интерпретация этих данных не подразумевает, что опасность указанного явления следует замалчивать, и предлагает три возможных объяснения того, почему политическая инструментализация до сих пор не проявилась в данной области.

Ключевые слова: *медиасобственность, параллелизм СМИ, итальянизация, медиамагнаты, инструментализация*

Introduction

The question of media ownership is crucial in media studies and concerns such basic areas as journalistic independence, the watchdog role, political pluralism and the quality of the public sphere/marketplace (and, indeed, democracy itself).

This theme has specific significance in Central and Eastern European countries, which have seen a rapid and radical transformation of the political and media systems since the beginning of the nineties.

Leaving public service media aside (in the CR the community sector is almost non-existent), then the assumption of the project is that developments in the ownership of Czech media (and this can be freely extended to the entire region) can be divided into three phases.

Phase I (the nineties up to 2005)

The privatisation of existing (print) media took place relatively rapidly at the beginning of the decade; the subsequent process of internationalisation was just as rapid. New owners, often the editorial staff, did not have the available capital necessary to modernise obsolete equipment. The decisive shares in a number of key print media thus passed into the hands of foreign owners and there was subsequently talk of a certain (temporary) market stabilisation, or concentration.

This phase has been well described as the beginning of the transformation of media ownership in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe was addressed by Sparks, Reading (1998), Splichal (2001), Gross (2002), Huber (2006), Jakubowicz (2007), Jakubowicz, Sükösd (2008), Lauk (2008), Peruško, Popović (2008), Krone (2008). Regarding the CR, an exhaustive overview can be found in Benda (2007) or Waschková Císařová, Metyková (2009).

Although by consensus the movement of Czech media into foreign hands was accompanied by fears – especially in the case of German capital – in the literature cited here we see the first mention of the "**Italianisation**" of Czech/Eastern European media (Splichal, 1994). This term, however, at this point relates only to the low level of professionalism of a radically changing journalism, the politicisation of journalism and its shift to a commentary style rather than a neutral news style.

Phase II (2006–2013)

The start of the phase of ownership transferring in the other direction can be placed in the first years of the 21st century. However, this trend accelerated in 2008, when, due to the economic crisis, there was a marked decline in advertising revenue and a flight of foreign owners occurred from the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe (Štětka, 2010).

In the Czech Republic the trend of take-overs by local owners is personified by Zdeněk Bakala, who bought the publishing house "Respekt Publishing" (the weekly "Respekt") in 2006, and two years later the publishing house "Economia" ("Hospodářské noviny", "Ekonom", "Marketing&Média", aktualne.cz, atlas.cz). This entrepreneur operated primarily in the areas of mining, finance and real estate. Petr Kellner – with investments in insurance, energy, real estate, retail sales – bought the publishing house "Euronews" ("Euro weekly"). Karel Komárek, a mogul in oil and gas extraction, tourism, and the lottery industry, took over Stanford ("Profit", "Czech Business Weekly"). Sebastian Pawlowski (property market) took over the then "Mediacop" ("Týden", "Instinkt"). And then there were Jaroslav Soukup, investor in advertising and security services, who took over ownership of "Empresa Media" ("TV Barrandov", "Sedmička" and later "Týden", "Instinkt") and František Savov, known in the fields of engineering and finance, who gained a controlling share in the the "Mladá fronta publishing house" ("E15", "Euro", "Strategie") (Štětka, 2010).

Apart from being the richest Czech citizens, what unites these men is the fact that they conduct business predominantly in sectors of the economy other than the media. Tunstall and Palmer coined the phrase "media/industrialist mogul", i.e. "entrepreneurs who are primarily captains in some other industrial field, but in addition own and operate major media interests" (Tunstall, Palmer, 1991: 105-106).

This type of owner is inextricably linked with the term **impure publishing**, i.e. the type of media ownership that, for instance, Mancini found in Italy at the beginning of the twentieth century. Impure publishing refers to print media published at a loss and therefore concentrated in the hands of banks and, in particular, industrialists, who "cover the chronic deficits in the sector"

(Mancini, 2001: 41). These features accompany the Italian media system to this day. (On the topic of an “impure” publishing industry in Italy, see also Bergamini, 2006; Murialdi, 2006; Mancini, 2009; Scandaletti, 2003). Here the adjective “impure” indicates a certain non-compliance with the normative theories of democratic media – it warns against the risk of a media landscape, in which not even the “liberal minimum” is valid, i.e. the existence and success of the media is solely decided by the citizens/public by their choice/purchase of the best (faith in the “invisible hand of the market”, idealistically present in Czech public discourse in the nineties).

On the types of media/industrialist moguls, Mazzoleni (Mazzoleni, 1991: 169) observes that “they 1) acquired money elsewhere and invested it in media, considering daily press in particular to be ‘a strategic investment’ and a way of getting closer to the political parties; 2) have been more concerned with owning (rather than with actually running) the media (...); and 3) maintain close ties with the political establishment, directly or indirectly supporting politicians in return for their help in further media expansions”.

Here he discusses Italianisation in connection with the **instrumentalisation** of the media, i.e. the use of power stemming from ownership of the media to attain particular economic and/or political objectives. The term usually occurs in regard to the concentration of communications/media power in the hands of a single owner. Rather than inferring direct influence, it refers to a number of more subtle, indirect ways in which owners can control the media in favour of their interests or those of their affiliates: by changing the organization of work, by replacing higher and middle management, and so forth. (McNair, 1998). Hanretty in a recent (Hanretty, 2014: 335–350) analysis of more than two hundred titles from 32 countries shows that titles with a sole proprietor, in which foreign capital does not play a role, have much greater control of the editorial mechanisms and journalistic freedom.

Instrumentalisation has – among other things – a certain relation to parallelism. In media studies **political parallelism** is typically used to refer to traditional/historical phenomena whereby "the same social forces that found their expression in a political party (ies), had a tendency to find the same expression through the press" (Seymour-Ure, 1974: 159). Historical reasons, however, are also behind the fact that current political parties in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are not well-anchored and not stable, nor do they command a large membership. Instead of political parallelism they more aptly reflect a conventional model along the lines of "a close set of relations between politicians, businessmen and the media that leads to a routine interchange between different groups in post-communist countries" (Sparks, Reading, 1998); or **partisan-polyvalence**, found "in a situation where political parallelism is weak, the media may be instrumentalised by a multiplicity of stakeholders and be used for a range of different goals: supporting one political figure – or one political programme – and pursuing business goals at the same time" (McCargo, 2012; on partisan polyvalence in CEE, see Zielonka, Mancini, 2011). Therefore in the second phase of ownership attention more intensively shifts to **business parallelism**:

Zielonka and Mancini describe this process as follows: "However, our study also points to strong elements of 'business parallelism,' and this represents another common feature across the region. The mass media in Central and Eastern Europe are owned by and depend on economic and business interests rather than solely political and social organisations. This contrasts with most of Western Europe, but is similar to much of Southern Europe, where corporations and individual businessmen not only own but also directly control mass media outlets in search of profits and political influence. Profits are also usually the prime objective of foreign investors in Central and Eastern Europe... Local owners often seek not only economic gains, but also – and often primarily – political influence." (Mancini, Zielonka, 2011: 4).

The idea of "getting closer to the political parties" (or individual politicians) in order to obtain "political influence" is typical at this stage of development in the ownership of Czech media. The actual ambitions of the media/industrial moguls are not obvious. Rather we encounter support on the part of other actors[1], support that is often fleeting and not well publicised.

Phase III. (2013 -?)

The third phase of changes in ownership of the Czech media has a clear beginning. In June 2013 the MAFRA publishing house, issuing the most read reputable daily MF Dnes, and an influential daily Lidové noviny, a flagship of foreign ownership, instantly transformed into something different. Andrej Babiš, the owner of the agricultural, food and chemical holding Agrofert, and, according to Forbes magazine, the second richest citizen of the CR after Petr Kellner, purchased MAFRA in a surprising move. He was not just another in a series of second phase media/industrial moguls. His political ambitions took it to the next level. Even before the purchase, he founded and led the ANO Party. He unwittingly serves as an illustration of the recent observation that: "'Business

[1] Bakala: ex. President Havel, the Green Party, pres. candidate Švejnar, TOP 09 and pres. candidate Karel Schwarzenberg; Kellner: former president Václav Klaus, Soukup: Democratic Green Party, the Social Democrats; Pawlowski: Prague mayors Kasl and Bém.

parallelism' represents another common feature across the region, with some media owners actively engaged in politics and in business at the same time. Media ownership in regions is quite fuzzy and not sufficiently transparent" (Mancini, Zielonka, 2013: 2).

Although the mention of "fuzzy and not sufficiently transparent ownership" also has its interesting manifestations in the third phase of Czech media ownership, the key statement for us reads, "politics and business (incl. media business) at the same time" (NB: in contrast to, "getting closer to the political parties"). Instead of speculation about the support of political parties and individual candidates, characteristic of Phase II, Andrej Babiš arrives with his own party, albeit without obvious ties to the traditional political structures or existing social movements. Therefore it makes little sense to talk about general political parallelism (referring to a history of proven politico-philosophical alliance which forms a mass party), but we can return to the original term "party-press parallelism". This is important since the latter type of political party has been identified in recent scholarly typologies of either political parties as a business-firm or entrepreneurial party (Hopkin, Paolucci, 1999: 307–339; Krouwel, 2006: 249–262, 2012) or directly named as a businessman party (Olteanu, de Néve, 2014; see also Harmel, Svåsand, 1993: 66–88; Arter, 2013: 1–12).

In contrast to the previous party types (mass party, catch-all party, cartel party), business-firm parties are mainly supported by private sector resources, they maintain financial and personal links with a commercial enterprise (either the party arises directly inside a company, or as a clone of its structures or otherwise) and the leadership of party and company are united in the person of one owner/party leader.

The ANO Party and its president Andrej Babiš serve as a perfect example of this model – especially given that, a few months after acquiring MAFRA, the ANO Party made significant gains in parliamentary elections, earning second place, or 18,65% of the votes, and joined the government, with Andrej Babiš becoming Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of the Czech Republic.

This completed the shift to the third and current phase, characterised by an extremely high degree of mutual reinforcement between economic, political and media interests. Even in public discourse the features of this are evident in descriptive words like such as the "Berlusconisation" or "oligarchisation" of the Czech media. This terminology accords with the "eastern direction" – the only direction remaining after applying the three Hallin-Mancini models, (Křeček, 2013).

Ever since 2013, this topic has been a very lively one in both the press and public discourse in the Czech Republic. A number of journalists from MAFRA moved to other periodicals or established new projects ("Echo 24", "Reporter"). Non-profit organisations (Svobodu médiím – Freedom of the Media) and traditional parties attempted to legislatively restrict the linking of media and political power. This link is generally accepted as a threat to public discussion and democracy itself. However in this particular case there is not much evidence that the Deputy Prime Minister, Finance Minister and Chairman of the ANO Party has actively used "his" media against his political opponents). The lack of methodologically relevant analyses of the instrumentalisation of the media from the MAFRA Publishing House may be related to the fact that in the key years (i.e. from the second half of 2013 until the second half of 2016) there were no domestic (national) elections[2] in the Czech

[2] On 23 and 24 May 2014 elections were held for the European Parliament: ANO 16,13% of the votes (4 seats), TOP 09 + STAN 15,95% (4), ČSSD 14,17% (4), KSČM 10,98% (3), KDU-ČSL 9,95% (3), ODS (7,67%), Svobodní 5,24% (1). The voter turnout was the lowest ever – just 18,2%.

Republic. Potential favouritism is always best evidenced in the pre-election news and journalism. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, it seemed appropriate to carry out just such a study during this period.

Methods

The theoretical background of our analysis is based on the normative theories of media and political communication, in particular, ideas about the desired behaviour of the media in relation to political actors and the public, about the media as a forum and mediator of discussions on politics and policy, i.e. the idea of media as an objective, balanced and non-partisan voice. The main research question logically, then, is whether MF Dnes and Lidové noviny favour their owner in reporting political news?

The research was conducted using a method of quantitative content analysis, in the framework of which the main hypothesis (Babiš's media support Babiš) was conceptualised so that, when referring to Andrej Babiš, there would be a significant difference between the media he owns and other media.

Focus fell on those media contents that covered/described specific disputes in which Andrej Babiš was engaged between 2014 and 2015. A pilot study, carried out in a full text media database by using a simple search algorithm[3], identified ten disputes with various opponents (from governmental coalitions as well as

[3] Tracking various words for disputes used in Czech: „Babiš AND (spor OR pře OR neshoda OR nedorozumění OR rozepře OR hádka OR kontroverze OR svár OR rozpor OR konflikt OR srážka OR svár OR boj OR konfrontace OR rozpor OR problém OR střet)“. Searched in Newton Media Databases.

parliamentary opposition) on a variety of topics[4]. Media siding/support/partisanship was operationalised to the 22 variables that registered the following information: space dedicated to quotations directly cited from speeches by Andrej Babiš (vs. those of his opponents); space dedicated to the arguments and interpretations of a given dispute by advocates of Andrej Babiš's opinions (vs. the arguments and interpretations of opponents); the reported number of supporters of Babiš or his opponent; a count of how many times a political leader (Babiš, an opponent, or both) appeared in a headline; whether the name of Babiš or an opponent came first in a given text; who (or whose opinion) had the last word in the article's text; who (Babiš, opponent) was cited as the originator of the dispute by the article's author; whether the article's author sympathized with one or other side of the dispute; and whether the author indicated who won (or lost) the dispute.

[4] 1) January 2014: dispute with Prime Minister Sobotka about the Deputy Minister of Finance;

2) February 2014: dispute with the Chairman of the opposition TOP 09, Miroslav Kalousek, about financial assistance for the company Explosia;

3) February 2014: dispute with Prime Minister Sobotka about corrupt contacts in the Prague branch of ANO Party;

4) September 2014; dispute with the Minister of the Interior, Chovanec, about the Postal Act amendment;

5) October 2014: dispute with the Minister of Health about the funding of hospitals;

6) October 2014: dispute with Hudeček about his candidacy for ANO Party;

7) June 2016: dispute with MP Šincl about the Insurance Act;

8) August 2015: dispute with Minister of Industry, Mládek, and Governor Novák about land for an industrial zone;

9) September 2015: another dispute with Kalousek, this time about the Lottery Act;

10) October 2015: dispute with MPs Šincl and Bartošek about the corruption of MPs by the lottery lobby.

The four most widely read reputable dailies[5] were analysed. Two belong to Andrej Babiš ("MF Dnes", "Lidové noviny"). The other two ("Právo", "Hospodářské noviny") have a different owner. The internet versions of these journals (idnes.cz, lidovky.cz, novinky.cz, ihned.cz) were also included in the analysis. An analysis was made of all the news articles relating to the dispute in question (i.e., the dispute constituted the main topic of the article) for every month since the start of the dispute.

Analysis was carried out by eight students[6] from the Analysis of Political Communication course after the pertinent training and successful ranking on a reliability test (0,91). A total of 136 articles[7] were analysed (encoding units: articles with the main theme of "Babiš-Dispute with someone") totalling 65,980 words.

SPSS statistical software was used for data collection and statistical evaluation, using traditional approaches of quantitative content analysis – t-tests, ANOVA and Cross Tabs. (Riffe, Lacy, Fico, 2014)

Results

For some of the findings there was no need to perform a fresh analysis since attention allocated to individual disputes and all of its

[5] Readership in the second half of 2015: MF Dnes 686,000 readers, Právo 328,000, Lidové noviny 206,000, Hospodářské noviny 172,000. The most widely read daily, the tabloid Blesk, had 1,086,000 readers (Media project, 3 + 4Q/2015, Unie vydavatelů (Publishers Association), Median, Stem/Mark)

[6] Martin Balucha, Tomáš Černohous, Martin Dobrovodský, Iva Kestřánková, Tereza Maršíková, Jiří Nevečeřal and Kateřina Syslová.

[7] MF Dnes 12, Lidové noviny: 8, Právo: 21, Hospodářské noviny 7, idnes.cz 19, lidovky.cz 19, novinky.cz 34, ihned.cz 16

actors was higher for online media than print (this simply because Internet-based editors are not under much pressure to monitor word count and the length of articles).

Some indicators of siding needed to be verified, but here too the results were to be expected – for example, the authors of the articles themselves (journalists) only very rarely stood explicitly on one side of the dispute. The results for another variable – whether authors declared a winner or a loser in a particular dispute – were thus shown to be statistically insignificant.

Andrej Babiš was indicated as the originator of the dispute far more often than his opponent. This variable alone, however, cannot serve as an example of siding (nor does cross-tabulation with the other variables confirm anything of the sort). However, the finding may testify to Babiš's confrontational political style that he is consistently labeled as the originator of a dispute either in a positive light ("Babiš opens up important causes"), or negatively ("Babiš is a troublemaker"). This was not confirmed for Babiš's media nor the other media.

Of the media monitored, the most attention (space) was given by Právo and its internet version Novinky.cz. This is explained by the fact that these media have a party-press parallelism optic that is closer to the Czech Social Democratic Party and the leaders of this party were the most frequent opponents of Andrej Babiš (in seven out of ten disputes). For both of these media, however, a balanced and impartial representation of these disputes can be observed. Likewise, the analysis shows that, on the whole, the media owned by Babiš took a balanced and impartial position when reporting on Andrej Babiš's disputes. This goes for both the daily "MF Dnes" (and its Internet version idnes.cz) and the daily "Lidové noviny" (including lidovky.cz.).

So, in fact, the main finding of the analysis is that **the main hypothesis can't be confirmed**. Even using levels of statistical significance at 10%, Chi-square test of contingency table did not confirm any significant relationship (Variable 1: Media, Variable 2: Space dedicated to Babiš x Space dedicated to the other side of the dispute; Space for Babiš's quotes x Space for opponent's quotes; First actor cited; First actor mentioned; Last actor mentioned; The number of supporters mentioned) any significant relationship (Pearson Chi-Square Test – Sig: 0,122 – 0,708; Symmetric Measures – Phi, Cramer's V 0,158 – 0,622), nor did the analysis of variance ANOVA.

Table 1

Paired samples statistics

		Mean	**N**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Pair 1	Babiš's quotations	45,20	136	50,064	4,293
	Opponent's quotations	50,80	136	52,189	4,475

These surprising conclusions (on the example of variable „Space for quotations") are demonstrated in *Table 1, Table 2* and *Figure 1.*

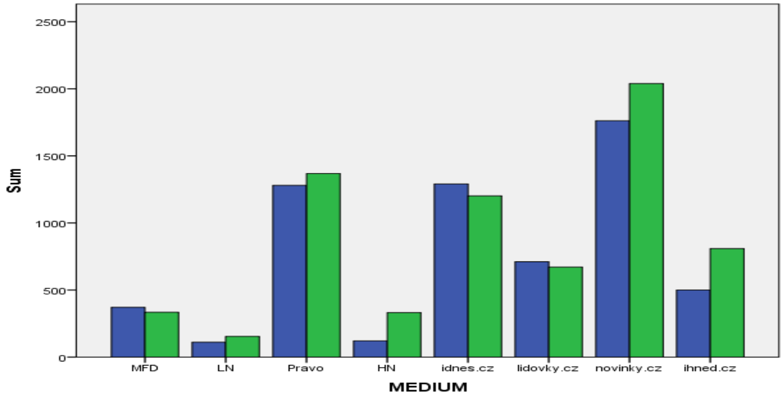
Table 2

Paired samples test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	t-test	-5,603	59,804	5,128	-15,745	4,539	-1,093	135	,277

Figure 1

Space dedicated to Babiš x opponents quotations



(in number of words; Babiš – blue, Opponents – green)

They show the results of the t-test carried out for the main key variable of siding/partisanship, i.e. the space dedicated to each side of the dispute across various media. Both graphical results clearly show that the content monitored in Babiš-owned media did not side with Babiš, or did so very rarely, just as the daily "Právo" sided slightly with Babiš's opponents. This surprising result is accompanied by another surprise – the only journal, for which a significant shift to one side of the dispute was observed, was the financial newspaper "Hospodářské noviny" (and its internet version Ihned.cz), generally considered to be the best quality reputable daily in the CR. One explanation could be that, while the other titles have a large readership and a heterogeneous audience, "Hospodářské noviny" ("Economic Newspaper") targets a numerically smaller economic elite. This, of course, would mean that at the present time high-quality Czech economic journalism is aimed against the leading Czech businessman, presiding as the Minister of Finance! Maybe a better explanation is the fact that "Hospodářské noviny" is published by the "Economia Publishing House", which is fully owned by Zdeněk Bakala, one of the top Czech oligarchs also active in the media – i.e. a Phase II oligarch, who never had any open political ambitions and preferred to simply support political actors, who currently stand in opposition to Andrej Babiš and his ANO Party (see *footnote 1*).

Conclusion

How should these results be interpreted, when there was an undeniable exchange of the journalistic staff and the management at Babiš's media (and these changes had already had time to "settle")? When former employees very often explained their departure as a response to Andrej Babiš's interference with the editorial independence of 'his' media outlets?

The interpretation can, in principle, be made in three ways:

The first interpretative possibility can be called **idealistic**. The main promoter of this view, we can now reveal, is Andrej Babiš himself in his speeches on the topic of media ownership. According to this version, there have never been and are not now any restrictions on editorial independence imposed by Andrej Babiš, if there were, they were marginal and diminished over time.

According to the **pragmatic** interpretation, the editors at Babiš's media recognized that critical eyes were scrutinizing them in all reporting about their owner, and they attempted (at least in the rough traits monitored by this analysis) to show maximum impartiality.

The **defeatist** variant is grounded in the simple reflection that there was no instrumentalisation because it is not worth it for media owners. In this particular case, it may be due to the fact that there is no point in influencing the segment of content monitored by this analysis – i.e. the media representation of the current disputes between political professionals – outside of an election period; whilst there is sense in influencing other media content that was not monitored here (such as that which could have an agenda-setting effect). On a more general level, the defeatist variant of the interpretation may lead to the belief that the printed media's influence on public political communication has decreased markedly from the past.

Without leaning towards just one of the variants outlined here, the main explanation can be derived from the fact, already mentioned, that this analysis focused on media content from 2014 and 2015, when there were no elections in the Czech Republic.

The first election to take place following Andrej Babiš's acquisition of the MAFRA Publishing House was to occur in the autumn of 2016, i.e. at the time this paper went to press. The next content analysis – this time treating pre-election coverage – will be crucial for answering questions related to the concentration of political and economic power. If the anticipated event of instrumentalisation proves to be correct, then the Czech political system will need to ascertain whether this normative problem can be resolved legislatively. If it is not proven to be so, then nothing else remains but to investigate further, now no longer using content analysis, but with research by observation, questionnaires and interviews in the newsrooms themselves. This may explain how this unexpectedly positive state of balanced reporting was achieved – and whether the idealistic, pragmatic or defeatist explanation proves most valid.

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TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE BULGARIAN MEDIA SYSTEM: TENDENCIES AND CHALLENGES

ТРАНСФОРМАЦИИ БОЛГАРСКОЙ МЕДИАСИСТЕМЫ: ТЕНДЕНЦИИ И ВЫЗОВЫ

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The transition to a civil society and market place economic relationships in Bulgaria have involved a number of challenges to the development of mass media. These include a general insufficiency of financial and technological resources, as well as a lack of professional standards. Media competition stimulated the first dynamic open markets in the country, which established well-developed media consumption patterns. However, although the public was offered a highly varied media menu, expectations that the media would aid the processes of democratization in a purposeful and effective manner proved unrealistically high. Media were in need of transformation themselves.

Tracing current political and economic developments in the country, this paper presents the challenges facing the contemporary

media system. Emphasis is placed on traditional media (press, radio and television). Tendencies aroused by technologically driven online media are outlined in several aspects: technological, economic, professional, regulatory, educational, scientific, and social.
Key words: *media, politics, challenges, tendencies.*

Переход к гражданскому обществу и рыночным экономическим взаимоотношениям поставили перед масс-медиа и ряд проблем. Среди них: общий дефицит финансовых и технологических ресурсов, а также и дефицит профессиональных стандартов. Несмотря на то, что болгарской общественности было предложено очень разнообразное медиа-меню и были установлены новые медиа-модели потребления, ожидания, что СМИ будут помогать целенаправленно и эффективно процессам демократизации, оказались нереально высокими. СМИ сами нуждались в трансформации.

Анализируя текущие политические и экономические развития в стране, в статье представлены вызовы перед системой современных медиа. Акцент ставится на традиционные средства массовой информации (пресса, радио и телевидение). Тенденции, пробужденные технологически ведомой интернет-СМИ изложены в нескольких аспектах: технологических, экономических, профессиональных, регулирующих, образовательные, научные, социальные.
Ключевые слова: *медиа, политика, вызовы, тенденции.*

Introduction

The period of transformation to democracy and a market place economy has posed significant social challenges to the population in Bulgaria. The transition was slowed down by delayed legislation, aggressive political behavior and underdeveloped markets. All this caused rapid impoverishment, a high rate of unemployment and a loss of established social benefits such as free healthcare and free education. Thus the country entered the 21st century under the Currency Board (Raycheva, 2009). Among the major political achievements during this period of more than twenty-five years of transformation was the stabilization of the pluralistic political environment, the accession to NATO in 2004 and to the European Union in 2007.

Despite these achievements, the pace of development has not been satisfactory. In many parameters, Bulgaria ranks at the bottom of the list of the 28 Member Countries of the European Union. In 2014 GDP per capita was Euro 5,800 – less than half the EU-28 average (Eurostat, 2015).

Since the beginning of 2008, the Bulgarian income tax has been a flat rate of 10%, being one of the lowest income rates in the world and the lowest income rate in the European Union. As of January 2007, the corporate income tax has also been kept at a flat rate of 10% which makes it one of the lowest in Europe.

According to the World Bank, Bulgaria is an industrialized upper-middle-income country. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) amounted to Euro 42 billion in 2014. The average monthly salary was settled at 882 leva (Euro 451). The national currency – Lev (BGN) – is pegged to the Euro at a fixed rate of 1,95583 Leva for 1 Euro. The Lev is considered to be among the strongest and most stable currencies in East Europe (World Bank, 2015).

Data from the National Statistical Institute shows that the number of employed persons in 2014 was 2,166,199. The number of unemployed amounted to 300,900 and the unemployment rate in 2015 was 10.1% (National Statistical Institute, 2015a).

The Country Report on Bulgaria for 2015 by the European Commission states that the country is experiencing excessive macroeconomic imbalances, which require decisive policy action and specific monitoring. The Commission has made five country-specific recommendations to Bulgaria to help it improve its economic performance. These recommendations are in the areas of: fiscal consolidation, taxation and health; the financial sector; the labor market and wage-setting; education; and insolvency (European Commission, 2015).

The political system

During a period of a little more than twenty years, Bulgarian citizens voted twenty-seven times (on average, once yearly). Starting with the vote for the Grand National Assembly (1990), there were six presidential elections (1992, 1996, 2001, 2006, 2011, and 2016), eight parliamentary elections (1991, 1994, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013, and 2014), seven local elections (1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, and 2015), three European parliamentary elections (2007, 2009, and 2014), three referenda and the appointment of fifteen governments. Commenting on the political changes in the evolving European democracies, Lynda Kaid noted that the changes in the media systems and the uncertainties of government-media interaction raised even more questions for these new governments (Kaid, 1999: 2).

The new Constitution was adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 12 July 1991. Under its terms, Bulgaria is a Republic with a Parliamentary system of government. A multi-party political system has been established. In normative terms, political life is based mainly on the Constitution, the Election Code and the

Political Parties Act. After the country's accession to the European Union, election rules have been harmonized with the European Community legal framework – acquis communautaire.

In spite of the fact that Bulgaria has taken considerable steps towards democratization, the political system faces an immense challenge owing to its unclear identity, both at a conceptual and a representative level. The long years of one-party domination were replaced by an ever-growing host of new political parties, unions and organizations, which constantly split, regrouped and entered into coalitions, especially on the eve of upcoming elections. The breakdown of the bipolar model (socialists vs. democrats) with the aid of some newly formed structures of leadership, has failed to bring sustainability to the political system which is weighed down by difficult economic and social tasks. Gradually, the situation of social disintegration and shortage of social synergy has become a good environment for the revival of populism, primarily by non-systemic political parties. The model of democracy established in the country delegated the difficult tasks of transition mainly to the political elite, thus eliminating the broad participation of the people in the process of transformation. Although superficially heterogeneous, the political as well as the media environment (especially during campaigns) are still not fully aware of the parameters of pluralism, nor of independence. Thus, the media failed to meet expectations and to carry through their chance of contributing effectively to the process of social transformation because they did not seek its active participation (Gross, 2002).

On the other hand, politicians, too, failed to carry out reforms crucial to meeting the country's commitment to Europeanization and to satisfying the expectations of the people. Even the unique Bulgarian ethnic model, formed after long years of effort on the part of all ethnic groups and not by the contemporary parties and politicians, has been put to abusive purposes. The ever deeper gap between leaders and society has proved a grave obstacle to gaining the trust of, and unleashing entrepreneurship, in Bulgarian citizens. The absence of distinct program platforms encourages inter-party migration and erodes the foundations of political pluralism, thus decreasing election participation: from 90,79% in the first round of elections for the Grand National Assembly in 1990, to 28,6% in the first elections for European Parliament in Bulgaria in 2007, and further down to 20,22% for the First National Referendum in 2013 (Central Election Commission, 2015). Slowly but steadily, Bulgarian electors have refused to yield to the instruments of political, survey and media propaganda, have refused to join the process of social imitation, and have acquired a position of active passiveness.

Professional inadequacy and bias of some political scientists, sociologists and media professionals is on regular display during campaigns. As a result, although considerable progress has been achieved in the audiovisual quality of political advertising products, the media system still fails to fulfill its major purpose during pre-election periods, namely, to inform society impartially and to treat participants in a political contest and their platforms on an equal footing.

Colin Sparks noted in 1998 that democracy in the modern sense of the world is literally impossible without the media (Sparks, 1998: 16). For more than of a quarter of a century political, economic and social upheavals significantly impacted the development of the mass media system in Bulgaria towards quick and flexible reactions to social processes. At the beginning of the transition period, the spirit of change was felt at the open meetings and rallies in Sofia for a full year. In the areas outside the capital changes were felt mainly because of television coverage. That is why the organizers of protest rallies in support of change in the capital made sure to march past

TV headquarters. The significance of television has been manifested in several critical situations over the years, including:

- the TV attack against President Petar Mladenov in 1990 that compelled him to resign; the resignation of the BSP Government headed by Andrey Loukanov in 1990;
- the mass media war launched by the UDF Government of Filip Dimitrov, which led to its toppling in 1992;
- the exit of the Government of Lyuben Berov (under the Movement for Rights and Freedom mandate) in 1994;
- the withdrawal of the BSP government of Zhan Videnov in 1996;
- the siege of the House of the National Assembly during a governmental crisis in 1997, which led to a radical power shift; the forced restructuring of the UDF government of Ivan Kostov in 1999, based on corruption allegations;
- the attacks that brought about ministerial replacements in the Simeon Saxe Coburg-Gotha government in 2005;
- the pressure that brought about ministerial replacements and in the three-party coalition (Coalition for Bulgaria, Movement for Rights and Freedoms and National Movement Simeon II) government of Sergei Stanishev;
- the constant correctives to the government of Boyko Borisov (Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria) and the wide coverage of the social protests which led to the early resignation of this government in 2013;
- coverage of the pressure inflicted by continuous social protests against the government of Plamen Oresharski (Coalition for Bulgaria) which also led to its early resignation in 2014 (Raycheva, 2013a).

In contemporary Bulgarian society, the media have gained a position as the main source of information about politics and as a transmitter of its communication techniques. Along with this, developing under the conditions of new technological parameters and business models, they are facing the great challenge of retaining their social purpose in society. This task becomes ever more difficult to accomplish not only due to the multichannel character of communication, but also due to the growing selectivity of a fragmented audience, which turns into an active user, both a consumer and producer of information. Thus the media, and especially television, involuntarily or on purpose, impose on society its personal matrix and, in the process of coverage of world events, increasingly repeat the mantra of their own reality, removed from its genuine parameters. Interpenetration of the media, capitals and politics dangerous for democracy comes to the fore, and this leads to auto-censure and to a warped version of free journalism. Although the media system has drastically changed in a very short period, the lag-time in deregulation, commercialization and the neglect of professional standards have predetermined distortions in the normal functioning of the market and in the development of two interlinked processes: politicization of media and mediatization of politics.

The media system

Analyzing the 2008 public service media in 26 post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Karol Jakubowicz classifies them into four groups: competitive democracies, concentrated political regimes, war-torn regimes, and noncompetitive political regimes. Bulgaria is mapped in the second group – that of the concentrated political regimes (Jakubowicz, 2008). In 2015 Boguslawa Dobek Ostrowska counted Bulgaria as one of 22 countries in Central and Eastern Europe characterized by a politicized model of media (the other three models are liberal-hybrid, media in transition, and authoritarian (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2015).

The transition to a civil society and market economy in Bulgaria has also involved a number of challenges to developments in mass media. These include a general insufficiency of financial and technological resources and the lack of articulated professional standards. Media competition stimulated the first dynamic open markets in the country, which established well-developed media consumption patterns. Although the Bulgarian public was offered a highly varied media menu, expectations that the media would aid the processes of democratization in a purposeful and effective manner proved unrealistically high. Media were in need of transformation themselves. As Slavko Splichal contends, in contrast to demonopolization, which has made decisive progress, other fundamental prerequisites of media democratization – e.g., media differentiation, professionalization of journalists, access to the media – were far from being actualized (Splichal, 2000).

The turn away from single-party control and changes in the property laws were by no means sufficient circumstances to establish a cadre of professional journalists. Although the guild adopted an Ethical Code in 2004, it failed to build the mechanisms for sustaining ethical standards, and in many cases reacted inadequately to important and publicly significant issues, as well as to a number of professional problems (Union, 2004). Trends toward deprofessionalization and tabloidization accompanied the transformation period. A number of professional journalistic unions were established, but they failed to defend and enforce basic professional rights and responsibilities. Similar to politicians, former and newly hatched, journalists were not ready to fully shoulder their new role and the concommitant responsibilities of a Fourth Estate in a society under transformation.

Following the profound democratic developments throughout all of the Eastern European countries after 1989, the tendency toward fundamental changes in the mass media system became irreversible. The new Bulgarian Constitution guaranteed freedom of expression for any citizens. Article 40 (1) specifically defends the freedom of mass media: “The press and the other mass information media shall be free and shall not be subjected to censorship” (National, 1991). Alongside the overall economic and political crisis of the time, the transformation of the mass media system developed through practical, trial-and-error efforts, rather than on a legal basis.

Of all institutions in the country, precisely the mass media helped the transformation to democracy and a market place economy in the fastest and most profound way. The processes of decentralization, liberalization and privatization began spontaneously, however with no sharing of common perspectives. In a short time a completely new journalism landscape was formed in which different patterns of media consumption and new advertising strategies were introduced. The emerging professional principles and styles of journalism were created and mastered ad hoc, in an atmosphere of turbulent events. It turned out that the media were fulfilling the dual function of transmitters of protest and accelerators of political change. The transition period has provided journalists with a strong hold on public opinion. Thus, the mass media system often operated as a Fourth Estate, influencing social attitudes, political opinions and decision-making on national priorities.

Although externally media pluralism has been established in the country, the existence of many media providers is not a sufficient guarantee of normal market functioning, nor of independent regulation; neither do they guarantee the provision of widely varied and quality content. Research on the Bulgarian media environment by the European Commission, Transparency International, Balkan Media Barometer, IREX, Freedom House, and Reporters without Borders, abundantly criticizes the political dependency of the Bulgarian media. Unclear ownership and funding, attempts to exercise political and corporative influence, the inefficiency of the regulatory and self-regulatory mechanisms, the deficit of professional standards, compromise the concept of media pluralism (Raycheva, 2013a: 151-152).

Political pluralism and a varied media environment in Bulgaria still experience systematic difficulties. The still-in-the-making civil society is yet unsteady, and as such can not successfully provide a stable public basis for professional journalism. According to the World Press Freedom Index 2016 Bulgaria has dropped down to 113th place (among 180 countries), suggesting that freedom of speech and independent journalism are still unassimilated concepts for most media outlets and for many a non-governmental organization disbursing the funds of European and Transatlantic institutions (Reporters without Borders, 2016). Their activities prove erratic, limited and ineffective in the long run.

Many challenges were encountered in the process of establishing a new press. The early 1990s heralded the age of deregulation of the print media, leading to a tremendous change in the entire industry. Tight ideological control over the mass media was replaced by economic motives. Some factors such as the soaring price of newsprint, printing services and distribution expenses sped up the process of catering to audience expectations and needs rather than promoting narrow political interests. In this situation, it was quite natural for advertising to prosper and the profits from it became the main economic resource for print media. In the post-1989 years, many new publications came and went. Right after the political changes, extreme media partisanship developed. Political pluralism fostered the emergence of a multi-party press. A wide range of highly varied editions quickly took shape: political, popular, quality, topical, and specialized publications. This decreased circulation of the party press. A new press emerged which declared itself politically independent. These periodicals quickly gained the largest audience share and took over the expanding volume of advertising. Under the auspices of privatization and commercialization, aggressive press corporations laid down the basis of media focus.

Data provided by the National Statistical Institute vividly show the trends in the development of the media within the first two decades of the transition period. In terms of print media, 301 newspapers (17 dailies) with an annual circulation of 895,265,000 were published in 1989, compared to 436 newspapers (70 dailies) with an annual circulation of 370,789,000 twenty years later, in 2008. The corresponding figures for magazines and bulletins were 827, with an annual circulation of 57,849,000 in 1989 vs. 775 with an annual circulation of 14,708,000 in 2008. There has been a significant trend favoring the preservation of, and even increase in, diversification of supply, while at the same time acceding to a considerable reduction in circulation. At the current time, due to the economic crisis and to technological development, the circulation of print media has been reduced: 307 newspapers (54 dailies) with an annual circulation of 324,310, 000, and 668 magazines and bulletins with an annual circulation of 27,831, 000 are on the market place (National Statistical Institute, 2014).

In contrast to the turbulent transformation in print media, changes in electronic media were slower to come, incomplete and lacked general consistency. They started and were carried out in an atmosphere of deregulation – the Radio and Television Act, as well as the Telecommunications Act were adopted only in 1998. Both of them have been amended frequently. Bulgaria joined the Television without Frontiers Directive (1989) and later ratified the European Union's Convention on Transfrontier Television (1997). Current media legislation has been closely aligned with EU regulations. The two national institutions that regulate the electronic media – the Council for Electronic Media (CEM) and the Communications Regulation Commission (CRC) – jointly issue radio and TV licenses and register cable and satellite broadcasters. CEM (the successor of the National Council for Radio and Television) is the regulatory body that elects the general directors and the management boards of the public service broadcasters and monitors compliance with the Radio and Television Act, including issues such as advertising, sponsorship, product placement, copyright, and protection of minors. The Council also considers complaints by citizens and organizations. CRC (formerly The State Commission of Telecommunications) enforces the Telecommunications Act and manages the radio frequencies spectrum. CEM and CRC jointly issue licenses to radio- and TV broadcasters.

For a quarter of a century a highly saturated radio and TV landscape has been gradually established.

Several telling trends in radio program dynamics can be discerned during this period of transition. Radio broadcasting has increased enormously. In 1988, prior to the political changes, some 46,810 hours of programming were aired. In 1989 the number had increased to 48,498 hours; in 1993 the introduction of private radio bounced the total number of on-air hours to 161,278. By 2008, twenty years after the changes, the public enjoyed 797,683 hours of programming, more than sixteen times the number of hours broadcast in 1988. Program supply had been strongly diversified. Local radio stations had developed a clear-cut public profile and had also introduced technological innovations, such as computer-run, RDS and on-line versions of regular radio programs. The introduction of new styles, formats and standards lead to steady segmentation of radio audiences. The dynamics of structure and format of the programs is notable: news programs drastically increase: from 19,090 hours in 1988 to 26,154 hours in 1989, 72,358 hours in 1994 and 92,070 hours in 2008 (National Statistical Institute, 2009).

Compared to other media, changes in television came much more slowly. Some major reasons for this include a state monopoly over national telecasting, political pressures resulting in frequent replacements of TV executives (in the course of 25 years, fifteen General Directors in succession headed the public National Television and only three of them have completed their office term without suspension), the lack of research and development of concepts and strategies, inefficient management, and economic constraints, such as obsolete equipment and so forth.

The introduction of commercial television from 1994 on encouraged program diversification in the national TV landscape. A diverse TV market was gradually established in the country. Meanwhile, the almost uncontrolled reception of satellite, trans-border and cable programs exerted significant pressure on domestic channels. Infiltration of foreign audio-visual products had an equally strong impact on national broadcasting policies.

The TV program dynamics was accompanied by several important trends. TV broadcasting displayed a significant increase. In 1988, prior to the political changes, 5,886 hours of TV programming were aired. A dramatic growth of 500 hours of telecasts was registered during the critical year of 1989. By 1994, when private television was officially introduced, audiences enjoyed 7,178 hours of TV programming, while in 2008 the number of hours reached 747,036 – an increase of more than 120%. (National Statistical Institute, 2009a) The diversified program supply encouraged higher audience selectivity. Digitalization, mobile- and web casting are the current technological challenges for Bulgarian TV broadcasters.

Although the advertising market is still not very big, the radio and TV environment is oversaturated. Lack of clarity about media ownership obscures the fact of how dependent electronic media can be on political and business interests and impacts on the media policies. The weak market, which can't support numerous licensed radio and TV stations, has left a loophole for companies needing tax shelters for capital investments of doubtful origin. At the present moment, the legal, technological, regulatory and social framework is rather contradictory and often serves corporate interests.

In 2014, 337 radio stations and 187 television channels were listed as registered and operating on national, regional and local levels terrestrially, via cable or via satellite. Radio and television broadcasting on the Internet is rigorously developing (Council, 2014). Privately owned radio- and TV stations undoubtedly challenged the monopoly of state-owned public television. However, the public service broadcasters enjoy the highest audience credibility: BNT is approved by 72,5 % of the population and BNR – by 58,6%, compared to other institutions such as police – 42,3%, army – 41,9%, Parliament – 23,4%, and Court –17,0% (NCPOR, 2012).

The increasing popularity of the Internet during the last two decades has definitely impacted the media system status quo. However, an online media business model is still problematic. The combination of content sales, subscription fees and advertising revenues can not bring sufficient income to assure content variety for attracting bigger audiences. Searching for their identity in the transforming social and market environment, online and traditional media are more eager to woo advertisers rather than to serve audiences. Because of the ability react more quickly to breaking news, online-only media slowly but steadily are taking over the niche of conveying the latest up-to-the-moment news, competing successfully with traditional print media.

In addition to traditional media and online-only news sites, some citizen-generated content has entered the World Wide Web. The Internet is beginning to be used for so-called "citizens' journalism." Weblogs on different social and political issues have multiplied. Using other social media platforms, as well as networking and microblogging services such as Facebook, Google Plus, Instagram, Twitter, and hashtags are becoming more and more popular.

Irrespective of the fast development of new media and of taking the public debate online, television is still the most trusted medium in Bulgarian society: 64% to 45% for radio, 42% for the Internet and 35% for the press (European, 2014).

Concluding words

The main trends in contemporary communication processes, such as technological convergence, media and communications trans-nationalization, blurring of the line between commercial and public media areas, commodity manipulative approaches to audience fragmentation and specialization of media consumption, and genre hybridization all are having a great impact on the development of modern Bulgarian media.

More than a quarter of a century after major political and economic changes, despite significant progress towards democratization, we can stil pinpoint some serious challenges to the transformation processes of the media system in Bulgaria:

- the pluralistic media system, despite its diversification, does not have a clear identity, either conceptually or professionally;

- the optimization and consolidation of the regulatory framework, as well as its harmonization with Aquis communautaire of the European Union, still suffers from deficiencies in rules and instruments regulating the media system. Attempts at co-regulation between the professional guild, NGOs and official regulators are fragile and inconsistent;
- regardless of its diversification, the media environment is severely lacking self-regulatory reflexes. Though heterogeneous, the media world is still failing to effectively enforce the parameters of pluralism as a basic principle of journalistic independence. Market mechanisms have proved stronger than the norms of social responsibility and adherence to professional standards. Despite the rapid development of new media and the transfer of public debates online, television and radio still enjoy greater confidence in Bulgarian society compared to online publications and print media.

In this situation some trends in media functioning can be outlined:

Technologically: The turbulent advent of new information technologies encourages a basic change in the structure and functioning of the media system, which particularly affects the specificity of the mass communication process. Globality of communications, determining exchange of information between entire populations, could render the consumption of such information highly individual. The territory of media contents distribution will continue to expand via various communication platforms into diverse hybrid forms – media, media-like, personal, corporate, etc.

Economically: The globality of communications determines global trends in the economic organization of the media system both by developing transnational companies and by retaining the tendency for local development at the expense of national. The convergence of production and distribution of audiovisual content will encourage the development of new business models.

Professionally: Communication convergence entails functional changes in the mass media which reflects on their specificity, content and form. This leads to a departure from former media standards and to the introduction of new formats, styles and liberal journalistic ethics, and results in the diversification of political, popular, quality and topical periodicals and radio and TV programs. The essential characteristics of journalism, public relations and advertising undergo a manifest change. The internationalization of most communication products and services conditions transnationality in the media field, which in principle is national. Polyfunctional requirements for journalists working in the convergent media environment would increase.

Regulatory: Responsibility to the public on the part of producers and distributors of AVMS should be guaranteed by measures toward higher effectiveness and joint efforts at regulation, self-regulation and co-regulation under the conditions of observance of editorial independence and preservation of the model of PSB.

Educationally: Traditional teaching programs, curricula and methods of training of media specialists need fundamental and wide-ranging correction. Introduction of a new structure in media education is imperative: the goal should be life-long learning unconfined by time and space.

Scientifically: Under the conditions of the new communication environment a proper orientation on the vast quantity of information shall be particularly important; media workers must learn to make sense of the information and transform it into accessible knowledge. A new media reality in all its parameters has come into being and shall require new avenues, approaches and techniques of research.

Socially: Fragmentation of audiences calls for higher standards of selectivity and better social feedback. Application of the ICT would entail further development of the media ecosystem, namely diffusion of blogs and the content of social media with the genres of traditional journalism. Such new applications will facilitate the creation of media content by consumers, which in turn could influence editorial organization and would step up democratization of the information exchange.

The dynamic nature of media processes is so intense that it is becoming more and more difficult to define the characteristics of contemporary media in Bulgaria. Are they an essential part of the democratic development of the country, or an independent trans- and supranational system that operates according to free market principles? In other words, will media evolve towards strong deregulation prompted by market support of technological and economic convergence, or will they move in the direction of co-regulation in order to effectively serve the interests of society? The system is departing permanently from its mass character, the consuming of information is becoming more and more personalized, and the commercial nature of messages is, unfortunately, replacing the spirit of public interest. The hybridization of genres and the diffusion of various communication platforms suggest new formats of content where consumers will be able alone to create and disseminate information. Given these trends, a grave danger to democracy is posed by the interpenetration of media, capital and policy, a combustible concoction that can easily lead to self-censorship and can undermine the functionality of free journalism.

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CHRISTIAN MEDIA IN RUSSIA IN THE AGE OF "NETWORKIZATION"

РОССИЙСКИЕ ХРИСТИАНСКИЕ СМИ В СЕТЕВУЮ ЭПОХУ

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This paper analyzes the subsystem of religious media in Russia, with a focus on Christian media and their place in Russia's media system in the context of "networkization". The dilemma faced by the Russian Orthodox Church in coming to terms with new digital communication technologies, and the 'pros' and 'cons' of using social networks, are considered by specialists in the field. The author underscores three problem areas for Christian media in Russia: (1) the requirement that journalistic endeavors remain subordinate to the goals of proselytization and public relations; (2) a blurry understanding of the target audience, and (3) the use of a barely understandable archaic ecclesiastical language. The author hypothesizes that some recent approaches to the challenge of "networkization" on the part of Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant thinkers may hold promising solutions to the problem

Key words: *media, religion, social networks, religious identity, Christians, Russia.*

В статье представлен анализ российских христианских СМИ в национальной медиасистеме в контексте стремительного развития социальных сетей. Трудности в освоении новых цифровых коммуникационных технологий Русской Православной Церковью, «плюсы» и «минусы» использования социальных сетей оцениваются ведущими экспертами в этой области. Автор подчеркивает три проблемные области христианских СМИ в России: (1) подчиненность журналистской деятельности миссионерским и рекламным целям, (2) размывание представлений о целевой аудитории и (3) использования малопонятного для массовой аудитории архаичного церковного языка. Автор полагает, что некоторые инициативы российских православных, католиков и протестантов, предпринятые в последнее время, могут стать адекватным ответом на вызовы сетевой эпохи.

Ключевые слова: *религия, религиозная идентичность, социальные сети, православие, католичество, протестантизм, Россия.*

Introduction

Relations between religion and media – their tensions, conflicts, mutual understanding and "*modus vivendi*" -constitute a significant factor for social stability and modernization of post-soviet Russia in the perspective of civil society. That is why they are becoming more attractive for research – from phenomenological description to structural and functional analysis (Luchenko, 2015).

After a long period of absence in the national media system, in the 1990s and early 2000s, the focus of revived media outlets for Russia religious organizations (predominantly the Russian Orthodox Church – ROC) remained fixed on traditional media – press, radio, and TV. Until Christian religions unexpectedly found themselves faced with the prospect of media "networkization".

The notion of "networkization" arrived in media studies from economics (i.e., the model of supermarket networks) and telecommunications (the network architecture of information systems) (Liu, 2002; Kroker, Kroker, 2008). Castells emphasizes that network society means not only social networks per se, but also social networks built around digitized information and ultra-fast processing capacity (Castells, 2007). At the same time Castells observes that the technological innovation develops faster than does the human capacity to absorb it, so comprehension of a network's impact on society is subject to a "time lag" respective to technological progress.

This observation fully applies to religious organization in post-Soviet Russia. For a long time, there was no articulation or discussion of the need to re-think media strategy, to revise priorities in media development in the context of the growing impact of social networks on the audience – networks that compete with and often win audience from traditional media. Recently the attention of ROC and other religious structures to social networks as channels for distribution of information and recruiting audience has become more visible.

The aims of this paper are: 1) to describe the evolution of Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant media over the last two decades in the context of Russian national media system; 2) to explore reflections of editors and journalists on digitalization and networkization; and, 3) to identify problematic areas for Christian media in Russia.

Methodologically, the paper is based on interviews with Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant journalists and experts in the field of religion and media, as well as secondary data analysis and research on the profiles of social networks.

The paper tries to answer on the following research questions:

RQ1: To what extend is the challenge of networkization reflected upon, and comprehended by, the decision makers behind Christian media in Russia?

RQ2: What is the impact of social networks on Christian news production, channeling and understanding by the audience?

RQ3: What is the difference in impact of networkization on the dominant Russian Orthodox Church (around 70% of population) and on the churches of minorities – Catholic and Protestant (both – less than 1% of population)?

Networks vs TV: adjusting to new media dynamics

A profile of Russian audience media consumption clearly shows the leading position of TV (see *Figure 1*), which in many cases it is the only source for news for Russians (see *Figure 2*).

Figure 1

The profile of media consumption in Russia

Data from Levada-Center, July 2014 (Volkov and Goncharov, 2014).

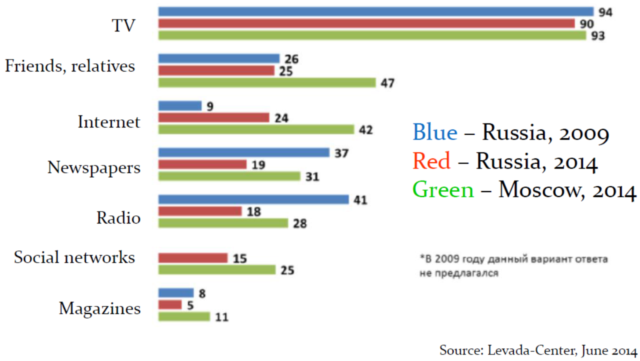
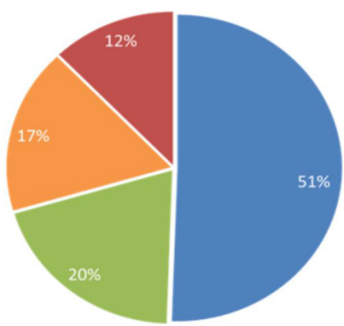


Figure 2

Number of news sources used by Russian audience

Blue – one source (51%), green – two sources (20%), yellow – three sources (17%) and red – four and more sources (12%). Data from Levada-Center, July 2014 (Volkov and Goncharov, 2014).



The growing influence of networks is a consequence not only of expanding internet penetration (71.3 % of Russians use the internet, in big cities over 80%) (Internet Live Stats, 2016), but also of their "filtering" function: more and more users come to mainstream media web portals via "Facebok" or "Vkontakte" (Van Der Haak, Parks, Castells, 2012; Panchenko, 2011: 87–118).

Are Christian churches in Russia ready for such a turn? Have they elaborated clear and effective strategies in regard to this development?

The ROC remains one of the most highly trusted social institutions in Russia. Around 70% of the population of the Russian Federation identify themselves as "Orthodox believers" (Levada, 2014). Some anti-ROC's campaigns and scandals (the "Pussy Riot" punk prayer in a Moscow cathedral, among others) have not significantly decreased the broad trust invested in the ROC. Experts agree that, "a common trope for self-positioning of the Church is that the ROC is a 'state-shaping' religion" (Suslov, Engström, Simons, 2015).

"Today Russian society wants to hear the Church voice on some controversial and crucial questions that concern every citizen. These include corruption, the legitimacy of parliamentary elections, social instability, ethnic tensions, and the effectiveness of public participation in combating social ills such as alcoholism and drug addiction. Both society and the journalistic community await honest, authentic and even undiplomatic answers from the Church. The readiness of the Church engage in such open discussion will determine the degree of credibility accorded to the Church", – suggested Zhosul (Zhosul, 2014: 12). Social networks demand such a voice of ROC and are ready to channel it.

According to Anna Danilova, the editor-in-chief of the web portal "Orthodox Christianity and the World" (Pravmir.ru), there are several essential negative presuppositions in Orthodox religious identity that mitigate against using mass media for missionary work. "For a religious community, the process of exploring new media normally is connected at the very least with the following potential obstacles: 1) the tendency of any religious institution to be conservative in everything, including the media; 2) a lack of clarity about the impact of new media on the psychological state of the individual, society and interpersonal relationships; 3) a tendency to interpret many innovations as "diabolic" (one of the best examples of which is illustrated by the fear of many people in Russia to accept a personal tax identification code, even though the Church has officially stated that it has nothing to do with the number of the Antichrist)", writes an Orthodox journalist (Danilova, 2011: 20).

The ROC has its own sense of mission and doctrinal grounds clearly described in the "*Basis of the Social Concept",* adopted in 2000. The document states, that the mass media play an ever-increasing role in the contemporary world, and that the Church respects the work of journalists, who are charged with the "interpretation of positive ideals as well as the struggle with the spreading of evil, sin and vice" (Basis, 2000). "Journalists and mass media executives should never forget about this responsibility", – the document says.

Concerning possible complications and serious conflicts (because of inaccurate or distorted information about church life, putting it in an inappropriate context etc), ROC calls to solve such problems "in the spirit of peaceful dialogue with the aim of removing misunderstandings and continuing co-operation". In cases of blasphemy, bishops "after issuing an appropriate warning and at least one attempt to enter into negotiations, may take the following steps: to sever relations with the mass medium or journalist concerned; to call upon the faithful to boycott the given mass medium; to apply to the governmental bodies help settle the conflict; to subject those guilty of sinful actions to canonical prohibitions if they are Orthodox Christians" (Basis, 2000).

In 2005, the ROC Synod adopted a regulation "about some aspects of Church information activity", which states: "The status of ROC official communications can only be granted to the Church hierarchs, who alone are permitted to convey official informational materials about its activity, about important events happening in the Church or about the position of the Church hierarchs upon this or that issue. This information can be conveyed in the form of documents, information messages or comments given under the blessing of the Hierarchy and accessible in text form. Opinion piece, interviews, discussions, performances, journalistic articles, and oral comments are not considered official information" (Synod, 2005).

In 1997, Patriarch Aleksii II blessed web technology as a new means for Orthodox missionary work, but attempts to use the possibilities of cyberspace for Orthodox teaching and witnessing started much earlier, attested to by the history of "Orthonet" (the Orthodox segment of Runet). Today, there are many Orthodox search services, information agencies and social networks. Patriarch Kirill is active on "Facebook". Some priests have blogs and "Twitter" accounts.

"Orthonet" attempted to become the leader, the most influential source for people about Orthodox Christianity, but in fact, its impact is far from that of Runet leaders. According to the service top100. rambler.ru, the most popular Orthodox webpage (pravoslavie.ru) comes in at number 101 in usage on the list of Russian web-resources (Rambler, 2016). The most popular Orthodox blog, run by deacon Andrei Kuraev, has about 1,1 million comments and thereby lags behind the leading sites for Russian bloggers outside of the leading group of Russian bloggers. The web portal "Orthodoxy and the World" ("Pravoslavie i mir" – www.pravmir.ru), launched in 2004, is at the moment the leading multimedia portal about Orthodoxy and society, publishing news and analytical reviews, comments and interviews, audio, video, and info graphics. Monthly visitors to the portal number around 2,5-3 million. Also of note among the leaders are the official portal of the ROC (patriarchia.ru), and the portal of the Moscow Theological Academy (bogoslov.ru) (Suslov, Engström, Simons, 2015).

In 2009, after his election and enthronization, Patriarch Kyrill announced the establishment of a new Synodal Department of Information (Sinodal'nyi informatsionnyi otdel), which is in charge of the "imprimatur" – permission for distribution through church channels for media that claim to be Orthodox, the content of which does not misrepresent Orthodox doctrine and does not contradict the official position of the ROC. In 2010, an Orthodox video channel was launched on You Tube (http://www.youtube.com/user/russianchurch).

Not all web sites that claim to be Orthodox are in line with ROC positions, and some of them take different approaches in commenting on everyday life. Web portal Credo.Ru (www.portal-credo.ru), presenting itself as an independent religious information agency, largely supports the Russian Orthodox Autonomous Church in its publications. The latter is a ROC rival. "Patriarchia.Ru and Credo.Ru represent two extremes of Orthodox journalism in Russia today. On one end stands the officious, triumphalist, "glossy" Orthodoxy of Patriarchia.Ru; on the other, the so-called "true autonomous" Orthodoxy of Credo.Ru, which goes to absurd lengths to reject any positive characterization of the ROC. The gap between Orthodox media loyal to the Moscow Patriarchate and media alien to it continues to widen. The less transparent the Moscow Patriarchate becomes, the more it lends credibility to its critics, emphasizes Briskina-Müller (Briskina-Müller, 2011).

According to her analysis, “Independent Orthodox media offer serious analysis even if self-censorship is employed in some cases. Official and independent Orthodox media have differing goals. The former seek to propagate a certain image of the church in the eyes of the public. By contrast, the latter are less concerned about the reputation of the church and strive sincerely for a genuine exchange of information” (Briskina-Müller, 2011: 14). The German scholar also believes that the modus operandi of ROC recalls the “the old party style, methods that alienate rather than convince”. According to Sergei Chapnin, So-called “spiritual revival” in Russia presupposes de-Sovietization: “We were in need of *metanoia*: penitence and conversion” (Chapnin, 2015).

Elena Zhosul suggests, that another important issue today is the issue of education and training. “Today there are very few qualified experts in Russia who are competent both in church and media questions, who understand the basics of orthodox theology as well as the basics of media work. The list of such persons is very short, and only part of them forms an information agenda. In contrast, many Russian journalists regularly writing about the Church need at least a rudimentary theological education”, – wrote Russian expert Elena Zhosul (Zhosul, 2014: 12).

Describing the phenomenon of Russian “intellectual social network”, where-in high-level Church-related discussions are conducted not in mainstream media, but predominantly in social networks, Ksenia Luchenko writes: “The answer to that question is closely linked to the analysis of dialogue culture in Russian society as a whole. Social institutions and mechanisms that are supposed to ensure and sustain that dialogue are overwhelmingly dysfunctional. However, the need to discuss, share experiences and monitor publications is still there. And social networks make it possible” (Luchenko, 2015: 130). It is interesting to note that almost all the largest Orthodox web sites maintain pages in social networks, such as "Vkontakte", "Odnoklassniki" and "Facebook". In these social networks, you can find special pages devoted to ecclesiasts, parish groups and Orthodox public associations or churches. Here, notably, a variety of reactions is registered on the same topic. Thus in response to the controversy pertaining to the punk-prayer by "Pussy Riot" in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. Archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin called for "criminal sanctions for everyone who affronts the faithful sense". In contrast, Deacon Andrei Kuraev responded in a very different way in his Life Journal: "If I were a sacristan of the Cathedral, I would feed them pancakes, offer each of them a cup of mead, and invite them to come around for Confession". (Kuraev, 2012).

In October 2010, Patriarch Kirill blessed the establishment of the ROC channel on YouTube. "We launch it in order to bring God's word, heavenly wisdom, heavenly law – which is the law of life – closer to the life of contemporary, and especially young, people", – Patriarch said (Kirill, 2010).

A remarkable roundtable discussion on "The Russian Orthodox Church and new media: to be or to pretend to be?" was held on 28 January 2014 at the Russian Orthodox University in the framework of the XXII International Christmas Educational Readings (Khroul, 2015). Participants from various dioceses of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), well-known journalists, heads of internet portals and diocesan press services discussed limits on, opportunities for and threats to the ROC mission in social networks, the developing trends of new media and their influence on the information agenda and the process of evangelization. Some of the suggestions and ideas put forth there merit consideration about the topic of Christian media "networkization".

Orthodox networking: strategic priority

The roundtable began with an expert survey on “The Social Network for the Orthodox people – good or evil?” Chief editor of the portal “Bogoslov.ru” archpriest *Pavel Velikanov* mentioned three pros: 1) the possibility of proclaiming the Gospel, the ability to communicate with people looking for answers on their questions in social networks; 2) the possibility of Christian charity – according to the priest, “charitable organizations are active in networks and live through networks”; and 3) the rapid dissemination of information. Cons, according to the theologian, are the reverse side of pros: 1) it is very difficult to verify information, which often comes from untrustworthy and odd sources; 2) discussions are conducted in a manner inappropriate for Christians; and 3) people spend a lot of time on-line and come back to the real world “just to eat”.

The chief editor of the portal Bogoslov.ru added that anonymity, on the one hand, allows people to overcome the “exclusion zone” between a wide audience and the clergy, while on the other hand, it removes moral constraints. The very possibility of contacting a priest is often associated with the desire ‘just to chat’ and not to learn something really important that could lead a person to faith.

Journalist Sergey Khudiev believes that it is difficult to divide the “pluses” and “minuses”. Most advantages are at the same time disadvantages. The subjectivity of publications makes it possible to obtain information that is accurate, but one that reflects the attitudes of the living. Hence, the negative side – you never know the limits of this subjectivity. The opportunity to establish a personal relationship with someone is “neutralized” with the threat that these relations cannot be deep and meaningful. The advantage of anonymity is that many people are able to overcome the exclusion zone between them and the clergy, but the disadvantage is that the question of anonymity removes constraints on people in the network: they cease to take responsibility for what they say.

Anna Danilova considered as a positive the fact that social networks make it possible to get out of the “ghetto” of a merely Orthodox audience; they make it possible to understand the agenda, find out what people are currently interested in. However, a negative point is the lack of information accuracy and difficulties with verification. Sometimes “fakes” rapidly spread via social networks (for example, the incident of false news spreading about a prohibition on the popular TV show “Good night, kids!” [“Spokoinoi nochi, malyshi!”]). Further, on the negative side, Danilova suggests that social networking generates too quick a reaction; “People react while they still do not really understand the situation, and relationships become strained”, Danilova said and referred to the need for general “internet hygiene”.

Speaking about the advantages of social networks, Elena Zhosul noted that the 1) are one of the main sources of news; 2) allow the establishment of useful contacts and professional relationships; and 3) allow quick collective reflection about what is happening. At the same time, according to Zhosul, “Psychological factors are at play in the use of the internet as a source of information”. On the negative side she mentioned, 1) the overflow of information, when “we are forced to consume, to swallow without chewing’”; and 2) the inability to concentrate on some issues, therefore long texts are so unpopular in the network.

According to the journalist Maria Sveshnikova, one of the main problems of Orthodox forums is the level of debate: “In no other network segments are not allowed such an indecent, offensive communication? No other sphere of the network permits such indecent and offensive expressions? Paradoxically, priests often write things that they would never say from the pulpit. They discredit themselves and the Orthodox Church”.

“Especially in the information about people of the Church”, – stated Sergei Khudiyev. “It is very important that we try to say something complimentary and positive, because there is enough strain, swearing, shouting, hatred and fear. It is important to serve a creative purpose, we must strive to find something joyful and positive”.

Archpriest Pavel Velikanov expressed the belief that the priest must be present in social networks: “On the one hand, it is easier to move a person to communicate with a priest, asking him what the Church thinks about different issues, but on the other hand, sometimes a man comes to the network not in order to come to the Church, but only to talk with the priest”. He feels that any Orthodox believer must have a “strong immunity” to social networks, yet, he added, “I think that we will not turn away from social networks”. Velikanov calls the Orthodox lifestyle fun, rich, and multi-faceted, reminding us that the social network is not just a network of people; it is also a technology, which must be mastered first before it can bring people together effectively

Summing up, Natalia Loseva noted as “pluses” of the internet 1) the opportunity to reach out to the target audience; 2) new possibilities for communication; 3) the increased speed of information transmission; and, 4) its volume.

Roundtable discussion participants agreed to continue the dialogue on the new media challenges for the Russian Orthodox Church during up-coming conferences.

Catholic and Protestant networking: enthusiastic voices of minorities

In comparison to the dominating and systematically growing Orthodox traditonal and digital media, Catholic and Protestant media are almost invisible on the Russian media landscape.

After many decades of religious persecution, the Catholic Church in Russia was in a very difficult position when it started to revive ecclesiastical structures in April 1991. Even a brief historical analysis of the development of Catholic media in the USSR and (since 1991) in the Russian Federation must take into consideration religious suppression/freedom, the opening and closing of media outlets, their number and circulation, the Catholic presence in the public sphere, Church-state relations and other criteria. The entire history can be divided into three periods.

The time of Soviet religious persecution correlates with the period of underground and illegal media activity of Catholic communities. From the moment of the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in 1991, a new period of revival for Catholic began. It lasted until the time of restored dioceses in 2002, which was strongly criticized by ROC. After 2002, according to our observations, the development slows, then stops, as media outlets were closed one-by-one. The period we consider a time of "self-silencing" might end after the historical meeting between Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill, but in fact, this has not happened yet.

Between 1991 and 2002 years – as Catholic institutions grew and strengthened, local mass media sprang up: radio stations (Moscow and St. Petersburg), a video studio (Novosibirsk), and the publications of a seminary, of monastic orders and of congregations as well as numerous parish bulletins. Since it was very difficult and expensive to gain access to government-controlled television and radio stations, print media (newspapers and magazines) played a special role in uniting the Catholics of Russia.

The first monthly magazine "Istina i Zhizn" ("Truth and Life") have been established in Moscow in December 1990, and the weekly Catholic newspaper "Svet Evangelia" ("The Light of the Gospel") – a national Catholic newspaper – was launched in October 1994.

In November 2001, journalists started the Internet-based daily information service in Russian “Cathnews.Ru”. It was growing rapidly and became even more popular than the weekly edition because information arrived in real time. “Cathnews.Ru” planned to start an English version soon, but failed in the initiative because of the lack of resources.

After 2002, open and outspoken positions in regard both to the wider world and to local Catholic community gradually shifted back to “no comment” and a sense of a “conspiratorial” mentality without any explanation. No public announcements accompanied the closing of one media outlet after the other: “Svet Evangelia” (2007), the Catholic radio station “Dar” (2009), etc. Should anyone (journalist, scholar, politician, whoever) wish to obtain even very basic official information regarding the Catholic Church in Russia (for instance, the number of parishes, believers, priests, bishops, structures, institutions, whatever), at the present time they would be unable to locate a valid source (Khroul, 2010).

The existing Catholic web pages are of two kinds: (1) institutional self-presentation (sites of Dioceses – Moscow – cathmos.ru, Saratov – dscs.ru, Irkutsk – julial72.bget.ru), Seminary (www.cathseminary.ru), some official structures and (2) private initiatives, run mostly by enthusiasts. In many cases the editorial staff these private initiatives receive neither moral, nor material) support or encouragement from the hierarchy, which rules out possible synergetic strategic planning and systematic work.

The most successful recent Catholic initiative in the social networks is the so-called “Vechernjaja katolicheskaja gazeta” (“Evening Catholic newspaper”) on “Facebook” (www.facebook.com/giornaledellasera/) and “Vkontakte” (vk.com/giornaledellasera). The daily overview of Catholic News (mostly from abroad and with only scanty news from Russia) enjoys growing interest from the public.

The major television project of Russian Protestants is "Television of Good News" (TBN), which began as part of the global Trinity Broadcasting Network and is now positioning itself as an independent public broadcaster. Without any doubt, this is the biggest Protestant media resource that broadcasts via satellites and cable networks.

Protestant radio "Teos" lost its frequency and is now a fully Internet based station. Nevertheless, it is developing in new directions as it invites interesting presenters, such as the Orthodox journalist Sergei Khudiyev and a number of others. "Teos" wants to be interesting and relevant to a wide range of audiences, and not have its listenership be only for Protestant. The newspaper "Mirt" is a serious newspaper for ministers and parishioners, publishing reflections and sermons, which are, sometimes difficult to grasp for non-Protestants. There are also a number of successful printed media outlets outside Moscow and Saint Petersburg, including newspapers in Yaroslavl, Penza, Yoshkar Ola, Voronezh, Vladivostok, Irkutsk and other cities of Russia.

Among the internet portals, the leading site is Protestant.ru, which represents a good example of successful migration from the printed newspaper to web portal.

Anton Kruglikov, the press secretary of the Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals) in Russia remarked on two major visible trends in Protestant media during his presentation on the "Religion and Media" panel at the 8th International Media Readings in Moscow "Mass Media and Communications – 2016": 1) to move the content from printed media to the digital platforms and 2) to address the general public, not only those who are already Protestants.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that it has been over twenty years since the revival of religious media, according to our observations, religious institutions have not implemented even a half of what potentially they could. Because of this, audiences seeking religious information have switched their attention to other sources of information, mostly secular, which broadcast religious information with inevitable distortions.

Networking activity of Christians in Russia could be a good tool for the correction of mistakes made by secular journalists, however only in the case of ROC, could this be successful.

In conclusion, we would like to draw your attention to some common problems and challenges faced by Russian Christian media.

1. Subordination of journalism to PR. Many of the employees of religious media in Russia find themselves serving the goals of religious institutions in terms of public relations and advertising of their churches rather than pursuing topics of journalistic interest about religion and the Church Both employers and employees do not find such a situation strange (Amialchenia, 2014). The lack or total absence of professionalism in religious media is rarely considered to be a problem; a journalist must be a good Christian.

2. Missing the target audience. Religious media seem to have forgotten to ask themselves questions about their mission and target audience. They fall into the trap of thinking that their structure conveys “media for all”, but in reality, they find themselves lacking listeners (Luchenko, 2015). Religious media audience are largely “religious” people, although now attempts are being made to gain an audience among non-believers or atheists. For Christian media, which by nature have a social character, it is very important to find a way to communicate with the rest of the society, to opening the doors of their "self-imposed ghetto".

3. Clerical language instead of secular. Archaic ecclesiastical language creates a distorted image of the religious message and "corrupts" > severely curtails (or obscures) the religious vantage point on the cultural and social issues in Russia. Christian media lack a clear and responsible > transparent and accountable? Language and as a result they find themselves ad marginem of the national media system (Khroul, 2012).

From a journalistic perspective, several problems lead to poor and stereotyped coverage of Christian life in the secular media. Agenda-setting processes in mainstream media are not oriented toward ethical questions: the principal players are mostly focused not on the audience, not on public interest, but on political subordination and commercial profit, therefore moral issues remain secondary. Religious media are not able to change the content management: "infotainment" and "advertainment" oriented media decision makers do not seem to be concerned with fitting their products into even secular moral norms, so inherently more strict and rigorous religious ideals are all the more ignored.

Nevertheless, it is not the fault of secular journalists that Christians in Russia have problems with news production, channeling, transmitting, broadcasting, interaction and understanding. Without solving these problems in the age of "networkization", Christians can hardly expect to make their voices heard in Russian society.

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COMMUNICATING IN THE ABSENCE OF MOBILE TELEPHONE NETWORK DURING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN BORNO STATE, NIGERIA

КОММУНИКАЦИЯ В ПЕРИОД ОТСУТСТВИЯ ТЕЛЕФОННОЙ СВЯЗИ В ПЕРИОД ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНОГО ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ В ШТАТЕ БОРНО, НИГЕРИЯ

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The role of mobile telephony in Nigeria can never be overemphasised. Little wonder, the astronomical growth in

mobile subscribers/users in Nigeria ranks among the top ten mobile phone subscribers/users nations in the world. The growing reliance on mobile telephony by Nigerians for various purposes makes it seemingly an indispensable tool for the smooth running of daily endeavours. The technology has overwhelmed other conventional means of communication that existed and supported communication among Nigerians for ages. For example, the introduction of Global Service for Mobile Networks at the dawn of the new millennium in Nigeria relegated and almost pushed to extinction the likes of Telegram, surface mail or letter writing, land line telephony, radio message, walkie talkie etc. Unfortunately, in 2013, the mobile telephone network was shut down in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states as a counter insurgency measure, when the then government of President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency in the three States. The use of Thuraya services at a point was also banned by the military in the affected states. While the mobile network was restored in Adamawa and Yobe in July, 2013, Borno state was without mobile telephone network for over 6 months (17th May, 2013 to 3rd December, 2013). What was the nature of daily communication endeavours without the usual mobile telephony among the residence of the affected states? This study examines how residence of Maiduguri were communicating during the period.

Key words: *state of emergency, mobile phone network, Borno State, counter insurgency, communicating.*

Невозможно переоценить роль мобильной телефонии для общества Нигерии: об этом свидетельствует астрономический рост числа пользователей мобильных телефонов, выводящий Нигерию в топ-10 стран по данному показателю. По целому ряду причин мобильные телефоны становят-

ся незаменимым инструментом для повседневной коммуникации. Технологии подорвали традиционные средства связи, существовавшие в Нигерии на протяжении веков. Введение в Нигерии GSM в начале XXI века привело к практически полному исчезновению таких средств коммуникации, как телеграмм, почта, наземная телефония, радио, рации и т.д. К сожалению, в 2013 г. по указу правительства президента Гудлака мобильная сеть была отключена в штатах Борно, Йобе и Адамава, чтобы обеспечить меры контрпартизанской борьбы во время чрезвычайного положения. Использование услуг компании Thuraya также блокировалось военными. Мобильная коммуникация была восстановлена в штатах Адамава и Йобе в июле 2013 г., однако в Борно ситуация сохранялась на протяжении 6 месяцев (с 17 мая 2013 г. по 3 декабря 2013 г.). Какова была природа ежедневного общения без привычной мобильной связи? В настоящем исследовании приводится анализ того, как осуществлялась коммуникация жителей Майдугури в указанный период.

Ключевые слова: *чрезвычайное положение, мобильная сеть, штат Борно, контрпартизанская борьба, коммуникация.*

Introduction

Communication is an integral part of human existence. Society thrives on communication to facilitate the actualization of its developmental goals. The inevitability of communication has resulted in a series of communication-related inventions (printing press, telegraph, telephone, satellite, internet, etc), spanning centuries to facilitate and ensure that communication is effective and efficient.

The mobile phone is an invention that has been used and adopted globally. The last two decades have witnessed unprecedented penetration of this popular handheld device. Current Statics (2016) show that the total number of mobile phone users worldwide is 4,66 billion. It is estimated that by 2019 mobile phone users will rise to 5,07 billion (Statista, 2016). According to Bauer (Bauer, 2016) all regions of the world are gaining access to mobile phones, which contributes to the enormous gain in ownership. More than 60% of sub-Saharan Africans have access to mobile phones and over 80% of the population in developing countries have mobile phones. The Ericsson Mobility Report (2015) indicates that Nigeria is one of the nations that, it is predicted, will reach 100% mobile phone penetration. Mobile phone active subscribers in Nigeria stood at 148,74 million at the end of the first quarter of 2016 (NCC, 2016), indicating enormous growth.

Bauer, further noted, that convergence around the mobile phone has elevated the technology above other preceding communication methods as the technology of choice for people who seek greater interconnectedness and a technology that incorporates (rather than replaces) other media in content provision. This astronomical growth in mobile phone penetration is often attributed to affordability of the device, ease of use, capability of providing diversity of interactive activities (text messaging, voice calls, internet browsing), do not require much literate numeracy for basic use, they can be shared, prepaid, billed in price per seconds, depending on the need or the needs and abilities of the user (Bauer, 2016) .

Mobile phones are becoming essential to the management of people's private and emotional lives. People see their phone as a reflection themselves and their status, they use it to communicate how they are feeling and to enhance their everyday experiences. The attachment has grown, too, as individuals use the mobile phone to deepen relationship and manage friendship and maintain their own mental well-being (BBC, 2003). Similarly, life is now fast and hectic, and the mobile phone has become indispensable to keep up with the fast pace of life and new demands of daily live (Hazan, n.d). How would life look without the mobile phone? What might the nature of communication were mobile phone services suddenly and unexpectedly cut off?

In 2013, the mobile telephone network in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states was severed as a counter insurgency measure when the then government of President Goodluck Johnathan declared a state of emergency in the three states. The use of Thuraya services at a point was also banned by the military in the affected states. While the mobile network was restored in Adamawa and Yobe in July, 2013, Borno state was without a mobile telephone network for over six months (17th May, 2013 to 3rd December, 2013).

This study examines how residents of Maiduguri, communicated in the absence of mobile phone service during this period of over six months. What was the nature of daily communication absent mobile telephony among the residence of Maiduguri? The study has the following objectives:

- to ascertain forms of external or long distance communication during the shutdown;
- to ascertain the means of internal or short distance communication (within Maiduguri) during the shutdown;
- to study the communication challenges faced as a result of the shutdown of mobile phone network;
- to establish how communication evolved during the shutdown of mobile phone network.

Mobile phone in Nigeria

The introduction of the Global System for Mobile Telecommunication, popularly known as GSM in Nigeria in August, 2000, was a defining moment in the history of the country. Prior to the introduction of this important communication technology, Nigeria's telecommunication industry had been monopolised by government-owned Nigeria Telecommunication Limited (NITEL) and characterized by obsolete telecommunication infrastructure, non-availability of telephone lines/epileptic service delivery and inefficiency. For instance, the total available telephone lines in the country before GSM was below 500,000. This was grossly inadequate for the country's huge population (Udutchay, 2008; Wilson and Gapsiso, 2014: 59–70).

More than a decade and half after the introduction of mobile phone services in Nigeria, telecommunication infrastructure across the country had developed speedily, spurred by several competing operators, such as MTN, Airtel, Etisalat, Globacom, Multilinks Telkom, Visafone etc. This growth in, and competition for, the delivery of telecommunication services has been driven by an overwhelming demand for mobile phone services by Nigerians. The regulatory agency –The National Communication Commission – has continued to introduce necessary measures to enhance the quality of service delivery and steady growth of the industry. Some of these measures include the introduction of unified licensing, which made it possible for fixed wireless operators to offer GSM service. Equally significant is the granting of 3G licenses to some operators. The 3G as is popularly called is the most advanced technology on GSM, which enable the operators to offer both data and voice services, ensure the increase of range/quality of services available to subscribers, effect lowering of cost of acquiring and using of services, and so forth (Udutchay, 2008; NCC, 2016).

It is estimated that Nigeria has over 187 million inhabitants (Worldometers, 2016). In the earlier years, when only fixed telephone lines were available in Nigeria, the service was restricted to urban areas. Rural telephony was not available. However, with the introduction of mobile phones, rural areas became included in service areas (Wilson and Gapsiso, 2014). Currently, mobile networks in Nigeria have the fastest growth on the continent. The penetration of telephones in Nigeria increased form 0.5% in 1999 to 8% in 2004. There were 16 million telephone subscribers in Nigeria and 18,587,000 mobile phone lines in 2005. In the same year, there were 1,223,000 fixed lines in the country. Mobile phone penetration is rated at 103% (National Bureau of statistics, 2006; Ndukwe, 2005). Odukoya and Nkadi (2008) found that in 2006, there were 31,1 million mobile phone subscribers in Nigeria and at least 15 million subscribers were connected in 2007. In 2011, it is estimated that Nigeria had about 86.2 million mobile phone subscribers (Kombol, 2009). In 2012, Nigeria had the most mobile phone subscribers in Africa with more than 93 million subscribers (BBC News, 2012). Currently, Nigeria is one of the nations expected to reach 100% mobile phone penetration. Nigeria mobile phone active subscribers stood at 148,74 million at the end of the first quarter of 2016 (NCC, 2016; Ericsson Mobility Report, 2015).

Mobile phone communication

Mobile phone has become a common feature of the modern social landscapes. It is an essential companion in the daily lives of the people. Over the past years, the importance of mobile phone communication has attracted a number of studies (Wilson and

Gapsiso, 2014; Plant, 2009; Kreutzer, 2008; Okaba and Ito, 2003; Elangovan and Aruchelvan, 2013: 229–233, Lisa, 2015) notes that a mobile phone has become a necessity globally, providing the ability to keep in touch with family and business associates, affording access to email, storing data, taking pictures, and even serving as walkie talkies. Moreover, it has become a status symbol (brand name, range, phone plan) in addition to proving convenient and offering a sense of security to owners. Similarly, Plant (Plant, 2009) notes that there a range of interesting applications of mobile phone in various fields, and that in an age of intelligent machines linked in perpetual communication, new networks of knowledge, information and empowerment across the globe are being perpetually created. Heeks (Heeks, 1999) notes that mobile phones have become an essential infrastructure, connecting people together throughout the world, analysing data, transferring information and managing knowledge in order to expand human capacities.

In more developed countries such as Germany, Britain, France, USA and South Korea, the mobile phone plays a decisive role in both private and professional lives. Mobile phones rank alongside face-to-face communication and e-mail as the most important means of communication. Interestingly in South Korea, where the mobile phone is already by far the most important means of communication, some believe that communicating via mobile phone is actually more important than face-to-face communication (Life Studies, 2009).

Mobile phones, according to Kingston (2016) are the perfect way for people to stay connected with others and provide the user with a sense of security. In emergency circumstances, mobile phones help to reach victims quickly and save lives. Internet access, GPS technology, and camera and video function all contribute to altering the course of events and recording/reporting them.

Wajcman et al. (Wajcman et al 2007) in a similar study looks at the impact of the mobile phone on work/life balance in Australia, indicating that the vast majority of phones are used for conversation (97%) and SMS texts (87%). Half of the respondents report using the voicemail facility to recover messages. Other uses point towards the convergence of media and telephony functions: around a third use the mobile to capture or send visual images; a further quarter to play games; a similar proportion use their phone to enter competitions or to vote on SMS polls; about the same number for accessing the internet; and just under a quarter use their phone as an MP3 player or a radio. Calls on the mobile phone are predominantly for social or leisure purposes or for managing home and family. Others are for interpersonal contacts, calls related to work or study.

In the economic domain, according to Jensen (Jensen, 2007), access to mobile phones helps small entrepreneurs overcome information asymmetries in the market place that have traditionally led to their exploitation through middle men. The Kerala fishermen in India who find out about the best prices for their catch before landing in a particular port serves as an excellent example. Similarly, Tenhunen (Tenhunen, 2008) notes that mobile phones increase the efficiency of the market, facilitate alternative, political patterns, and invigorate traditional networks of kinship and village sociality.

The proliferation of mobile phone networks in just a few years has transformed communications in sub-Saharan Africa. It has allowed Africans to leapfrog from the landline stage to the digital age. For example, in 2002, roughly one-in-ten owned a mobile phone in Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya and Ghana. Since then, mobile phone ownership has grown exponentially. Mobile phones are now as common in Egypt, South Africa and Nigeria as they are in the United States (commonly used for calls, texts, photos, video, social networking). In some African nations, such as Kenya, Uganda and

Tanzania, mobile banking is also relatively common. Other activities – accessing political news and social networks, getting health and consumer information and looking for a job – are somewhat less frequent (Pew Research Centre, 2015).

During the early years of mobile phone usage in Africa, the short messaging service (SMS) was at the heart of the revolution. Currently, the frontier for mobile use in Africa is the internet. The mobile phone has now become a personal computer for many Africans; internet access via mobile phone has surpassed the number of desktop internet users in Nigeria, as in much of Africa (Imhoitsike, as cited in Ogunlesi, Busari, 2012; Ogunlesi, Busari, 2012). According to Ogunlesi and Busari (Ogunlesi, Busari, 2012), what was not too long ago regarded as an object of luxury and privilege all over Africa has become a basic necessity, an essential part of everyday life. Estimates suggest a billion mobile phones in use on the continent in 2016.

In sub-Saharan Africa governments endorse mobile phone usage as a means to grow or promote the idea of a cashless society. Ogunlesi and Busari discuss the use of mobile phones for banking purposes, importantly including mobile money transfer services. The successful M-PESA mobile money initiative by Safaricom in Kenya inspired similar initiatives across the continent, from South Africa to Nigeria, from Tunisia and Sudan to Gabon. It is now a widespread practice among Africans to use mobile means to pay bills, buy airtime, purchase goods, make payments, and transfer money to relatives via mobile banking platforms (Ogunlesi, Busari, 2012).

Mobile phones also impact the fields of education, agriculture and health care. Mobile learning initiatives are on the rise. Nokia spearheaded the MoMath initiative in South Africa (a mathematics teaching tool that targets users of the instant messaging platform).

In Nigeria, Edu-Mobile by Cscharis Technologies created a mobile learning programme that imitates a typical school environment for teachers and students. Others available in Nigeria include Efiko, My School, and PassNowNow. Ogunlesi and Busari regard mobile phones as a an a affordable, popular means for transforming Africa´s struggling educational system. In agriculture, mobile phone–based initiatives have been designed to help farmers improve productivity. In Nigeria 10 million mobile phone are used by farmers. Such initiatives as the e-wallet supported by the Federal Government and the MTN livestock Trackingsolution (LTS) by MTN Nigeria, were designed to convey information, provide access to farm implements, share weather information, convey market prices for crops and create micro-insurance schemes. All of this helps farmers to make better decisions, translating into higher-earning potentials. In the realm of health care, both urban and rural communities benefit. “mHealth” is changing the landscape of disease prevention and control. For example, in Nigeria m4change programmes equip health extension workers with ComCare, a mobile phone decision support application designed to improve the quality of antenatal care services. Mobile phones are playing an increasingly vital role in mediating the provision of improved healthcare to Africans (Pathfinder, n.d; AHO, 2015; Ogunlesi, Busari, 2012).

The mobile phone has given voice to the common African through the ability to reach political leaders and representatives through texts, messages, and social media posts. Groups can be mobilized quickly, be it for a wedding or naming ceremony, or to mobilize citizens to enforce change. The mobile phone proved to be very important during conflicts in Northeast Nigeria, which has been bedevilled by insurgency since 2009. Mobiles have been useful in refugee and internally displaced people’s camps, allowing displaced persons to locate family members and access services.

The place of mobile phone in Nigeria cannot be overemphasised. Like other African countries, the pervasiveness of the device has rendered it indispensable, even for rural dwellers in the North East region. Jacob and Akpan (Jacob, Akpan, 2015) note that although the standard of living in Northeast Nigeria is below the national average (and listed by the nation's National Bureau of the Statistics in 2015 among the poorest), mobile telephony has a comparably high penetration. Radio remains the most popular medium, but the mobile phone has achieved quite high penetration in a relatively short time. Within this short period, it has become entwined with everyday social life by way of calls, text messaging, social networking, mobile banking, mobile shopping, etc. Common relational activities – pleasantries and inquiries about the welfare of friends, neighbours and family – have largely transferred to mobile phone conversations. As a function of a strong oral culture, this extends to families, which maintain unusually strong ties even across extended families. Interestingly, among low-income groups calls to family members make up a substantial part of daily mobile phone talk time.

The insurgency in Northeast Nigeria has strongly affected the use of mobile phone. Because of frequent and unexpected attacks on roads at the peak of the Boko Haram attacks, especially on the Yobe Maiduguri axis, businessmen and women contacted suppliers to supply goods rather than travelling to pick-up points. Phones were widely used at the peak of insurgent activity in 2012, 2013 and 2014 to minimise the risk of being caught in an attack, ambushing or bomb blast.

Maiduguri, like any capital city of the Northeastern states, is estimated to be home to about two million people. An urban centre, every adult who can afford to do so owns a phone or pays to use one. As a capital city of a state bordering Cameroon, Niger Republic and Chad, cross-border business requires substantial mobile telephony. Maiduguri, too, hosts international and federal Nigerian governmental agencies – the World Health Organization, UNICEF, Lake Chad Research Institute etc. The University of Maiduguri attracts staff and students from all over Nigeria and Cameroon, Niger and Chad. All these bodies are major boost to mobile telephony. Maiduguri provides service through all of the major mobile companies in Nigeria (MTN, Globalcom, Etisalat and Airtel).

At a point when the mobile phone had become a necessity, service was shot down for over six months in Maiduguri.

Theoretical framework

The paper is built around the technological determinism theory. Marshall McLuhan in 1962 stipulates that media technology or channels of communication shape how individuals in the society think feel, act and how society operates as it moves from one technological age to another. McLuhan promotes the position that channels of communication or technologies bring change in family life, the workplace, schools, friendship, religion, recreation and sees every new form of media. The theory presents media technology as a key mover of social change (Wood, 1997; Griffin, 1997). These technologies extend society's reach, increase efficiency and filter or organize and interpret social existence.

Method

This study uses a methodological approach that shows how people in Maiduguri managed the long period of mobile phone shutdown. 100 questionnaires were administered to residents of Maiduguri who owned and used mobile phones at the time of the network shutdown, from 17 May to 3 December 2013. The study also observed and took note of communication-related situations during the period.

Findings

This section discusses key findings of the study. First, it explores the general means of communication during the shutdown of mobile phone network. Second, we discuss the means of both local and long distance communication (beyond Maiduguri or Borno state) during the period. Finally, we analyze the communication challenges encountered during the period and discuss our findings concerning communication preferences during the period.

Means of communication during the shutdown of mobile phone networks

The study found that generally, Maiduguri residents during the shutdown of the mobile phone network relied on the means of communication as shown in *Table 1.*

Table 1

Means of communication

Means of Communication	Frequency of Occurrence	%
Face-to-face	21	12
Letter Writing/short notes	14	8
Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp and Emails)	90	52
Internet Calls	8	4.6
Sending people on errands	38	21.8
Internet Bulk SMS Service	2	1.1
Radio Message	1	0.5
TOTAL	174	100

Table 1 indicates that social media occurred most often among alternative means of communication, with 52% – partly because it was platform that people relied on for communication during the height of the insurgency because it posts even conventional news Interestingly, this is followed by sending people on errands at 21,8%. Face-to-face communication came in at 12%. What ordinarily would have been a voice call conversation via mobile phone was now done by visiting such person. Writing short notes increased to 8%, internet calls to 4,6%, internet bulk SMS to 1,1%. Other means of communication during the period included radio message at 0,5%, indicating that the technology is almost inaccessible to residents, since it has been overshadowed by modern technology (it is still used by some organization, such as the security agencies). Security personanel were observed with "walkie talkies" – an accessory of radio message technology.

Means of long distance communication (outside Maiduguri) during the absence of mobile phone network

The study findings in respect of communication that went beyond Maiduguri and Borno State that residents relied on the following means of communication shown in *Table 2.*

Table 2

Means of long distance communication

Means of Communication	Number of Respondents	%
Face-to-face (Visits)	1	1
Letter Writing	6	7
Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp and Emails)	50	55
Internet Calls	6	7
Sending Errand	24	27
Internet Bulk SMS Service	2	2
Others (Radio Message)	1	1
TOTAL	90	100

Residents during the period had to adopt ways to meet their long distance communication needs. Residents needed to communicate with people outside Maiduguri or Borno state. The study found out that most of the respondents (55%) relied on social media, such as Facebook chat and messages, WhatsApp and emails to meet their long distance communication. It was observed that the Cyber cafes were the access points as several visits to the centres indicates that people were using their mobile phones instead of the usual PCs for chatting on Facebook or WhatsApp. Sending travellers on errand, with 27% was next to social media. Letter writing and internet calls recorded 7% each. Face to face and Radio Message recorded the least respondents, as face to face required that the respondents travel out of Maiduguri or Borno State to communicate. Not many people relied on that because of the inconveniences and risk involved. The radio message as indicated earlier is not an old technology that is not easily accessible.

Means of short distance communication (within Maiduguri) during the absence of mobile phone network

To communicate within the neighbourhoods and Maiduguri township, residents relied on other means of communication shown in *Table 3.*

Table 3

Means of short distance communication

Means of Communication	Number of Respondent	%
Face-to-face (Visits)	20	22.2
Letter Writing/Short notes	8	9
Social Media (Facebook, WhatsApp and Emails)	40	44.4
Internet Calls	2	2.2
Sending people on errands	20	22.2
Others	0	0
TOTAL	90	100

Most of the respondents relied on Social media, with 44,4% for communication within Maiduguri. This is quite unusual, considering that other alternatives such as face-to-face and sending people on errand, which have 20% each, could have topped the respondent's means of communication within the city. However, it was observed that people deliberately reduced movement across the city for fear of falling into the insurgent's spontaneous attack or bomb blast. Thus, people leave messages via the social media and sometimes chat with those they met online at a particular time. People who write letters and short notes are 9%. Internet calls recorded the least percentage of two, an indication that there were simpler alternatives, than going through the rigours of waiting to connect because of slow internet network.

The communication challenges faced as a result of the absence of mobile phone network

The study found that there were communication challenges during the period, as shown in *Table 4*.

Table 4

Communication challenges

Challenges	Frequency of Occurrence	%
Uncertainty in delivery of letter or notes and slow or no feedback	14	6
Large number of users in internet cafe´s and long waiting period to get connected	94	38
Cost of access to café services	82	32
The risk and stress of travelling to make calls in neigbouring states	10	4
Inconveniences and financial implication of sending errands	30	12
Wasted time in visits for face-to-face communication	20	8
TOTAL	250	100

The table shows that most respondents faced the challenge of large number of users in the cafe (38%), which is an indication that there was high turnout respondents who access internet in order to use the various online communication platforms. All that interested people was access to this platform despite the cost of access and challenges of using internet facilities (32%). The least of the challenges was the risk and stress of travelling to make calls, which has 4%. It was observed during the network shutdown, that some went as far as Azare town in Bauchi state to make phone calls. Upon the restoration of mobile phone network in Yobe state, residents of Maiduguri travelled, daily to Damaturu, Yobe state capital city to make phone calls. However, this drastically reduced with insurgent's attacks on the Maiduguri-Damatru highway became frequent and residents who were returning from making calls were often affected. A case in point was the Benisheik attack that saw the slaughtering of a large number of victions, many of whom went to make calls in Damaturu and were caught up in the attack. The incidences of attacks on the highways increased in relation to increased reliance on the internet platforms as a major means of communication. Those who were not conversant with the internet platform requested family members or friends to help them deliver their messages via the social media platforms.

Nature of the means communication during the shutdown of mobile phone network

The study sought to ascertain the nature of the means of communication, whether there were new means of communication, or whether people fell back on the old conventional means personal encounters, and whether the new media mattered during the period.

Table 5

Nature of the means of communication

Means of Communication	Number of Respondents	%
New means of communication	0	0
Falling back on old means of communication such as sending people on errands and face-to-face, letter writing/short notes	72	44
Relying on social media that were initially not seriously used (WhatsApp, Internet calls)	92	56
TOTAL	164	100

Table 5 shows that the nature or the means of communication tilted more towards the new media, which has 56%, an indication that the new media is an important means of communication even in times of emergency or absence of the network of a technology that becomes a necessity in everyday life of Maiduguri residents. Falling back on the old forms of communication such as sending people on errands, face to face and letter writing/short notes, which has 44% shows that even though these means of communication have been overtaken by new media, they are still important when we consider the numerous challenges that affects the effective use of the new media.

The study found that people relied on their mobile phones, in spite the absence of mobile networks to communicate via the social media platforms. It was observed that the internet cafes were busy and always-filled internets users from morning till the close of the day by 6:30 PM. The University of Maiduguri Cafe was open 24 hour for users. It was observed that WhatsApp platform became popular among residents. It was observed that because of how important the mobile phone had become in the lives of residents, there were people who travelled to neigbouring states of Bauchi and Yobe to make phone calls. It was observed during an incident at the Maiduguri International Airport within the period of the mobile network shutdown. There was no communication on the status of delayed flight. The Station Manager has to rely on radio message facilities at a radio room to communicate with the head office.

Discussion of findings

The new media is an important means of communication. This study shows that the social media topped the respondents list of means of long and short distance communication, which also a pointer that technology has a great influence in the affairs of the residents of Maiduguri, especially in their communication activities. Interestingly, in the absence of mobile networks, the mobile phone was still useful in communicating via the social media platforms such as "Facebook", "WhatsApp" and email. This finding concurs with Lisa (Lisa, 2015) to have advanced that mobile phone has become a necessity globally, providing the ability to keep in touch with family, business associates, and access to email. It is also in line with Marshal McLuhan's position that media technology organize and interpret our social existence. Cost has always been a challenge to full utilization of new media technology; however, his study shows that in spite the cost of access and use of the internet facilities, people were still interested in using the internet facilities. The major challenge was the long waiting period to us the use the internet facilities.

The study has also shown that there are means of communication that might not be too efficient in certain situations. For example, writing letters and short notes appeared to be on the low side because of the uncertainty of delivery and the delay or lack of response. The emergence of online platforms such as email and SMS has influenced or changed society´s disposition to the surface mail and short notes. Technology has caused a shift from conventional letter writing to e-communications.

The study also showed the importance of face-to-face communication in especially short distance communication. Although less convenient, paying visits to communicate face-to-face is a useful means of short distance communication.

The mobile shutdown showed through this study that new media plays an important role in the communication activities of Maiduguri residence.

Conclusion

The speedy penetration of mobile telephony in Nigeria has resulted in an increased dependence on the device. The instant shutdown of the mobile network was equivalent to cutting off a major means of fulfilling a daily necessity of reaching out to other people. The shutdown has shown that technology determines social change and that the old means of communication, irrespective of conditions, has been overtaken by new media and users will go to any length to ensure access to modern technology even when previously common options are available. In the absence of one new technology, another new technology is widely preferred over a throwback to less technical means of communication.

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WOMEN IN THE TANZANIAN MEDIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

ЖЕНЩИНЫ В ТАНЗАНИЙСКИХ МЕДИА: КРИТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ

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Research reports that indicate that women are marginalized in the Southern African and Tanzanian media call for urgent redress. In the specific instance of Tanzania, male sources dominate at 79%, while radio has the lowest proportion of female sources at 13% – women are more likely to be seen than to be heard. Female voices are heard in the "soft" areas such as gender equality and gender-based violence and less so in the fields of mining, labor and housing, each of which registers at a paltry 10%. Their voices start to disappear when they attain the age of 50. Women's commentary dominates in the categories of beauty contests, and in reports on sex workers and homemaking, and women are more likely to be identified by a personal tag. In the newsroom, women constitute only 25% of print reporters, they are more likely to feature in "soft" news beats, and women occupy just over a quarter of the top management positions and constitute 14% of sources quoted

by male reporters. This study, citing best practices, charts the way forward more even gender representation in the Tanzanian media.
Key words: *Tanzania, gender, media, SADC Protocol, Africa.*

Данное исследование демонстрирует, что медиа Северной Африки и Танзании маргинализируют женщин. В Танзании мужчины выступают в роли источника информации в 79% случаев, в то время как на радио женщины появляются еще реже – всего в 13% случаев. Женщин гораздо чаще можно увидеть, а не услышать. Голоса женщин звучат, когда речь идет о более «мягких» темах, таких как равенство полов или гендерное насилие, и заметны гораздо реже в дискуссиях о горнодобыче, трудоустройстве или жилищных вопросах (всего 10% в каждой из тем). Мнения женщин, достигающих пятидесятилетнего возраста, исчезают из публичной сферы. Женские комментарии преобладают под материалами о конкурсах красоты, сексуальной индустрии и ведении домашнего хозяйства; кроме того, женщины чаще склонны идентифицировать себя при помощи персонального тега. В редакциях печатных СМИ женщины составляют только 25% от числа сотрудников, чаще задействованы в создании «мягких» новостей, насчитывают всего четверть от штата топ-менеджеров. Женщины составляют только 14% от цитируемых мужчинами-журналистами источников. Автора данной работы, ссылаясь на лучшие практики, предлагает пути для нормализации гендерного баланса в танзанийских СМИ.
Ключевые слова: *Танзания, гендер, медиа, протокол САДКК, Африка.*

Introduction

Interest in positioning women beyond hearth and home goes way back, however progress or change in their circumstances in the media remains a sticking point (Byerly, 2014: 38–43; de Bruin, 2014; Gallagher, 2014: 12–29; Ross, 2014: 44–48). In spite of the fact that more women graduate from professional and vocational media programmes, they get stuck in middle management and rarely get into top positions in media houses (Ross, 2014: 44–48). For instance, a 59-nation study of women in 522 newsrooms, found that women hold 33% of the jobs in reporting and 25% top management and governance positions, with little access to technical positions (Byerly, 2014: 38–43).

Naturally, media contents emanating from this skewed setup are a potential disservice to women as male values and judgment predominate (de Bruin, 2014). This shows up clearly in the Southern African media. The regional average in terms of the proportion of female sources quoted in the media stands at 19%, with Zimbabwe and Zambia at the bottom of the list (14%), and Lesotho topping the list at 33 per cent (Gender Links, n.d.a).

In comparative terms, Morna (Morna, 2006) reports that SADC's proportion of female sources has improved from 17% to 19%, but that this is still lower than the global average which stands at 21%. She notes that this makes Africa second from the bottom of international ratings, alongside Asia and better only than the Middle East (15%). Rankings by regions, according to Morna (Morna, 2006), are as follows: North America and the Pacific (26%), The Caribbean (25%), Latin America (23%) and Europe (21%).

There is a slight variance between the global and regional figures as regards women's voices. Morna notes that there is no category in which female voices dominate in the global study, which featured the following categories – politics and government, economy and business, social and legal, celebrity, arts and sports, crime and violence, science and health as well as "others". She notes that in the regional study, women dominate only in the crime/violence category, which also includes gender-based violence (GBV) as well as the social and legal categories. But "women's voices are least heard in politics and government (12% in the global and 14% in the regional study) as well as economy and business (20% in the global study and 19% in the regional study)" (Morna, 2006: 16).

When the finding is disaggregated according to medium, the voices of women are virtually absent from radio (Morna, 2006). This finding becomes starker when one notes that radio is the most accessible and the most consumed medium on the African continent (Boafo, 1985; AMDI, 2006). In newspapers and TV however, female voices hover above the 20% mark (Morna, 2006).

The Southern African Development Committee (GMAS) Protocol on Gender and Development (2008), of which Tanzania is a signatory, has specific provisions as regards the role of the news media in carrying forward the objectives of the document. State parties are encouraged to put in place measures to ensure equal representation of women in decision-making positions and ownership of the media as well as to give equal voices to men and women in all areas of coverage.

This paper focuses the searchlight on the Tanzanian media by examining coverage of women and their status in the newsroom.

Tanzanian media and the gender agenda

The media in Tanzania has gone through a number of phases. Rioba (Rioba, 1998) identifies these as, first, German and British sway over the media that provided support for the colonial enterprise; second, the missionary press that sought to advance the Gospel; and then, in progression, the nationalist press-used to agitate for independence and self-rule; the post-colonial phase that sought to advance socialist principles; and finally the era of deregulation that saw a number of private players coming into and enriching the media space.

This resulted in a preponderance of offerings today: forty-seven radio stations, 537 registered newspapers and about a dozen TV stations (AudienceScapes, 2011). However, access is another matter. The report from AudienceScapes (AudienceScapes, 2011) paints a mixed picture: Radio has the highest audience numbers at 83%. As regards TV, 27% have household access while 41% watch weekly. Newspapers sit at the bottom of the log due mainly to poor circulation. And rural dwellers as well as women are shut out from media access and use.

This is a clear reflection of the situation on the ground, particularly in relation to women in Tanzania as they face a number of challenges. A majority are consigned to rural areas. They are regarded and treated as minors in that they do not have a say in community matters, nor can they inherit their husband's estate upon his passing; women are valued for their childbearing abilities and discriminated against if they are unable to produce children; are faced with unequal educational opportunities and employment prospects, amongst others (Mbilinyi, 1972: 371–377). Efforts at addressing these issues have galvanized a number of non-state players into action. The Tanzanian Media Women Association, for instance, has the stated mission of creating awareness with a view to addressing these challenges through the media (TAMWA, 2015), especially given that the media is an important avenue in the fight for women's rights to communicate which is, in turn, bound up in their right to participate in society (Byerly, 2014: 38–43).

A germane question would be how the Tanzanian media is faring given the dire Southern African picture? The Gender Links (Gender Links, n.d.a) Gender and Media Audience Study (GMAS) – Tanzania, found out that the news does not equally reflect the views of women and men. In fact, male sources are featured far more often than female sources (16%). Gender Links' (Gender Links, n.d.b) proportion of female sources in the SADC media study places the proportion of female sources in Tanzania at 20%, one percent more than the regional average. In the GMAS study, female respondents were of the view that male issues, such as politics and economics, dominate the news. Other respondents pointed out that women are regarded as second class citizens from the news perspective and are thus relegated to cooking and entertainment programmes. Where they feature most is in "sensational tabloids with abusive, dirty headlines and pictures" (SADC protocol on gender and development, 1998: 183).

In the index of employment, there are fewer female professional journalists (36%) compared to their male counterparts (64%) (Gender Links, 2009). Tanzania Standard Newspaper (TSN) Limited, which retains the largest staff of journalists, had only one in three females (34%) to two in three male journalists (Gender Links, 2009). The most glaring gender gaps were at Global Publishers Ltd., with 79% male journalists, and Majira, with 78%. The reasons for this skewed employment outlook, according to the Tanzanian Glass Ceiling research, were the difficult and discouraging employment conditions of the local media, a lack of trained female journalists and role models, the difficulties of juggling professional and personal responsibilities, and finally, a sense that media houses are not doing enough to recruit female journalists (Gender Links, 2009).

In terms of media management, women occupy 30% of senior management positions and make up a little over one-fifth of top management positions (22%) (Gender Links, 2009). The Tanzanian Glass Ceiling report also notes that men (64%) are more likely to be employed in open-ended full time contracts than their female counterparts (36%). Continuing, the study also points out the high percentage of women employed on a freelance basis (59%) and male dominance in all departments - printing and distribution (100%); technical/IT (70%); advertising/marketing (68%); and production (67%). Women are rather consigned to supportive roles (including secretarial functions) in human resources, in addition to support positions in finance and administration.

Other damning employment practices in the Tanzanian media are also chronicled by the Glass Ceiling report. There are few women in the editorial departments (36%); female reporters are assigned to soft beats such as gender equality, health and human rights while their male counterparts get to cover politics, finance, business, investigative and in-depth issues; there are no specific targets for achieving gender parity; only 7% have strategies to fast track women and less than a third (29%) take gender into consideration during promotion exercises; only a few media houses (14%) had a database of female candidates and only one in five (21%) sought out female candidates specifically; only 71% offered maternity leave and a paltry 7% gave paternity leave; only 7% had a crèche in place while 57% offered flexitime and 21% each had gender and sexual harassment policies.

Discussion

The situation of women in the Tanzanian media is best approached from a critical perspective, which seeks to understand the dominant structure, systems and ideologies that regulate society, with an emphasis on the question of whose interests are being served. Such an approach serves to reveal oppressive social conditions and power arrangements to ensure redress (Littlejohn, Foss, 2011). A critical approach usually takes the side of the oppressed and marginalized (Littlejohn, Foss, 2011). Notwithstanding the many other approaches to analysis (Treadwell, 2014), this paper takes a critical view while also being solution-oriented.

From the worrying statistics above, the Tanzanian media needs to work very hard to mainstream gender and ensure gender equality in line with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. It is clear from the various studies that the Tanzanian media, contrary to the provisions of the protocol, marginalizes and oppresses women, portrays women as helpless victims and undermines their role and position in society thus reinforcing gender oppression and stereotypes. Tanzania Media Women Association, even while commending the increase in reporting of gender-based violence that has drawn attention to the oppression and abuse of the women, faults the slant of the stories. "Stories that are written still lack methods of protecting survivors... causing the survivors to suffer double victimization... Stories are written with little ethical considerations such as protecting the identity of the survivors and shaming the act instead [it] creates elements of promoting the perpetrator and blaming the survivor" (TAMWA, 2013: 1).

The gender insensitivity that TAMWA has identified as a problem is in full display in the Tanzanian media. A few examples should suffice. In a story headlined "Walimu Mbeya vijijini 'walamba' mkopo wa milioni", teachers in Mbeya were urged by their area representative to utilize the loans made available by CRDB Bank Plc wisely instead of frittering away the money: "These loans should not be drank (sic) when you get to your homes or used to impress... everyone you meet... you should not imagine you can **now have every**

woman you want (emphasis added) (Gender Links, n.d.c, par. 6). An example of a blatant stereotype is conveyed in the story headlined "Warembo hawa ni Sexy 100% – The sexy 100% beauties". Ogling over and objectification of former beauty queens is indecent to say the least:

A survey done by Amani over a long period has shown that these beauties are the cause of sleepless nights for many Tanzanian men, while others [sic] swear they would give any amount of money to have them. The survey, which drew opinions from different men countrywide, established that Jacqueline a.k.a 'K-Lyin, Nancy, Wema and Lissa are the most beautiful women in Tanzania who draw double stares from the men who have seen them. "They are very appealing and sexy. Here in Tanzania, I think there is no woman [sic] more beautiful than Wema, K-Lyin, Nancy and Lissa. I would personally like to be in a relationship with Lissa but I hear she is already taken", said one man. (Gender Links, n.d.).

The fact that these attitudes thrive in a professional environment where women are underrepresented and not encouraged raises questions about whether and how this skewed coverage is likely to change. It has been proven that putting more female journalists in the newsroom will not change the course of coverage (Morna, Rama, Muriungi, 2005) for a variety of reasons, including ownership and the profit motive (Akpabio, 2007: 130–140), but it does allow more female sources to feature than if male reporters were the only ones in charge (Morna, 2006).

It must be borne in mind that the SADC Protocol actually charges state parties to ensure the implementation of the provisions, including those directly related to gender and the media. The media usually have an ambivalent attitude toward attempts by governments to regulate the industry (Frost, 2000) so the easy way out is for the media to organize their own affairs.

Fairly routine, yet critical steps toward this goal need to be taken. Media need to employ more female journalists, and to make newsrooms more favourable for this category of staff through putting in place gender and sexual harassment policies, establishing crèches in the workplace, and fast-tracking the promotion of women into top positions so that gender is mainstreamed and stories and assignments are looked at through a gendered lens, offering varied perspectives.

Morna (Morna, 2006) recommends that concerted efforts must be made to feature female voices by deliberately seeking out news stories that feature gender equality and/or women in non-traditional roles, or highlight women's roles in areas where they are usually invisible, such as production line workers in a factory that is closing or, in another vein, women's role as official spoke persons and experts. She cites the example of the Media Watch Organization in Mauritius, which developed a directory of female sources and their work with media managers in developing policies that deliberately seek out the views of womenfolk.

Worth noting in the context of Morna's recommendation is the efforts of the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) at mainstreaming gender into editorial content, which has borne a number of fruits. The former Executive Director of the Association, Ananilea Nkya, underscored this when she noted that:

Today the media is giving women a voice in various ways, [sic] we see it condemning GBV acts such as female genital mutilation, women battery, school pregnancy, child marriage, rape etc. unlike in the past where such ill acts [as] GBV was seen as part of "culture"... The media is playing their role as change agents very effectively (IPP Media, 2012).

The Secretary General of the Tanzanian Editors Forum (TEF) acknowledged the efforts of the association in training reporters, providing media houses with news stories and enabling coverage of rural areas emphasizing that "very few media organizations engage media strategically the way TAMWA does" (IPP Media, 2012).

Moreover, there are other efforts at addressing the issues. Gender Links (GL), Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) are working with the Tanzanian media to develop a female sources' directory as well as policies that would go a long way in assisting the local media in achieving the lofty goals of the SADC Protocol as it relates to gender and the media.

Gender Links, in particular, has established Media Centres of Excellence (Media COEs) in gender mainstreaming that go beyond "the six stage gender policy process (buy in, situation analysis, inception workshop to develop a policy and action plan drafting, adoption, monitoring and evaluation) to include on-the-job training; self-monitoring and sharing of good practices at the Gender and Media Summit" (Gender Links, n.d.c). However, only 11 media houses in Tanzania are on board: Business Times, Uhuru Publications, Media Express, Mwananchi Communications Limited, Africa Media Group, TBC, Free FM, Upendo Radio, Clouds Entertainment, Radio Tumaini and Lady Band.

In specific terms, GL has set itself the explicit task of working with about 100 media houses from 2011-14 to provide "a full gender mainstreaming package that draws from all research and training conducted to date and provides options for self-monitoring" (Gender Links, n.d.c: 1). The emphasis "will be on the job support and impact assessment leading up to the 5th and 6th Gender and Media (GEM) summits in 2012 and 2014" (Gender Links, n.d.c: 2). The Gender Links and GEMSA Tanzania Facilitator (G. Munuo, personal communication, August 8, 2012) indicated that the process commences with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between a media house and GL; familiarizing media managers and workers with the GL Opinion and Commentary Service, a resource that they can use and contribute to and which features best practice stories; on-the-job-training in key thematic areas identified by the SADC Protocol; and monitoring and evaluation.

Administration of media house scorecards, knowledge and attitudes surveys, situational analysis forms and other monitoring and evaluation tools that can be used to measure change in the immediate, medium and long term. A newly devised self-monitoring tool will be used by media houses to evaluate performance against set targets. This will ensure participation and ownership of the project (Gender Links, n.d.c: 5).

Consequently, the expected outcomes are as follows:

- gender built into policy and practice in media houses;
- at least 30% women sources in news content in participating media houses anticipated by 2014;
- 50% women in decision making positions in SADC newsrooms;
- media houses with a quantitative and qualitative overview of their performance – in the form of situational analyses;
- an increased knowledge and awareness on mainstreaming gender in editorial content and programming in broadcast media;
- Media houses and newsrooms are empowered around these processes and take ownership of these processes, in turn creating enabling platforms for replication of this process... (Gender Links, n.d.c: 6).

Research has shown that when there are national laws in place coupled with advocacy efforts, real progress can be recorded even though women must also make determined effort to enter into policy positions (Byerly, 2014: 38–43). This can be seen clearly in East European countries where, as Byerly reports, both men and women were educated and given entry into the workforce during the communist era. She notes that women in the Bulgarian media are thus well placed in reporting, managerial positions and governance. The SADC protocols as well as the advocacy efforts chronicled above are already a step in the right direction. There should also be a determined push into policy-making positions by women in the Tanzanian media given the present dire picture.

Conclusion and recommendations

It is clear from the evidence presented here that the Southern African media and the local Tanzanian media are remiss in their duty of upholding the provisions of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, specifically the gender and media aspects. To remedy the situation, this paper calls for urgent redress through media houses making concerted efforts to employ female reporters, fast track women into management positions, provide a conducive employment climate and mainstream gender into every aspect of their operations. The paper also calls on media houses in Tanzania to sign up for the Gender Links' initiative "Media COE" which is geared towards fulfilling the provisions of the SADC Protocol. The advocacy efforts of TAMWA and Gender Links as well as SADC Protocol on Gender and Development have greatly aided the cause of women.

This study, like any other, also has limitations. Some of the data used in this paper are not very current and some raise questions of methodological soundness such as two-week monitoring of the media from which generalized statements have been made. However, the data do give a snapshot of current media posture and practice. However, other researchers may want to conduct more detailed and methodologically sound studies to disprove or confirm some of the findings reported here and to provide more up-to-date figures on gender and media in Tanzania. This is even more compelling since some of the local media houses have signed up for the Media COE.

Overall, the paper makes the important contribution of clearly indicating that, based on available research findings, Tanzanian media houses need to re-evaluate their attitudes and outlooks in order to realign with the SADC Protocol. It also provides practical ways of going about these reforms, in accord with the critical approach, which calls for redress of inequities in society.

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ETHICAL EDUCATION AT WESTERN SCHOOLS OF JOURNALISM

ЭТИЧЕСКОЕ ОБРАЗОВАНИЕ В ЗАПАДНЫХ ШКОЛАХ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ

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Current trends in the public sphere reveal the need for a clearly formulated, objective and socially sanctioned system of ethical requirements to guide the work of mass media professionals. However, the question of ethics in media has yet to be sufficiently investigated on a rigorous theoretical level in Russian media scholarship. The lack of Russian theoretical formulations can be contrasted to the long-standing interest of Western media experts in theoretical understandings of the subjective conditions necessary for journalists to observe ethical requirements in practice.

This difference, on the other hand, seems to be leveled, by a shift in public consciousness in both Russia and abroad regarding "formal morality", which is characterized by bountiful use and abuse of ethical terminology in the modern social lexicon. The *outcry for morality expressed in the media often demonstrates only incompetence and a lack of understanding of the real problems.*

Our research demonstrates that, despite speicialized curricular offerings in journalism programs in both Russian and Western universities in the fields of professional ethics and social responsibility, students do not really acquire a framework for making ethical decisions.

This article considers pedagogical traditions in instruction on media ethics in Russia and elsewhere, presents the results of an analysis of several western approaches to courses on journalistic ethics at the university level, and compares the results of disparate teaching methodologies. The study draws on data obtained from foreign scholarly publications, on the author's interviews with American and European professors, and on classroom observation of relevant courses at Western faculties of journalism.

Key words: *social responsibility, professional ethics, practice of ethical education, methodological approaches to studying of journalistic ethics, resolving ethical dilemmas.*

Актуальные события общественной жизни со всей очевидностью обнаруживают потребность ясно сформулированной, объективной и социально поддержанной системы этических требований, предъявляемых профессионалам массмедиа. Однако эта тема остается недостаточно исследованной на теоретическом уровне в российской академической литературе. Этот пробел в существующей российской теории сопровождается давним интересом западных специалистов к теоретическому пониманию субъективных условий, необходимых для практической реализации этических требований журналистами.

С другой стороны, особого внимания заслуживает феномен изменения отношения в общественном сознании к "формальной морали", характеризуемой злоупотреблением этической терминологии в современном социальном словаре, наблюдаемый и в России, и за рубежом. Часто развернутые в СМИ дискурсы на тему морали демонстрирует некомпетентность и отсутствие понимания проблемы. Исследование показало, что в то время как образовательные программы по журналистике в разных странах предлагают специализированные курсы по профессиональной этике и социальной ответственности, студенты и российских, и западных университетов испытывают трудности с выработкой практических навыков принятия этических решений.

В статье представлены результаты анализа западного подхода к преподаванию курса по журналистской этике. Материалом исследования послужил анализ актуальных зарубежных научных публикаций, интервью автора с американскими и европейскими профессорами и личных наблюдений при посещении соответствующих курсов на западных факультетах журналистики.

Ключевые слова: *социальная ответственность, профессиональная этика, практика этического образования, методологические подходы к изучению журналистской этики, решение этических дилемм.*

Introduction

The insufficient level of ethical concern in modern journalism is symptomatic of a general crisis – not only economic, but also spiritual – developing in the world over the last decades. To become aware of, and to understand, the current state of ethics is the single most crucial means to begin overcoming this crisis. We believe this postulate can be taken as an appropriate point of departure in any discussion of moral affairs and their relation to the profession of journalism. However, given the endlessly broad scope of the theme of ethics in the media, this paper focuses on one maneageable aspect: how journalists-in-training are schooled in ethics.

Today, in a period of Russian history characterized by uncertain national ideology, the responsibility of journalists for their words be they printed in the press or aired by electronic media, increases dramatically. Quite naturally, a course on the ethical foundations of journalism is one of the most important steps toward a degree in journalism in major Russian universities. We emphasize that the formal academic requirement of a course titled "Professional ethics in journalism" appeared in the curricula of journalism departments rather recently in accord with a new era of history. This fact largely explains the noticeable shortage of undergraduate level textbooks on the subject. In fact, the only undergraduate level texts that have been published to date in Russia are Lasutina's "Professional ethics of the journalist: a textbook for departments of journalism" (appeared at the end of 1999, republished in a revised edition in 2011) and Avraamov's "Professional ethics of the journalist: education textbook" (published in 2003).

No doubt, this is important background information for becoming aware of the gap that needs to be filled. That is why teachers preparing such a course have had to rely on few scholarly and practical sources, including their own notes and methodological materials, or basic monographs devoted to the broad subject of ethics as a social-philosophical category. The undoubted advantage of monographs notwithstanding, in a rigorous education of undergraduates they fall short of mark, as they often fail to cover the most challenging questions. Academic monographs are an extremely important for source for scholarly work, but they do not make the subject easily accessible to students at the undergraduate level.

According to our observations, problems concerning ethical regulation of professional journalism comprise one of the most popular research areas in western academia. European and American universities and research institutions support special centers of media ethics, organize conferences and symposia for specialists on a regular basis. Such outlets as "Journal of media ethics: exploring questions of media morality" (formerly known as "Journal of mass media ethics", 1985-2014), "Poynter ethics journal, media ethics magazine", or "iMediaEthics" (formerly known as StinkyJournalism.org, 2004-2011) publish the latest news, investigate ethical dilemmas and lapses, and thereby provide a first-class discussion forum for academics working in the field.

Each year major publishing houses such as Oxford University Press, Routledge, and Palgrave-Macmillan issue serious monographs devoted to various aspects of media ethics. A sampling of titles from among the most significantly and critically-accalimed volumes demonstrates this point. Within the last half-decade, for example, the following books have appeared: "Ethics for public communication: defining moments in media history" (Christians, Fackler, Ferre, 2012); "Media ethics: issues and cases" (Patterson, Wilkins, 2014); "Ethics of media" (Couldry, Pinchevski, 2014); "Contemporary media ethics" (Fuse, Land, Hornaday, 2014); "The new ethics of journalism: principles for the 21st century" (McBride, Rosenstiel, 2014); "Media ethics: key principles for responsible practice" (Plaisance, 2014), "Sage guide to key issues in media ethics and law" (Babcock, Freivogel, 2015), and "Media ethics: cases and moral reasoning" (Christians, Fackler, McKee, Kreshel, Woods, 2016).

This recent boom of special publications on the ethics of journalism by foreign academic presses underscores the dominant role of this subject in today's world. Conversely, in Russia all recent writings on media ethics *per se* are associated with a only few names that can be counted on one hand. In this sense, the subject remains largely uncharted territory for academic researchers in Russia.

Methods and concepts

How useful for Russian specialists will the examination of the theory and practice of professional ethical education abroad prove to be? Does the analysis of media ethics and ethical education for example in Europe or in the U.S.A. contain some ideas that might be helpful in the education of future Russian journalists? In our opinion, the enormous body of information and experience accumulated abroad because of systematic studies in the field of professional ethics represents an invaluable asset for Russian scholars of journalism on the normative and practical levels. At the same time, certain theoretical contributions of Russian researchers and methods for selection of ethical alternatives in the Russian media for journalist education might also be interesting for our foreign colleagues. This can be considered yet another illustration of the manner in which those humans open up to an idea when they anticipate immediate practical application of their new knowledge. After all, ethical blemishes on the part of journalists are generally among the first to be noticed by the public.

For this reason, we base our research on both a literary review, and on an analysis of comparable pedagogical strategies at Western schools of journalism. Collaboration and interviews with western professors on teaching media ethics complete the methodology.

Diversification of choice in higher education can enhance learning for everybody – this is our first finding. Both Russian and Western instructors hear from students that they have to be more sensitive to diverse educational strategies and programs.

The difference is that western countries do not have mandatory national curricula for colleges, as Russia does. Moreover, the USA, for example, does not have a national ministry of education that regulates academic standards. American students are free to choose what courses they wish to take depending on their ability and educational goals.

The next point of our investigation is connected with conceptualization of a given subject in different academic systems. In many respects, the leading methodological problems of Russian and Western educational systems relate to the analysis of relationships between the practical needs of society and practical aspects of journalists' ethics. However, in comparing the teaching of media ethics in Russia and abroad, then we note that in many respects the "Russian approach" pays more attention to linking modern practical dilemmas to classical theories and philosophical foundations of ethics. In contrast, the results of our research suggest that the so-called "Western approach" chiefly focuses on real episodes and events in the practice of ethics by media professionals.

Teaching media ethics: case studies

Let's consider, for instance, a media ethics course at the flagship Missouri School of Journalism at the University of Missouri (USA). One of the top journalism schools and the oldest formal journalism school in the world, it is known for its "Missouri Method", according to which students learn about journalism simultaneously in the classroom and through practicing it in multimedia laboratories and real-world outlets. The school provides an academic education *and* practical training in all areas of journalism and strategic communication for undergraduate and graduate students across several media, including television and radio broadcasting, newspapers, magazines, photography, and new media. Several affiliated professional organizations, including Investigative Reporters and Editors, Pictures of the Year International, and The Reynolds Journalism Institute allow students to interact with working journalists. It also operates an international journalists' magazine, a local city magazine, a statewide business journal, a statehouse news bureau, and two student-staffed advertising and public relations agencies. Practical application of classroom knowledge loops back to further academic inquiry.

No wonder that in such educational institution the Media Ethics course is conducted mostly as a seminar and that the central question in each session is "Why"? (Why should we publish this and not that? Why should we protect sources? Why should we disclose potential conflicts of interest to clients or readers? And so on.) Readings of specialized literature, class discussions, papers, thematic videos and films all help students address that one central question.

In an interview, one American professor explained that several goals are set out which this course is meant to achieve: to increase student awareness of and ability to identify the moral dimensions of issues that arise in the practice of journalism and advertising; to allow students to question and critique the conventional wisdom of the profession and, therefore, to offer students the possibility of helping to change and improve it; to help students learn tools of moral reasoning for dealing with those issues. Along the way, according to the instructor, other benefits are likely to accrue, namely, a better understanding of journalism and advertising and their place in society, and a better understanding of oneself.

In order to meet these goals, the course schedule includes theories of ethics, moral rules, ethical decision-making, and special topics such as codes and behavior, truth and truth telling, accountability, loyalties, privacy, advertising. Evaluative means to assess student accomplishment of the course goals include the following requirements: responses to “thought questions”; a small-scale literature review; composition of a substantial term paper; and active participation in class discussions. Each student’s grade is broken down as follows (the percentage notates a part of the final course grade):

30%: “Thought questions”. Almost every week students write responses of roughly two pages to questions the instructor poses. Each must satisfactorily complete at least 10 of these responses during the semester. [Twenty pages of writing.]

15%: Mini-lit review. In order to explore what scholars are saying about issues in media ethics, students review seven or eight sources from the literature on a topic of their choice in a paper not more than five pages long.

20%: A first draft of the term paper. Students select a topic for their term paper of 12-15 pages after consulting with the professor. They may choose to focus on an issue in the field of ethic (for example, whether reporters should go undercover to get a story even if doing so means they must lie about their identity), or a more general academic issue (such as the ways in which ethics codes are employed in newsrooms). Students may tackle the same topic as they did for their “mini lit review”, but are not required to do so.) This first draft is allotted 20% of the final course grade in order that students invest substantial time and energy in research and in developing an argument about their findings.

30%: Final submission of term paper. This should be a polished academic piece.

5%: Participation. Each student is expected to attend every class and to complete assigned readings for each class meeting. Students are urged to come to class prepared to contribute by having something to say: informed participation is the key to course discussions as well as to success in the course.

Another case study of methods for teaching media ethics comes from a course with the same title, Media Ethics, taught at the William Allen White School of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of Kansas. This school is one of the few top schools of journalism in the USA that requires a course in media ethics. In the welcome address of the Dean for students it is highlighted: "We say it's not enough to be graduating highly skilled journalists. We want to make sure that our students understand the critical role they play in society." (*Brill,* 2016).

The cases presented in the course packet are intended as the basis for class discussion about media ethics – and not to illustrate either effective or ineffective handling of an ethical situation. The professor organizes his class into discussion teams from the moment it begins, and teammates decide how best to work together to analyze, prepare and present the cases. Interestingly, everyone on the team earns the same grade, so it is to a student's benefit to collaborate in producing a well-considered and thoughtful decision.

The classroom atmosphere established by the instructor is meant to be "safe", which is to say that all opinions are welcomed. Everyone has a right and an obligation to participate. The students listen carefully with an open mind and ask for clarification when necessary. They challenge one other's ideas with factual evidence and appropriate logic. From meeting to meeting, they become more willing to change their mind if others demonstrate errors in their logic or use of facts. The most important thing is to avoid ridiculing others and attempt to respect beliefs of others, even those that are different from their own.

One of the goals facing anyone who endeavors to help students learn about ethics in journalism is to get across the idea that achieving consensus on a universal standard of behavior is not a simple task. We can learn the classic ethical theories, but when we are confronted with an ethical code, we may have different perceptions about what we should do. As Knight Distinguished professor of journalism John Ginn said, "Ethics isn't something you have. It's something you do." (Basow, 2005: 5).

That is why it's so appreciable a tendency at Western schools of journalism to learn how "others" approach ethical situations, which could be different from the way that an individual deems correct. Accordingly, it is crucial to discussions of media ethics to create an open environment where students are encouraged, but not pressured, to share opinions and feel that all points of view will be welcomed.

As the instructor of classes in media ethics since 2002, the author of this article observes that the main difference between Western and Russian approaches in teaching media ethics is the principal objective of such a course. Said another way, Russian instructors tend to help students develop an understanding of moral reasoning, and Western instructors tend to help students develop the skills to use it in resolving ethical dilemmas, both individually and in a team environment. It appears to us that this difference is reflected in course structure. In Russia, Departments of Journalism tend to have a lecture course on media ethics, perhaps offering additional seminars. Westerners tend to teach case-analysis and discussion courses that rely on a combination of out-of-class group work and in-class discussions.

However, it seems that despite all of these variables, Americans have nearly the same problems that Russians have in regard to the system of ethical education in departments of journalism. Experts – both academics and practitioners – concur that although many programs in journalism and mass communications offer instruction in ethics or social responsibility, students never really develop a framework for making ethical judgments. (Meyers, 2010; Cheney, May, Munshi, 2011; Roberts, Arnett, 2008; and others).

Numerous western authorities on the subject of social responsibility agree that the need for a renewed emphasis on ethics in mass communications has never been greater. (Christians, 2009; Wilkins, Christians, 2009; Fortner, Fackler, 2011; Brown, 2011; and others) Indeed, events of the last decades reveal the need for a clearly formulated, objective and socially supported system of ethical requirements to guide professional journalists. Here we refer not only to the situation in Russia or in the United States. Such "complaints" in scholarly work can be documented in many different countries. (Fortner, Fackler, 2010; Nikolaev, 2011; Global Media Ethics: Problems and Perspectives, 2009; Ward, Wasserman, 2010; and others).

These and other experts write about numerous factors in national media systems that render ethical education particularly difficult nowadays. Besides, ethical foundations in the professional activity of journalists became a topic of great practical interest after significant increase in the role of mass media throughout the world. It is obvious that today ethics is more readily viewed in shades of grey, rather than black and white. It has been shown repeatedly that one cannot consider ethical principles learned at any School of Journalism as a mechanical panacea for negotiating moral dilemmas. It is clear, though, that much links modern practical dilemmas and classical theory with philosophical foundations of ethics; both are urgent matters in ethical media practice.

They cannot be analyzed or even considered in separation from the broader cultural context prevailing in a given society.

Conclusion

In view of substantial historical and cultural differences between Russian and Western societies, these contrasts in journalism on a practical level may appear even sharper when they are analyzed from the perspective of concrete journalist activities. That said, particularly in the area of professional ethics, media specialists could reap tremendous benefits from the ongoing exchange.

Reflecting on the full scope of analysis presented here, and bearing in our mind the idea of professional ethics as a social-philosophical category in the everyday practice of modern journalism, we conclude that the provision of students with the requisite theoretical background cannot be the sole motivation behind inclusion of courses on professional ethics in university curricula. Other objectives, just as central, must inform such courses with the primary aim of serving students optimally:

- to develop and improve critical thinking, reading and writing skills by focusing on the relationship between mass media and society;
- to identify and analyze contemporary ethical issues;
- to develop a basic ability to understand a variety of philosophical approaches in order to solve issues in media ethics, and to apply basic ethical principles and standards to professional situations;
- to develop an understanding of moral reasoning and the skills to use it in resolving ethical dilemmas not only individually, but in a team environment;

- to form career-related values.

In our view, the most important feature of this particular subject for undergraduate education should be a practical grasp of the key ideas that comprise the moral code of the professional group into which these students will enter in the near future. This will allow for the development of professional positions that will functionally accord with established ethical values.

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VIOLATIONS OF JOURNALIST ETHICS: PROFESSIONAL NEGLIGENCE OR A PATTERN?

НАРУШЕНИЯ ЖУРНАЛИСТСКОЙ ЭТИКИ: ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНАЯ НЕБРЕЖНОСТЬ ИЛИ ЗАКОНОМЕРНОСТЬ?

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This article analyzes violations of journalistic ethics in the Russian media. Material for analysis was collected by advanced undergraduates at the Faculty of Journalism, Moscow State University and at the Faculty of Communication, Media and

Design of the National Research University/Higher School of Economics. Using the method of intent analysis, students determined types and numbers of violations of journalistic ethics, including the following typological groupings: invasion of privacy; corruption of the minds of children and teenagers; the intrusion of unverifiable agendas (creation of illusive worldviews); instilling heretical views (promoting mysticism); fermenting social aggression and intolerance; destruction of moral principles; creation and intrusion of stereotypes (idols and outcasts); traumatization of mental state (formation of a sense of fear and hopelessness); destruction (damaging) of reputation; and the formation of unrealistic life scenarios.

Based on our analysis we conclude that forms of professional behavior considered impermissible in terms of any journalistic code, appear to be "normal" in the actual practice of Russian journalists. Furthermore, we hypothesize that, due to a consistent "logic" in the frequency of such ethics violations on the part of journalists, it would be incorrect to assume that they simply demonstrate professional carelessness. Rather, the violations appear to respond to some public need.

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Key words: the journalist professional ethics, media reality, journalism, agenda, the journalist social responsibility.

Статья посвящена анализу нарушений журналистской этики в российских СМИ. В качестве эмпирического материала использованы экспертные работы студентов выпускных курсов бакалавриата факультета журналистики МГУ *и факультета коммуникаций, медиа и дизайна НИУ ВШЭ. Используя методику интент-анализа, студенты определяли типы и количество нарушений журналистской этики. Были выделены следующие типологические группы нарушений журналистской этики: вторжение в частную жизнь; засорение и отравление умов детей и подростков; навязывание недостоверной повестки дня (создание иллюзорной картины мира); насаждение мракобесия (продвижение мистики); разжигание социальной агрессии и нетерпимости; разрушение моральных устоев; создание и навязывание стереотипных образов (идолов и отверженных); травматизация психики людей (формирование чувства страха и безысходности); уничтожение (нанесение урона) репутации; формирование нереалистичных жизненных сценариев.*

На основе выполненного анализа сделаны выводы о том, что формы профессионального поведения, которые в любых журналистских кодексах рассматриваются как непозволительные, в реальной практике российских журналистов оцениваются как «нормальные». Более того, сформулирована гипотеза, что, поскольку в частоте встречаемости нарушений журналистской этики есть какая-то логика, можно предположить, что нарушения журналистской этики являются не проявлением профессиональной небрежности, а ответом на какую-то общественную потребность.

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***Ключевые слова:** профессиональная этика журналиста, медиареальность, журналистика, повестка дня, социальная ответственность журналиста.*

Introduction

The issue of ethical regulation of journalistic activities caught the attention of the public and became a source of professional frustration for journalists more than one hundred years ago. Nowadays, ethical bearings in journalism are institutionalized more than ever. Hundreds of codes of ethics are in existence; many countries have Press Councils that assess media materials potentially questionable from an ethical point of view; news ombudsmen have appeared in media companies – special employees watching over the ethics of the media products of their employer. However, time throws down new challenges to journalists, and the problems of ethics regulation now are no less salient than in the past.

Today, countless codes of ethics and other documents regulate media activity in most countries. Overall, rules governing different countries are largely the same, although the document structure and wording may be vary slightly. Thus understandings of underlying ethical principles guiding journalism, and as well as culture and real-life activity, are essentially similar the world over.

The main requirement of codes of ethics globally is that information provided by journalists be reliabile, truthful, and accurate. A typical example comes from the "Principles of Journalism" (Press Code) for Germany: "All materials destined for publication, both texts and photos, must be checked for authenticity with all due accuracy". Next comes an important addition: "Processing, headline or signature under a photo should not distort or falsify the material's meaning" (Principles of Journalism (Print Code), Federal Republic of Germany, 1973). If the material is authentic and accurate, – requirements stated in laws that regulate media activity – then consistency between the text components and accompanying information is an important nuance, and also is a part of the ethical code. Any professional journalist working for the publication understands that text alone is not the full piece: headlines, illustrations, bylines, insets and other graphically highlighted objects are important, too. Especially in circumstances of social destabilization, these auxiliary components must not become an instrument of reality distortion. Therefore, a statute prohibiting such distortions appears in many documents governing ethics in media (the Charter of Journalist Responsibilities for the Italian Republic, 1993; the Code of Ethics for Professional Journalists Union in the United States, 1996).

Documents pertaining to ethics also mention the fact that information presented by a journalist should be maximally comprehensive. It is forbidden to hide or falsify information important for society: "The principle of authenticity, i.e. reality consistency, should be respected both in print and audio-visual materials. Any manipulations distorting the nature of the initial information are forbidden" (Code of Journalists of the Republic of Slovenia, 1993).

In order that a society learn how best to orient on current events, journalists should respect the pluralism of opinions and must strive to present all points of view concerning the problem, "even if these opinions are unacceptable from their point of view" (Code of Ethics for Professional Journalists Union, the United States, 1996). Similar phrasing appears in most documents related to ethical comportment (Code of Ethics of Lithuanian Journalists, 1996).

Many ethical codes require equity from journalists. To understand what is meant by "equity", we turn to the definition stated by one of the flagship newspapers in the United States: "Journalists and editors of "The Washington Post" uphold the principle of equity. <...> None of the material can be considered as equitable if there are main facts skipped. Equity and completeness are inseparable.

Material cannot be considered equitable if it contains information not related to the situation at the expense of important facts. Equity means relevance. Material cannot be considered equitable if it deceives the reader intentionally or unintentionally. Equity means honesty" (Ethical standards of "The Washington Post", 1933).

Most ethical codes require journalists to strictly delineate fact from commentary at all times: "Journalists should separate the defense of some views and news. The analysis and commentaries should be clearly identified and should not disfigure facts or context" (Code of Ethics for Professional Journalists Union, the United States, 1996).

And, obviously, ethical codes unanimously forbid discrimination of all kinds and in all forms: "Journalists should avoid discriminating against people due to their race, sex, religion, ethnos or geographical location, sexual orientation, physical disability, appearance or social status" (Code of Ethics for Professional Journalists Union, the United States, 1996).

Summarizing the requirements for journalism, identified in the ethical codes of different countries, one can turn to a single statement, also a part of ethical codes: "A journalist should assist in strengthening the moral and ethical foundations of society, preserving national and cultural traditions, as well as resisting the influence of violence and cruelty" (Code of Professional Ethics of the Ukrainian Journalist, 2002). Ethics that withstand extremism, discrimination, and violence, and rise in defense of democratic values – this encapsulates the journalist's duties to society.

National ethical codes also emphasize the idea that information presented by a journalist must be equitable, truthful, and accurate in order "for the society to receive sufficient material to allow the formation of an accurate, coherent and more adequate opinion about current social processes, their origin, nature and meaning, about the state of the contemporary world" (Code of Professional

Ethics of the Journalist, USSR, 1991). The following statement of mandatory comportment governs journalism in Russia: “A journalist disseminates and comments upon only that information from well-known sources, the equity of which satisfies him or her. <...> The journalist puts his own name and reputation on the line for the equity of every message and for the truth of every thought to which his signature is attached, even pseudonymously or anonymously – which presumes the journalist’s consent” (Code of Professional Ethics of Russian journalists, 1994).

Information, crucially, must be full and reflect real facts. Thus Russian ethical documents ban journalists from concealment or falsification of information: “journalists considers the malicious distortion of facts to be a professional crime” (Code of Professional Ethics of Russian Journalists, 1994).

In order that information be received as effectively and independently as possible (without involving reader discretion), it is necessary to strictly divide commentary from facts: “A journalist must strictly distinguish, within all communications, between, stated facts, opinions, versions of events and assumptions, but in professional activity it is not necessary to remain neutral” (Code of Professional Ethics of Russian Journalists, 1994).

The analysis of codes of ethics, policy documents, minutes of meetings, articles of constitutions and other documents that regulate media activities permits us to enumerate some general aspects of professional ethics for the journalist:

1. Dignity and independence of person:

- A journalist must respect the individual’s right to privacy in order not to insult a person’s honor and dignity by transmission of sensitive materials.
- A journalist should not take advantage of a “scoop” that may negatively bear upon a professional, social, recreational

or other individual matter, and may result in imposition of legal restrictions on the individual involved in the matter or activities in question.

- A journalist must take into consideration every individual person who contributes to his information or material. He should exercise the utmost care when interviewing people who are suffering in the wake of an incident (such as hostages or the victims of accidents, natural disasters, or man-made, catastrophes).

2. The right of each person to receive reliable information:

- A journalist should aspire to portray an image of reality, as close to objective as possible, by using exact and comprehensive information.
- Any representative of the media must avoid conveying information that benefits his own interests, or that serves interests underwritten by bribery, or that profits powerful individuals or institutions.

3. General humanist principles:

- A journalist should refrain from any form of incitement of, or justification for, wars and/or any form of violence at the regional, federal or global level.
- Because a journalist helps to shape audience attitudes, he should assume full responsibility for any content on TV or radio news, and in print or on-line publications, that he has generated.

Any representative of the mass media should do his utmost to avoid the emergence of materials which justify or encourage violence; sexual promiscuity; drugs alcohol and other types of addictive substance; and the intentional use of non-normative vocabulary. Moreover, a journalist should avoid the ”glorification” of criminals and other people with antisocial behavioral problems.

A journalist has to provide information to children and teenagers very cautiously and attentively.

We describe the proper professional behavior for a journalist in terms of ethical codes. But what actually transpires in practice?

In practice, journalists often break these rules. In our view, they can be said to commit «mortal sins» in relation to the audience. “Mortal sins” in Christian dogma refer to acts of which an individual does not wish to repent, which leads to the death of his soul. Such journalists ignore ethical standards, preferring dramatic or sensational news stories in the following veins:

- focus on violence, cruelty, aggression, murders;
- portrayal of scenes with inappropriate sexual content conveyed to a wide range of viewers or readers, including children and teenagers;
- a shift of emphasis in informational priorities: conventional topics such as news of the nation, social projects, and regional or federal politics are overshadowed by “light” topics such as entertainment, the life of celebrities and show business stars;
- incendiary information on racial, religious, ethnic intolerance and social aggression;
- hidden propaganda encouraging anti-social behavior, expressed, for example, in controversial documentaries and TV reports about murderers, criminals, drug addicts, and the like; informational materials that represent a kind of “glorification” of unknown but tantalizing phenomena and images, attractive to viewers, readers and listeners;
- publication of non-scientific, unproven, but sensational materials that contain shocking details, offer simple solutions to complex problems and provide easily accessible pseudo-knowledge;
- invasion of privacy, publication without the subject’s consent;

- utter neglect of an individual's or entity's honor, dignity, good name, business reputation; publication of unfounded, unproven, scandalous details.

For evidence of these changes in ethical orientation in 2011, fourth-year students at the MSU Faculty of Journalism were asked to write an essay on the topic of "What charges are being leveled against journalism?" In their work, the future journalists were not only to formulate claims about the profession, but also to provide examples from the various media. The research results were stunning. It turned out that students were perfectly aware of the main points of society's indignation concerning media... and, in fact, often fully shared this anger. The results of our exercise were published in the article "Ten 'deadly sins of journalism from the viewpoint of future journalists" in the online magazine "Mediascope".

We decided to repeat this experiment five years later. This time undergraduate students from the Faculty of Communication, Media and Design at the National Research University – Higher School of Economics also participated.

Research techniques

The research scheme was similar to the one used in 2011. Students, who attended the course titled "Professional Ethics for the Journalist", were given an assignment to take five issues of any periodical edition or five episodes of any TV-show and assess the violations of professional ethics found in these media. The task, of course, was anonymous.

The list of violations, or, as we called them previously – "deadly sins" – of journalism was the same as in 2011 (in alphabetical order):

1. Invasions of privacy;

2. Corruption of the minds of minors;
3. Intrusion of apocryphal agenda. Creation of illusive worldview;
4. The inculcation of heresy (promotion of mysticism);
5. Stirring of social aggression and intolerance;
6. Destruction of moral principles;
7. Creation and intrusion of stereotypes (idols and rejected);
8. Traumatization of people mentalities, formation of senses of fear and hopelessness;
9. Destruction (damaging) of reputation;
10. Formation of unrealistic life scenarios.

Each essay received was grouped according to a single media. Every group counted only those violations of journalist ethics, which were marked by at least three essay authors. Such an approach allowed us to discount excessive subjectivity and/or the personal views of one reader.

All of the violations noted were then systematized and processed through programs for statistic processing. In total 148 essays were processed, in which the output of twelve popular media sources had been analyszed: "LifeNews", "AiF", "Gazeta.ru", "Zhizn'", "Izvestiya", "Komsomolskaya Pravda", "Metro", "Mir novostey", "Moskovskiy komsomolets", "Novaya gazeta", "NTV", "REN TV", "Sobesednik", "SPID-info", "Tainy zvezd", "Tvoy den'", "Express-gazeta".

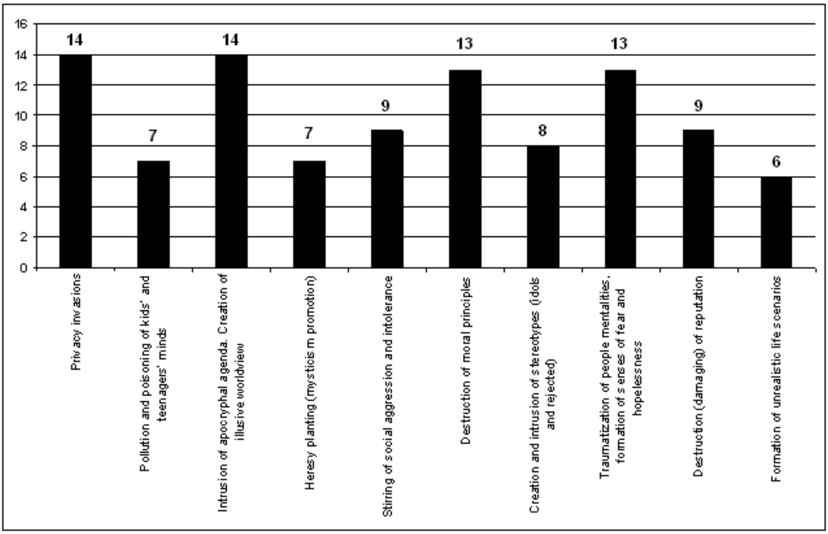
Research results

Taking into consideration the marks assigned by all of the essay writers, the leading categories of professional ethical violations emerged as *(Figure 1)*: "Privacy Invasions" (14%); "Intrusion of apocryphal agenda. Creation of illusive worldview" (14%);

“Destruction of moral principles” (13%) and “Traumatization of people mentalities, formation of senses of fear and hopelessness” (13%).

Figure 1

Violations of the journalist ethics in 2016



If we compare data from the two research projects, it is notable that the same four “deadly sins” were also leading in the 2011 research *(Table 1)*.

Table 1

Comparison data arranged by the years
(in % of the total violation amount)

№№	Ethic Violation	2011	2016
1	Privacy invasions	18,4	14
2	Pollution and poisoning of kids' and teenagers' minds	6,2	7
3	Intrusion of apocryphal agenda. Creation of illusive worldview	14,5	14
4	Heresy planting (mysticism promotion)	5	7
5	Stirring of social aggression and intolerance	6,7	9
6	Destruction of moral principles	9,5	13
7	Creation and intrusion of stereotypes (idols and rejected)	5	8
8	Traumatization of people mentalities, formation of senses of fear and hopelessness	12,3	13
9	Destruction (damaging) of reputation	10	9
10	Formation of unrealistic life scenarios	12,3	6

However, formerly the "Creation of an illusive worldview" was found in the top five, but today student essays recorded the violation half as many times. This can be interpreted either as evidence of a decrease in the volume of stories encouraging unrealizable dreams about easy, adventurous, and exciting, lifestyles, or as evidence that the population itself sated its thirst for such scenarios and people became more concerned about the constructing the most comfortable real existence possible under the conditions facing them.

"Privacy invasions" was mentioned by the previous research participants somewhat more often than in the more recent study (18% in 2011 vs. 14% in 2016). This can also be explained in more than one way. This "sin" was either considered to be a more serious violation of professional ethics five years, or "stalking" the "stars" and digging into the private life of public figures was replaced by various shows, wherein "celebrities" on their own display the skeletons in their closets, and publications in which they seek publicity by "telling all" and hoping to boost their popularity.

This, too, may have resulted in increased attention on the part of the research participants to violations of journalist ethics such as "Destruction of moral principles" (9.5% in 2011 and 13% in 2016) and "Creation and intrusion of stereotypes (idols and rejected)" (5% in 2011 and 8% in 2016).

It should be mentioned that, if all of the violations of the journalist ethics are considered to equal one hundred percent, then the percentage of media matched in the sample is distributed extremely equally regardless of whether it was a newspaper or a TV-channel, targeted a mass or specialized audience, came at no cost or was purchased, and so forth.

On the basis of the study, we are now in a position to confirm the suggestion stated earlier, i.e. that the "the process of media product creation is determined not by valuable ideas of separate groups of media market "players" or by all of them together, but by some global matrixes, unifying the value standards in medias of all countries, included in the globalization processes. In other words, media offer their audiences a product that has been produced based on international media formats and with the addition – if needed – of a national flair." (Dzyaloshinskaya, 2012: 420). Obviously, this has a direct relation to ethical spaces in the professional activities of journalists, as well.

Annex 1 provides examples of publications and television programs from among those media-leaders found to be guilty of various breeches of professional ethics as recorded by the research project participants.

Conclusion

Summing up the results of our research, it is possible to say the following.

In today's world the normal slate of efforts continues to, aim for the ethical regimentation of journalists' work. As new ethical codes appear in different countries, the possibility of creating a worldwide ethical code for journalists is also under discussion, (Herrscher, 2002). In 2008 the International Federation of Journalists spearheaded «The Ethical Journalism Initiative» (White, 2008), designed to support the promotion of ethical awareness of media employees all around the world. However, the efficiency of ethical codes, as reported in this research, is not always as high as codes might suggest.

First, our research shows that trangressions interpreted by all codes of journalistic ethics as impermissible professional behaviour, now appear to constitute "normal" media content from the point of view of Russian journalists.. Moreover, it should be noted that these journalists work in media with different political orientations, different audience interests,, and different forms of ownership. It may take a grudging effort to recall the book by David Randal once popular among journalists, "The universal journalist", where the author writes: "Speaking about ethics with journalists is similar to preaching chastity for sailors, who reached the port after half a year of sailing" (Randall, n.d.). Proposing a shocking thesis, Randall claims that ethics is a problem of little concern to the actual business of journalism, it is something to discussed by professors in ivory towers. Practicing journalists do not think about ethics because, in determining a concept of ethics and in deciding whether to follow it, the key factors are: salary, competition and the culture of your newspaper. "To such a journalist ethics is either the codification of dominant rules of behaviour and culture, or redundant appeals to follow the education standards, destined for the complete lack of attention to itself. In both cases it has little sense" (Randall, n.d.). Randall is echoed by the American professor of journalism from the state of Louisiana, D. Merril, who puts forward his thesis about the unethical nature of a career in journalism, providing the specifics of this activity as the core of his argument, activity which allegedly contradicts social norms (Merrill, 1997).

Second, it is obvious that there is a kind of logic in the frequency of ethics violations by journalists. As a hypothesis, which requires much more research for validation, it may be possible that ethical violations in journalism are not due to professional carelessness, but in fact fulfill some kind of public need. This means that even the most sophisticated codes containing clear rules will be unable to regulate media activity in situations when journalists themselves "sin" with tendentiousness, create distorted images of social phenomena, or exploit an audience's emotions with intent to manipulate. Allegories, hints, symbolical and associative elements, frequently appearing in media content resist regulation by their very conceptual nature.

In regard to mechanisms for corporate self-regulation, critics point to the fact that all the special management authorities – legal advisors, commissions for press regulation, ombudsmen – react on a strictly short list of press violations – generally on non-compliance with actual information capacity and non-interference in a subject's personal life. A significant number of complaints are rejected long before they reach review, resulting in the failure of these structures to provide full realization and protection of audience rights. It should also be kept in mind that within professional communities of media workers (as is the case inside every professional category), fully determined and narrow corporate interests are at play, and they act as strong forces consolidating these communities in the face of outside critics and countering attempts on the part of external entities to manage their activity. As a result, the interests of media information clients are protected much less than are interests, for example, of average consumers, who can turn for redress to associations for consumer protection and even to state-sponsored organizations.

Under these conditions, significant agency is bestowed upon the ethical consciousness of each individual journalist. Unfortunately, the high degree of media administrative and financial dependence on both the government and big business, coupled with an almost complete societal indifference to the problems of press freedom – in part due to the detrimental mode in which media function – all of this mitigates against the need for journalists to take responsibility for the results of their activity and leads to a phenomenon which can be called ethical amnesia.

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Annex 1.

Examples of publications and television programs from the media leaders under various violations of professional ethics, recorded by

the research participants (*there are average results under each type of mentioned by the essay authors violations of the professional ethics in brackets*).

- "**Privacy invasions**" – "Express-gazeta" (27,8) and "NTV" (26,4).

The front man of the "Potap and Nastya" duet swiped his best friend's wife (charges of the duet soloist Alexey Potapenko in plagiary and friend betrayal). ***"Express-gazeta", 24.11.2014***

Collapse of the six-year marriage with 34-year-old comic and rapper Nick Cannon teased Mariah Carey. Fans agree that her emotional stress did not allow her to appear in Tokyo at the same level. Someone even spoke about the career end of sweet-voiced diva. After a poor performance in Tokyo, 44-year-old pop-star within the framework of the world tourney moved to China. There were a lot of passion and emotions, and even Mariah's curvaceous body distracted the audience from singing. ***"Express-gazeta", 3.11.2014***

Prigozhin found an indecent work in Thailand for Volochkova. ***"NTV", 07.06.2014***

Prokhor Chaliapin is preparing for a divorce with elder wife-millionaire and requires a half of her wealth. ***"NTV", 11.10.2014***

- **"Intrusion of apocryphal agenda. Creation of illusive worldview" –** "Life News" (32,3) and "NTV" (29,8).

Almost 80% of militiamen from the Armed Forces of Ukraine return home with "Donbass syndrome". ***"Life News", 17.11.2014***

Six-year-old Briton girl gave her "Audi" for charity. (As if children could have their "own" cars, an idea of children participating in mature social process). ***"Life News", 20.11.2014***

Stalls of the Russian shops will be filled with camel meat

In a short time, stalls of the Russian shops can be filled with camel meat. Researchers from the Astrakhan State Technical University are planning to produce frozen semi-products, which will refill the meat deficit due to food sanctions. ***"Life News", 13.11.2014***

Psaki threatened to isolate Russia

The official State Department representative claimed that the USA will not recognize the legitimacy of elections, which recently took place in the DPR and the LPR. Jennifer Psaki, speaker of the USA State Department: "We will not work with these leaders". Psaki emphatically welcomed claims of the European leaders, occupying similar position. She also claimed that if Russia recognizes results of the weekend elections, this will "strengthen its isolation". ***"NTV", 03.11.2014***

- **"Traumatization of people mentalities, formation of senses of fear and hopelessness"** – *"Novaya gazeta" (42), "Gazeta.ru" (34) and "Izvestiya" (32.8).*

We have seen this affirmation in the coffin

The conversation with chief editor of the "Archeologia russkoy smerti" magazine.

This is, for example, the description of such funeral: "The dead were carried into the zone fully naked, as the day they were born... The watchman checked the direction for the zone for dead with the accompanying documents, then took a heavy hammer with long wooden handle and smashed the dead's head with the words: "this is the last seal, alive won't be carried outside the zone". In the North, to bury in the ground one should explode it with ammonal, but there were not enough of it, so dead were just covered with small stones. Corpses reappeared in the spring... ***"Novaya gazeta", 11.12.2015***

«They wrote a murder and life will write a continuation»

«So is there any hope for anything positive? Of course, there is. This is the economic crisis, which will not end tomorrow. The modern penalty system is extremely expensive and non-effective" ***"Novaya gazeta", 11.2015, No. 127***

Karateka was shot near the children

In the Saratov sport school, a 45-year-old man shot karate coach and wounded other two people in front of the amusing children. ***"Gazeta.ru", 01.12.2015***

The bird influenza spreads in air (about the death of a man, sick with bird influenza. ***"Gazeta.ru", 19.11.2015***

Military Department: The Russian Federation security threat is forming in the Arctic

The Department noted that some countries aim to wide their own territories with a continental shelve and islands of the Arctic Ocean

There are potential threats for the Russian Federation defense forming in the Arctic. This was stated by the stats-secretary – deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation, military general Nikolay Pankov. He noted: the developed countries, including those without an access to the near-polar regions, aimed to the Arctic. ***"Izvestiya", 25.11.2015 | Community | Alena Shapovalova***

In Yaroslavl a dog found the cut human head in a landfill

In a Yaroslavl landfill a dog dag out the cut man head, who appeared to be the victim of alcoholic quarrel as well as his friend. Other body parts of the dead were found in the house of suspect.

The double murder took place at night of November 21 on the street of Smolyakov, according to the Yaroslavl media. The early sentenced 43-year-old local resident, according to the investigation, brutally murdered his drinking companions during the quarrel. ***"Izvestiya", 23.11.2015| Community | Sergey Trofimov***

- "**Destruction of reputation (damaging the reputation)" –** "Novaya gazeta" (26,8) and "Gazeta.ru" (25,3).

The crown for Khazanov

About the mutual love between the artist and government

*"The dislike of the new authority intelligence was guessed by Khazanov at the dawn of a century. But he missed with Yeltsin. There were monologues in the broadcast about the drunk leader, who is called the mix of Brezhnev and Luis de Funes, but the concept has changed with the lightning speed. The today leaders have solemnly opened the Yeltsin centre and eve Chubais appears on a TV every day. The bobble appeared, they did not have any time to cut the image of Yeltsin from the "dashing nineties" from the translation". **"Novaya gazeta", 09.12.2015***

What's the cost of «imposed values»?

While the Rosturism chief claims that our ancestors did not float the sea, the "Новая газета" searches, how to travel to the sea with descenants

*The anticorruption fund of Alexey Navalny immediately met with the wealth declarations of the state agent (Safonov) and found there a villa on the Seychelles. **"Novaya gazeta", 08.12.2015***

Chaplin claimed that he does not see any sin in a McDonald's dinner

*"The head of synodic department of church and society relationship and community the archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin claimed that he ate lean food in McDonald's and does not see any sin in it. Earlier some photos have appeared in the net showing the archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin in one of the McDonald's restaurants. The photo shows that pries bought a burger and tea. **"Gazeta.ru", 09.12.2015***

Media: The British were horrified by Cameron's attempts of sex joke

The British Prime Minister tried to joke about sex and "nation shuddered", reports Mashable. <...> During the conference of the

Conservatives, Cameron in particular spoke about the book of "The Joy of Tax", written by economist Richard Merphy. The leader of Labour party Jeremy Korbin adopted some ideas from this book. The British Prime Minister claimed that he took a copy of "The Joy of Tax" at home to show it his wife Samantha. According to Cameron, the book contains "64 positions but none of them works". ***"Gazeta.ru", 07.10.2015***

- "**Destruction of moral principles**" – "Express-gazeta" (27,4).

The naked passenger

The action of "Subway without pants" was born in New-York in 2002. The first flashmob had only 7 jokers to participate but ten years later the idea became international. Thousands of people in more than fifty cities all around the world now traditionally take off their pants in the middle of January and do down to subway. Only in New-York, according to the organization's estimates, three thousand people left their homes only in shorts. There was a bit less in Mexico and London. ***"Express-gazeta", 02.06.2014***

Mashkov goes romancing on the plane

Actor left with a mass actress Zarina Mukhitdinova at night. Vladimir Mashkov once admitted that his bed saw not a single hundred of beauties. Despite his age of "fifties", wonderful actor does not still mind to hit young women. So it happened on the set of the "Flight crew" film ***"Express-gazeta", 03.11.2014***

- **"Stirring of social aggression and intolerance" –** "Gazeta.ru" (48,3).

Elders and robbers

Of course, the government can be understood. Raising the pension age is the unpopular decision, to admit it (and answer for it) is possible *only for federal authorities. But the low indexes of pensions will not be noticed. Conversely, nominal pension will become bigger on 500 rubles. But the fact that you can afford nothing on these money (average pension in 2016 – RUB 13 416) appeared because of sanctions, moreover, our own "bloodsucker businessmen" capitalize the labour nation <...> It all leads to the fact that the national pride will increase accordingly to the household income damping. Of course, there will remain lucky persons with rich children, remaining business or renting apartments. Also there will remain those who are able to enjoy life with RUB000's 15-20 per month and, possibly, not suffer diseases. Because there will not be enough for cure.* ***"Gazeta.ru", 09.10.2015***

- **"Creation and intrusion of stereotypes (idols and rejected)" –** "Gazeta.ru" (32).

The poor boy

This text – the reasoning of the author about the men who earn less than women and cannot afford to pay for his girlfriend everywhere. As a consequence, the author gives the example of a broken pair or even family. "Then we see excellent happy marriages where the woman turns out better earn, and a man full of other advantages – he can be a support, protection, a good father, an equal partner. Only there are few such people, both men and women, so these marriages are rare among us. But their existence gives hope that once "poor boy" appears to be "above it all" and very, very free. Well, you never know,"- writes the author. ***"Gazeta.ru", 05.12.2015***

Why the French woman is also a man?

I lived in two countries and could not escape baffling comparisons. In terms of care the alignment of forces was not at a side of the French. After all, our man, even if he is a sudden alcoholic and hits his wife, will reflexively let the female pass in front of him, will take on a heavy *burden of shopping, had he come up with in the shop with his wife. And definitely do not forget to pour the lady (even beaten by him) another glass of alcohol.* ***"Gazeta.ru", 01.10.2015***

- "**Heresy planting (mysticism promotion)**" – "REN TV" (20,5) and "Express-gazeta" (15,2).

The web-site of REN TV has a separate heading of "X-Files", where the articles about pseudo scientists, riddles and ghosts are written:

The maniac soars over the Moon. ***"REN TV", 17.11.2014***

In English store the surveillance camera filmed the poltergeist (video from the British tabloid of Daily Mirror about the strange night occurrences in one of the shops). ***"REN TV", 30.10.2015***

The first victims of cholera were vampires. ***"REN TV", 27.11.2014***

The thundercloud gave birth to an alien ship. ***"REN TV", 26.11.2014***

The Germans invented "brainplane" (it is about airliners soon controlled by mind force only). ***"Express-gazeta", 02.06.2014***

Senator was killed by magic (about the fact that the Vice-Chairman of the Italian Senate, Roberto Calderoli was cursed in Congo) ***"Express-gazeta", 01.09.2014***

THE INFLUENCE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM ON THE INTERNET MEDIA SECTOR: DEMARCATION BETWEEN ONLINE MEDIA AND OTHER NETWORK RESOURCES

ВЛИЯНИЕ ГРАЖДАНСКОЙ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ НА МЕДИЙНЫЙ СЕКТОР ИНТЕРНЕТА: К ПРОБЛЕМЕ ДЕМАРКАЦИИ ИНТЕРНЕТ-СМИ И ИНЫХ СЕТЕВЫХ РЕСУРСОВ

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Current trends in the media environment make it necessary to rethink traditional understandings of the media, and journalism in general. The growing popularity of network resources used as a means to obtain information, along with the increasing competition between professional and citizen journalism, together raise the question of what the media is about the Internet.

This article attempts to establish criteria to differentiate between online media and other network resources. Based on the scholarly literature and expert assessments, we conclude that these criteria include professionalism, self-positioning as media, and the performance of journalistic functions, audience scale, and *compliance with organizational signs of traditional media, as well as the degree of independence. The analysis of social media in the context of these constraints shows that the Internet media sector involves individual segments of the blogosphere, in particular, user blogs that operate on platforms of professional media and blogs functioning on the principle of Internet portals.*

Key words: *online media, citizen journalism, blogs, social networks, Internet media sector.*

Современные тенденции развития медиасреды приводят к необходимости переосмысления традиционного понимания средств массовой информации и журналистики в целом. В условиях растущей популярности сетевых ресурсов как средства получения информации и усиливающейся конкуренции между профессиональной и гражданской журналистикой возникает вопрос о том, что считать СМИ в интернете.

В данной статье предпринята попытка установить критерии разграничения интернет-СМИ и иных сетевых ресурсов. Посредством обобщения научного опыта и мнений экспертов мы пришли к выводу, что такими критериями являются профессионализм, самопозиционирование в качестве СМИ, выполнение функций журналистики, массовость аудитории, соответствие организационным признакам традиционных СМИ и степень независимости. Рассмотрение социальных медиа в контексте этих ограничений позволяет заключить, что в медийный сектор интернета попадают отдельные сегменты блогосферы, в частности – блоги, функционирующие на платформе профессиональных СМИ, и блоги, работающие по принципу интернет-порталов.

Ключевые слова: *интернет-СМИ, гражданская журналистика, блоги, социальные сети, медийный сектор интернета.*

Introduction

The development of technologies in the sphere of information and communication has led to the digitalization of media. This process, as well as active internet penetration, has contributed to the popularity of Internet resources. According to recent reports from Internet World Stats, Internet penetration has exceeded 90% in some countries (Internet World Stats, 2016). In 2010, the audience of network resources in the US surpassed the print media audience in size for the first time. In 2015, the popularity of the Internet in Russia almost caught up with the popularity of television (Igra na operezhenie: internet po populyarnosti dogonyaet televidenie, 2016).

In the 21st century, online journalism has become entirely a component of the media system. Citizen journalism, along with professional journalism, is actively developing in the Web environment by means of blogs and social networks, which, nowadays, serve as its basic tools. Studies show that these alternative sources of information are used for receiving news more often than professional resources (FOM, 2016). New phenomena that rapidly develop in the media environment make it necessary to rethink traditional understanding of both the media and journalism in general. Therefore, it is essential to find out what the media is in terms of the Internet.

This article focuses on scholarly approaches to assessing the differentiation of online media from other network resources.

We attempt to answer the following research questions derived from the scholarly literature and expert assessments:

- What criteria should be applied to identify online media as distinct from the entire network space?
- Are certain kinds of citizen journalism related to, or do they qualify as, online media?

Relations between media and Internet resources: views from Russia and abroad

The concept of *media* in a broad sense involves communication and transmission of various types of information. In this article, the term "media" is applied in the context of mass communication and denotes a mass means of information connection (Zemlyanova, 2004). *Social media* are considered sites, applications, and other platforms that allow users to create content and share it with one another. Concerning citizen journalism, the term stands for blogs and social networks.

The concept of "journalism" is becoming increasingly blurry as new media actively develop and expand. As the British researcher and theorist of mass communications D. McQuail points out, close to the truth is, perhaps, the fact that journalism is a mixed and diverse activity that is performed by certain people and news organizations in accordance with professional standards, but that they must work alongside others – people who represent public views and who not only fail to meet professional criteria but do not even care to do so (McQuail, 2013). Consonant with this assessment, we adhere to one of the most common definitions of *journalism* as activity related to the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information. For this reason, *citizen journalism* denotes the activity of non-professionals involved in the process of collection, analysis, and dissemination of information.

The issue of the relationship between media and Internet resources[1] remains debated in the scholarship. At the beginning of this century, Russian scholars propounded conflicting approaches to this problem. Thus, A. Akopov believes that "all network space can be considered a form of mass media" where content is created by users in the form of dialogues and conversations. However, the researcher points out that there are publications on the Internet written by professional journalists (Akopov, 1998). V. Voroshilov says that "the emergence of a new information carrier available to a mass of people could not but lead to its transformation into the media" (Voroshilov, 2000).

At the same time, S. Korkonosenko assumes that Internet resources should not be regarded as the media because they "transmit only the form of information broadcasting rather than changes in the nature of communication through the computer" (Korkonosenko, 2002). I. Fomicheva, in her turn, suggests using the formula of American social scientist G. Lassuel in order to single out the media from all Internet resources. She defines the media as projects in which a communicator is represented by a professional journalist and member of a corporation. The content of the media, in turn, is dedicated to society; it is polythematic and multigenre. The channel of information transmission is open and periodic, the audience of online media has an obvious mass character, and the activity causes various kinds of social effects (Fomicheva, 2010: 52–59). Domestic researchers suggest the need to regard online media as projects aimed at informing mass audiences. According to M. Lukina and I. Fomicheva, part of the media system includes resources that

[1] In frames of this article, the term "Internet resources" is used in the broadest sense and denotes various elements of the global network.

position *them* as the media and they act correspondingly (Fomicheva, Lukina, 2010: 63-64). The same opinion is shared by A. Kalmykov and L. Kokhanova: "It is more reasonable to regard online media as projects that position themselves in this way by using traditional media terms (magazine, almanac, newspaper, editorial office, editor, etc.) in the headlines of site sections" (Kalmykov, Kokhanova, 2005). In frames of our expert poll, A. Kalmykov claims that in order to distinguish between online media and other network resources we should also take into account criteria such as professionalism and performance of journalistic functions.

D. McQuail, in his turn, points out that the Internet is a medium of both mass and personal communication. Therefore, new media is as much an institution of private communication as it is of public communication (McQuail, 2010). According to the Norwegian researcher M. Lüders, distinctions between personal media and mass media may be outlined as differences in the types of involvement required from users. Unlike the media, personal communication media are more symmetrical and require users to perform actively as both receivers and producers of messages. Compared to the media, personal media are closer to the de-institutionalized or de-professionalized content pole (Lüders, 2008: 691, 698).

Regarding the expert poll, D. McQuail comes to the conclusion that differentiation of online media from other network resources is carried out on the basis of such criteria as professionalism, mass audience, self-positioning as the media, compliance with organizational signs of traditional media, and degree of independence and commercialization.

German author Klaus-Dieter Altmeppen thinks that online media, in addition to "branches" of traditional media, can be considered a resource that promotes self-observation of society and does not pursue specific commercial interests. In addition, Altmeppen emphasizes, "when organizational and functional signs of journalism are not implemented, it is not journalism" (Altmeppen, 2000: 123–136). In addition to the core group of news sites (mainstream news sites) – such as CNN, BBC, and MSNBC, Dutch researcher M. Deuze links three more groups of Internet resources to online journalism:

1) sites that index and classify information by categories (index and category sites). This group includes search engines like Yahoo and websites of companies engaged in marketing research. According to Deuze, despite the fact that such resources do not contain a large amount of original content, they offer the audience a possibility to chat and exchange news, as well as links to news sites;

2) meta and comment sites, i.e. resources that specialize in both media and journalism issues and contribute to further professionalization of this sphere. Along with them, the author identifies the "alternative" news sites that, in addition to their own news, publish critical comments on the materials published by the mainstream media.

"Personal blogs, whose authors tell stories based on their own experience and offer readers links to the comments for provoking the discussion of content of other Internet resources, can be classified somewhere between index and comment sites. They tend to offer limited communication to participants (one person expresses his/her opinion on some issues and offers links). However, these blogs contain a large amount of content and provide the opportunity to comment," says the researcher.

3) sites designed for information exchange and discussion (share and discussion sites); they are "more or less edited platforms", or group blogs.

Deuze claims that all of these types of Internet resources are related to professional journalism, as their functioning corresponds to the main aim of journalism in the world electoral democracies, i.e. they provide citizens with the information necessary for the implementation of freedom and self-government (Deuze, 2003).

In view of the opinions presented above, we conclude that the main criteria for the selection of online media from the entire network space are professionalism, self-positioning as the media, mass audience, compliance with organizational features of traditional media, degree of commercialization, and performance of journalism functions. The last criterion requires clarification. As D. McQuail points out, journalism is based on functions of social communication:

- observation of the environment;
- coordination of social units;
- provision of social and cultural continuity.

"The first function is related to journalism itself as it aims at provision of information necessary for the performance of main types of social activities. The second one corresponds to the promotion of social cohesion which is also necessary for a complex society; the third one in its turn refers to transmission of values, culture and identity from one generation to another", the researcher says (McQuail, 2013).

This approach corresponds overall to the opinions of scholars concerning media functions in the context of the Internet. Thus, G. Lazutina claims that the main global network functions are social (this function leads to the formation of new forms of communicative behaviour), informative, and economic (which is aimed at gaining commercial profit). (Lazutina, 2000: 223–224) M. Lukina and I. Fomicheva in turn single out communicative, informative, and value-regulating functions of online media, as well as socio-organizational and socio-creative functions, the function of forum and channel of social participation, and entertainment function (Fomicheva, Lukina, 2010: 89–104). Therefore, we assume that the basic functions of journalism in the context of global network include communicative, value-regulating and informative functions. The last one promotes performance of another important task – the formation of an information agenda.

Blogs and social networks in media systems

According to M. McLuhan, the first theorist of electronic communication media to predict the emergence of new communication technologies, "automation affects not just production, but every phase of consumption and marketing; for the consumer becomes producer in the automation circuit, quite as much as the reader of the mosaic telegraph press makes his own news, or just is his own news" (McLuhan, 2003). Starting with Web 2.0 technologies, people were able not only to make news, but also to distribute them on their own. As D. McQuail points out, "the communications revolution has generally shifted the 'balance of power' from the media to the audience in so far as there are more options to choose from and more active uses of media available" (McQuail, 2010).

Today, social media are more popular than Internet resources that position themselves as the media. According to research conducted by the "Public Opinion Fund", 36% of users in Russia read news reports on social networks (or follow the links located there), blogs, and forums. However, in relation to online media, the index is half the number – 17% (FOM, 2016). In 2009, the Universal McCann media agency conducted a survey and interviewed 23,200 respondents from 38 countries. According to the results, two-thirds of Internet users are registered on social networks, 71% of respondents read blogs (Universal McCann, 2009).

Before proceeding to the question of what kind of place is occupied by blogs and social networks in the media environment, it is necessary to define these concepts. *Social networks* denote Internet services aimed at building communities of people with similar interests and/or activities; communication in these communities is carried out by means of internal mail service, forums, or instant messaging (Lukina, 2010). The term "blog" more often refers to a site with regularly updated entries. "Wikipedia", which is like blogs a product of Web 2.0, gives the following definition for this notion: "A blog is a web site, the main content of which is regularly updated by entries that include texts, images, or multimedia" (Wikipediya, 2016). I. Dzyaloshinsky, in his turn, considers blogs to be platforms for expression in the public space. Any person can act as an information creator. The content does not have any limits either; it can be personal, social and political, business, or specific (Dzyaloshinsky, 2013). Some researchers, particularly L. Braslavets, define blogs as a type of social network. In our opinion, these concepts should be separated; otherwise, the definition of social networks does not include stand-alone blogs. Braslavets agrees that this kind of online diary is not a part of social networks. If it were true, the main principle of user equality would be violated, i.e. readers of stand-alone blogs would be able to comment on the author's posts, but could not publish their own blogs (Braslavets, 2010).

Therefore, the question of relations between blogs and the media is still controversial. According to D. Domingo and H. Heinonen, "from the perspective of journalism, weblogs can be seen as a new category of news and current affairs communication." The scholars believe that among blogs of regular users, journalists and media companies, it is possible to single out so-called "journalistic blogs." "Even if bloggers writing about current events may not feel comfortable comparing their publishing to journalism, we argue that this heterogeneous group of weblogs, some made by the public, some by journalism practitioners and some by media houses, have something in common that justifies the label "journalistic weblog". Although they may not strictly follow traditional journalistic routines and conventions, these weblogs have a clear intention to collect, analyze, interpret or comment on current events to wide audiences and in this way perform the very same social function usually associated with institutionalized media," the researchers claim. For this reason, they subdivide citizen blogs into four categories: 1) journalistic weblogs written by the public outside the media audience blogs; 2) journalistic weblogs written by the public within the media journalist blogs; 3) journalistic weblogs written by journalists outside media institutions media blogs; 4) journalistic weblogs written by journalists within media institutions (Domingo, Heinonen, 2008: 6-7). The last two categories are related rather to professional journalism than to citizen journalism.

As for domestic researchers, they are more conservative about relations between blogs and the media. I. Fomicheva, for instance, classifies blogs along with chats, forums, and social networks as the "discussion platform" and finds it incorrect to regard blogs as the media. However, there is an exception to every rule: blogs functioning as a part of the site that belongs to the media "act on the initiative of owners of the site and are related to its content" (Fomicheva, 2010: 60). E. Sherstoboeva and V. Pavlenko relate blogs to online journalism and consider them to be media if the blogger tends to follow the standards of objectivity, applies journalistic methods used to collect and disseminate information, and publishes the information with a certain frequency; the information, in its turn, goes through editorial control (Sherstoboeva, Pavlenko, 2015).

The main criteria applied for differentiating blogs and professional media by researchers are professionalism of a communicator, mass of information, frequency, and participation in formation of information agenda, i.e. a function based on the information function and applied for implementation of the value-regulatory function. In other words, the formation of an information agenda is closely correlated with the functions, which form the basis of journalism. The criteria mentioned above – with the exception of frequency – correspond to the criteria of differentiation between online media and other network resources established by us. Let us examine them in detail.

Professionalism. For bloggers, unlike journalists, creation of content is an unprofessional activity. However, it should be taken into account that there are bloggers who, like journalists, document information and disseminate news. Researchers point out that recently there has been a tendency towards professionalization of popular online diaries. "Top blogs increasingly resemble online media, they successfully monetize themselves. Besides, blogs are based on the material written not by one person but by a whole team of authors. This tendency is especially pronounced in foreign blogging. As for the Russian segment, one-author blogs are still at the top, although the content increasingly resembles media materials", says K. Zuykina (Zuykina, 2015). Speaking up for citizen journalists, we should take into account that the skills these journalists lack are compensated for by functioning features of the Internet which serves as a mechanism for editing messages after the fact (Bowman, Willis, 2003).

The tendency towards professionalization of blogs is also revealed through modern legal realia. In 2014, the Russian government amended the law "On information, information technologies and information protection", thus obliging the authors of blogs and other popular resources which are used by more than three thousand people a day to observe the Russian media legislation, although these resources do not position them as publications. Some requirements for the media are extended to blogs in other countries, too. Take, for instance, Germany, where the state treaty on the activities of media service (Mediendienste-Staatsvertrag) requires authors of blogs to specify data sources, provide accurate information, distinguish between news posts and author comments related to them, and visually separate content from advertising (Sauer, 2007). However, until effective mechanisms to monitor and control violations are implemented, it is too early to talk about actual professionalization of the blogosphere.

Mass Information. The term "mass information" denotes all texts sent through journalism channels, which influence the audience (Prokhorov, 2011). Journalism, in its traditional sense, includes creation of texts on urgent socio-political issues (Vartanova, 2014). The current state of the blogosphere indicates that such texts are presented in a number of online diaries as well.

According to a study conducted by the Technorati company in 2011, many respondents read blogs about the tsunami in Japan, social unrest in London, the death of Osama bin Laden, the nuclear crisis in Japan, the Arab spring, and other events on socio-political themes (Technorati, 2011). Having analyzed the Russian blogosphere, experts from the Berkman Centre at Harvard University came to the conclusion that its essence consists of discussions mostly on socio-political themes (Etling, 2010).

The Role of Online Media in Formation of Information Agenda. When readers select a source of news in the web environment, their attention is divided between the professional media, social networks, blogs, and several other resources. According to E. Vartanova, journalism in its traditional sense has lost its monopoly in the production and provision of daily public agendas. She adds, "society also casts doubt on the exclusive right of journalists not only to gather news, but also to interpret it for the mass audience" (Vartanova, 2014). Along with professionals, citizen journalists are involved in interpretating events, too. P. Ushanov claims that nowadays-functional features of blogs resemble the media functions. Moreover, blogs have started to exert a direct influence on the formation of information agendas (Ushanov, 2014). This statement appears to be true.

The assessment of individual blogs is based on the criterion of compliance with organizational signs of traditional media. For instance, blogs operating on the principle of Internet portals are run, as a rule, not by a single user, but a group of authors. In addition, they have a similar organizational structure. The criterion of self-positioning in such resources is usually not expressed directly. However, it is realized in the structure and form of content representation peculiar to the media. The degree of independence is a very controversial issue in terms of media commercialization. Considering Internet resources as the media, we assume that this criterion should be understood as a desire for objectivity.

According to D. McQuail, the form of the blogosphere reveals a desire to take traditional norms and practices as its basis. "Following this statement, we can assert that the initial and long-term occupation of journalists is not out of date due to the emergence of new technologies; on the contrary, it is supported by resources that withstood the test of time" (McQuail, 2013).

Following the criteria mentioned above, certain segments of blogs can be considered as the media. We believe that along with user blogs that function on platforms of professional media, it is possible to regard blogs operating on the principle of Internet portals as online media, too (e.g. "OhmyNews", "Wikinews", "Realno. info" or "HighWay"). D. McQuail and A. Kalmykov share the same point of view. Collective blogs and user news publication projects are considered as open source journalism, which, in its turn, can be regarded as a part of "organized" citizen journalism (Ageev, 2015; Giesiger, 2007; Lasica, 2003).

Social networks are the least studied phenomena in the media context. As C. Bentley points out, "although social networking is primarily a place to meet friends, it has a growing news media value" (Bentley, 2008). L. Braslavets assumes that the answer to the question of whether to recognize social networks as a new media type or not is "generally more positive" (Braslavets, 2009: 127). However, it is rather difficult to apply the criteria established by us to this segment.

Despite the fact that today social networks are becoming more often a subject to legal regulation (since the law "On information, information technologies and information protection" came into force in Russia, popular groups fell under regulation of Roskomnadzor, obliging them to comply with the requirements of the media), it is still too early to talk about the professionalism of communicators on such platforms. The main function of social networks is communicative rather than informative, unlike the media. Along with open accounts, groups and public pages, there are settings that prohibit or restrict access to some information. Therefore, there is no reason to talk about the mass nature of the information they provide.

The most interesting about criteria application are accounts and public pages of officials and deputies on "Facebook", "Twitter" and "Instagram" which are often run by professionals who act on their behalf. These accounts and pages contain, inter alia, socially significant information, which is generally considered both reliable and interesting for a wide audience. However, as D. McQuail notes, such segments of social networks fall within the scope of PR-communications and require a separate study.

Conclusion

An overview of scholarship and the opinions of experts has made it possible to single out a number of criteria aimed at differentiating online media from other network resources. These criteria include:

- professionalism;
- self-positioning;
- performance of journalism functions;
- audience scale;
- compliance with organizational signs of traditional media;
- degree of independence.

Most of these criteria are relevant to blogs that function like Internet portals, thus, allowing us to define them as the media. The same category also includes, by definition, user blogs that function on platforms of professional media. Social networks are correlated with current scholarly ideas about the media to a lesser extent. Therefore, "organized" citizen journalism should be viewed as online media.

Application of the criteria mentioned above should be considered as one possible way to distinguish online media from the entire network space. Study of theoretical aspects has shown that no unified approach has been worked out yet to solve this problem. However, today we can observe a tendency outlined in both scientific and practical fields, i.e. new media are supposed to be classified on an individual basis. For example, E. Sherstoboeva and J. Pavlenko follow this tendency with regard to blog demarcation (Sherstoboeva, Pavlenko, 2015). Considering the issue of media legislation, it is necessary to mention the "Recommendation for a new notion of media" adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 2011. In order to identify the media in the context of developing information and communication technologies and changes in the media system, the authors propose six criteria: 1) intention to act as the media; 2) purpose and underlying objectives of the media; 3) editorial control; 4) professional standards; 5) outreach and dissemination; 6) public expectation. In general, these criteria correlate with those proposed here. However, the document allows for quite a large range of interpretation. Some interpretations relate to several criteria at the same time. This could hinder the process of media identification.

The establishment of consensus on this issue is regarded as an important task not only within the realm of theory, however, but also because a legal framework must be instituted to provide for smooth functioning of new media in the global information space. Consensus on definitions and approaches will accelerate the development of a single statute, which would by necessity include international regulatory standards applying to the field of internet media.

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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

СВОБОДА СЛОВА И БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ ЖУРНАЛИСТОВ В ЦИФРОВУЮ ЭПОХУ

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The issue of the safety of journalists has become topical the world over. Journalists and media workers around the world are increasingly being targeted, threatened, assaulted and even killed for performing their duties. This anti-press violence absolutely negates the freedom that journalists are supposed to enjoy as they carry out their functions, one of which is to uphold the *responsibility and accountability of a government to its people. Drawing on some theoretical insights and citing examples from documented cases of threat of arrest, deaths, withdrawal of broadcast licenses, proscription and general impunity against journalists, this paper examined freedom of expression and safety of journalists in the digital age. The paper argues that journalists, because of the peculiar nature of their work, should be at liberty to gather, hold, express and disseminate information and opinions with neither official nor unofficial restrictions. The paper makes recommendations on how journalists in the digital age can be provided with a safe and secure environment for practice.*

Key words: *press freedom, mass media, freedom of expression, anti-press violence, digital age.*

В современных условиях остается актуальной проблема безопасности журналистов. Сотрудники СМИ все чаще подвергаются нападкам и угрозам, журналисты могут серьезно пострадать или даже погибнуть, выполняя свои обязанности. Насилие, с которым сталкиваются работники медиа, мешает им свободно выполнять свои функции, одна из которых – обеспечение ответственности властей перед обществом. Опираясь на некоторые теоретические положения, а также приводя примеры документированных случаев угроз арестом или убийством, отзывов лицензий на вещание, других противоправных актов в отношении журналистов, авторы изучают свободу слова и безопасность журналистов в цифровую эпоху. В работе обосновывается тезис о том, что журналисты, ввиду специфики их профессиональной деятельности, должны обладать свободой собирать, хранить и распространять информацию или мнения, не сталкиваясь при этом с какими бы то ни было *формальными или неформальными ограничениями. В работе предлагаются рекомендации в отношении того, как в цифровую эпоху могут быть обеспечены безопасные условия для деятельности журналистов.*

Ключевые слова: *свобода прессы, СМИ, свобода слова, насилие в отношении журналистов, цифровая эпоха*

Introduction

Several definitions of press freedom have been postulated over time. Although there seems to be no single, acceptable definition of this concept, scholars (Oso, 1998: 45–74, McQuail, 2005; Oloyode, 2005; Okoye, 2007; Hachten & Scotton, 2007; Garton, 2011) are unified in the belief that freedom of the press presupposes independence of the media to disseminate diverse ideas and to provide citizens with access to, and the opportunity to participate in, an exchange of information and opinions. Alabi (Alabi, 2003), cited in Okoye (Okoye, 2007: 47), defines press freedom as the unrestrained right that the press has to publish or broadcast what it deems fit for the public. Onogurowa (Onogurowa, 1985) cited in Okoye (Okoye, 2007: 47) defines press freedom as the right of the press to publish without being subjected to intimidation, threat, molestation or blackmail. In the same vein, Okoye (Okoye, 2007: 47) defines press freedom as "the liberty to gather, hold, express and disseminate information and opinions without official or unofficial restrictions via written and unwritten laws and actions". Okoye (Okoye, 2007: 52) further defines press freedom as 'the liberty of the mass media to do their duty of informing, educating and entertaining the public without prior official censorship'. Oloyode (Oloyede, 2005) adds that freedom of expression is the ability to openly communicate one's views to other people either through the written word or through non-verbal means such as art, music and fashion. This invariably implies that those who work as journalists, whether for print, broadcast or social media, and those who engage in the now very popular citizen journalism, have the right to, as Aviyar (Aviyar, 1979) cited in Okoye (Okoye, 2007: 47) puts it, "report facts honestly and faithfully, even if they prove inconvenient or embarrassing to someone". Leman (Leman, 2013: 1), on the other hand, conceives of safety as implying freedom from danger and, in the context of our discussion, the safety of journalists thus implies protection from a range of threats that journalists face in the discharge of their duties – such as arrests, legal action, imprisonment, kidnapping, intimidation, bombing, killings and so on. Leman does not discuss political interference in the media, economic concerns emerging from media concentration and various other forms of harassment, including violence against journalists.

As professionals who bring government activities to the people and who, in turn, bring people's attention to government, any violation of journalists' rights also entails violations of the right of citizens to access information and knowledge. Since the fundamental role played by journalist in governance and in the functioning of societies puts them at risk, their safety deserves special attention.

It is pertinent to clarify that the term "press" is used in this paper interchangeably with the word media. Opubor (Opubor, 1985) cited in Ojete (Ojete, 2008: 61) defines the mass media, including television, radio, newspapers, magazine and the internet, as "social institutions for generating and transmitting standardized messages to large, wide, dispersed and heterogeneous audiences, of who are not necessarily known to the source". On the other hand, Momoh

(Momoh, 2008) cited in Akinfeleye (Akinfeleye, 2008: 148) defines a journalist as any person who is wholly, solely and exclusively involved in the collection, collation and dissemination of information, and has been accredited for the purpose of producing materials for use in the media/mass communications. Similarly, "digital age" is used in this paper to describe a shift from the traditional press industry originating in the Industrial Revolution to an economy based on Internet-enabled information computerization. It is that shift that has birthed social media, and quite clearly this innovation, which has created a participatory online media where news, photos, videos and podcasts are made public via submission to websites, has widened the scope of freedom of expression. Amobi and McAdams (Amobi, McAdams, 2014) describe social media as highly interactive Internet-based platforms or channels that use readily accessible techniques to facilitate the exchange and sharing of information, and to engage in other forms of social interaction. They view social media as supporting the democratization of knowledge and information access, and as a phenomenon, that converts people from content consumers to content producers.

No doubt, social media has given news organizations additional channels to receive and disseminate information quickly (Jewitt, Dahlberg, 2009: 233–246). The emergence of new technologies that allow for expression has reshaped the landscape of the wider debate on freedom of expression. According to Stassen (Stassen, 2010: 1–16), it has provided a line of communication between the reporter and ordinary citizens. Indeed the emergence of social media has dramatically reshaped the ways in which we are able to express ideas. Outside the traditional media, people now set up blogs and news websites and by just a click of the send button, they engage in communication with millions of people. Stassen

(Stassen, 2010: 1—16) observes that in earlier decades, the ability to communicate ideas to a large audience was dependent upon being able to publish and getting what is to be published moderated through an established system with rules and guidelines. But Hachten and Scotton (Hachten, Scotton, 2007) averred that, all that has changed now with the internet enabled social media, which has made it possible for a vast amount of original and unique work that has not gone through a rigorous editing process to be shared, thus creating room for a previously unthinkable amount of freedom of expression.

Indeed, with social media, which has undoubtedly transformed freedom of expression from a largely private phenomenon into a predominantly public one, and which, has made sharing of information online possible, the specter of the danger against journalists and journalism practice has been raised. As Vinton (Vinton, 2012) alludes, the intimidation and harassment which journalists working in the traditional media face have now been transferred to journalists working online in the face of growing portions of journalistic activity taking place on the internet.

While it is philosophically desirable to have complete freedom of expression, the problem that has risen in this digital age is how to draw the line between what is offensive and what is not, since there are instances in which one person's right to free expression leads to another person's safety and integrity being jeopardized. Although the current debate regarding the limits of freedom of expression is beyond the scope of this paper, the point that is worth restating is that, the effect of the rapid rise of information technology now means that new points have emerged in a short space of time and old points must once again be reformulated to take account of the changing world (Hachten, Scotton, 2007). While social networking sites like "Twitter" and "Facebook" facilitate expression to a wide audience, web administrators, bloggers, reporting citizens and others working online (whose sites have been deemed abusive or offensive) have joined traditional journalists in the ranks of those who, according to Muiznieks (Muiznieks, 2016), are at risk of retaliation by state authorities or interest groups. More than ever before, freedom of speech and of expression for journalists working online and offline has remained constantly under threat. Globally, journalists often subject their lives to significant peril in their bid to convey their stories unreservedly. Concurring, Muiznieks (Muiznieks, 2016) states that there exist new limitations on the exercise of fundamental rights. including the right to receive and impart information for those working online. Muiznieks is also of the opinion that there is an artificial distinction between the exercise of freedom of expression online and offline.

This paper examines freedom of expression and safety of journalists in the digital age. The next section was devoted to a brief examination of press freedom in the digital age and in the developing world. That discussion would lead to an examination of the Constitutional and Legislative Framework of press freedom and freedom of expression globally, and in Nigeria. The other sections were devoted to a brief examination of current trends in freedom of expression globally and in Nigeria and recommendations for safeguarding journalists in the digital age.

Press freedom in the digital age and in the developing world

Currently a growing portion of journalistic activities takes place on the Internet. Journalists and even citizen-journalists, most of whom express critical opinions, find the platforms that are available in the digital age convenient to reach out faster and to a broader audience than was previously the case. With the Internet, free information about corruption, maladministration, unethical behavior by public officials and businesses, as well as, serious human rights violations are reported in the public interest to people around the world. However, as these bloggers, citizen journalists and others join traditional journalists in news dissemination, they are faced with old and new threats daily. Emenalo (Emenalo, 2015) affirms that the threats, which include violence, intimidation, prosecution for lawful speech, judicial harassment and surveillance of those reporting, are real and have continued unabated all over the world. And this is despite the fact that most countries have expressed in legal terms an obligation to create an appropriate regulatory framework to ensure the effective protection of freedom of expression for journalists, irrespective of the media platform. Emenalo (Emenalo, 2015) submits that in fact, the relatively recent arrival of the Internet and the rapid evolution of technology appear to have created a space where freedom of expression can, in practice, be limited even further than is mandated by international standards. Emenalo points to threats such as prosecution for legitimate online news broadcasts, arbitrary filtering, blocking and unjustified surveillance as typical illustrations of how the status of the Internet as an open space has been jeopardized. Thus, in his view, in the digital age bloggers, online journalists and citizen journalists have joined traditional journalists in the ranks of those who are at risk of retaliation by state authorities or interest groups.

Generally, the media – whether traditional or Internet enabled – do not operate in a vacuum. Their content, reach, freedom and their audiences are usually determined by the context, in this case the socio-political system, of the nation in which they operate.

Therefore, function and character differ according to the socio-political, economic and cultural structures wherein they operate. Essentially, the press and the freedom it enjoys always take on the form and coloration of the social and political structures in which it is embedded. Sielbert, Peterson and Schramm, cited in Akinfeleye (Akinfeleye, 2008: 124), agree but they add that to see the difference between press systems in full perspective, one must look at the social system in which the press functions. Conversely, the press in any society reflects the system of social control whereby the relations between individuals and institutions are adjusted. In discussing the true nature of press freedom as a major part of the mass media system, Omwanda (Omwanda, 1991: 23) posits that it is the social system that structures the mass media system, which in turn informs the nature of journalistic practice. Omwanda (Omwanda, 1991: 23) submits that the structure of a news media system (including its freedom) is dictated by politics and economics, and to a certain extent shaped by geographical, linguistic and cultural forces. Deductively, the concept of press freedom prevailing in the developing world is that of development media/development journalism theory, a term which first cropped up in the 60's to define a notion of journalism according to which the reporting of events of national and international significance should be constructive, in the sense that it contributes positively to the development of the country concerned.

One of the leading proponents of the development journalism theory, McQuail (1987) states that the theory canvasses media support for an existing government and its efforts to bring about socio-economic development. The theory argues that until a nation is well established and its economic development well underway, media must be supportive rather than critical of government, but assist them in implementing their policies. According to McQuail

(1987), development media theory seeks to accentuate the positive and it nurtures the autonomy of developing nations and gives special emphasis to indigenous cultures. McQuail adds that it is both a theory of state support and one of resistance to the norms of competing nations and competing theories of media. And as the name implies, the theory relates to media in third world nations. It favours journalism that seeks out good news, requires that bad news stories be treated with caution, for such stories could be economically damaging to a nation in the delicate throes of growth and change.

In addition, the media is seen to fulfil particular social and political duties; hence media freedom, while desirable, should be subordinated to national integration, socio-economic modernization, promotion of literacy and cultural creativity. Omwanda (Omwanda, 1991: 32) captures this sentiment succinctly when he opine that to the extent that development is the main agendum of the "Third World", journalists are supposed to subordinate their freedoms to the pursuit of development goals.

Essentially, the theory focuses on long-term development processes and advocates positive functions for the news media to further national development promote political and cultural autonomy and allow for participatory communication structures, which enable grassroots involvement in media production and management (Omwanda, 1991: 36). According to McQuail (McQuail, 1987), the main principle of development media theory is that the media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policy. The theory emphasizes that freedom of the media should be accepting of restrictions in line with the economic priorities and development needs of a given society, and also that media should give priority in their content to national culture and language. Similarly, the theory stresses that media should give priority to news and information linked with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically; journalists and other media workers have rights/freedoms as well as responsibilities; and in the event that the interests of development are not honored, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations and devices of censorship; subsidy and direct control can be justified.

Deductively, a conclusion can be reached to the effect that press freedom in the developing world is conceived and defined in accordance with the collective developmental purpose of society. The individual's right to publish his or her sentiments in or through the news media is recognized and protected as in the western tradition provided such sentiments do not run counter to developmental goals of society as perceived by sometimes elected but mostly self-appointed political leaders. Also, as Omwanda (Omwanda, 1991: 36) argues further, the right to own and operate, majorly, the print news media is also guaranteed within the same bounds. Similarly, censorship, prior, post, and direct control by government are considered legitimate where the government feels that the press is about to or has transgressed.

However, advocates of a free press have contended that curbing press freedom is not the panacea for socio-political stability and national development. They argue that in spite of the prevalence of the lofty explanations for developmental journalism or the theory of press freedom in developing countries, the political leadership of developing societies have mainly restricted the freedom of the press because of the fear that a free press will readily unearth the staggering proportions of graft, ineptitude and mismanagement inherent in the ruling class (Ogbondah, 1994: 25). The advocates for a free press canvass a situation where the expression of principles of development journalism need some fine-tuning, to make them more useful and acceptable to all conscientious journalist, as working guidelines.

Although they subscribe to the normative truism that the press always takes on the form and coloration of social and political structures within which it operates, they argue that prior to the advent of development journalism, there exist certain journalistic values and conventions (some of which are promoted by the libertarian and social responsibility theories) which are cherished by media professionals in most parts of the world, and which therefore impinge on their manner of operation and on their self-perception. On that basis, the theory is both a theory of state support and one of resistance to the norms of competing nations and competing theories of media that we find the development media theory appropriate for this discussion.

Constitutional and legislative framework for freedom of expression in the digital age

While there is no specific global legal instrument that deals exclusively with protecting the personal security of journalists, there exist sufficient international, regional and national legal instruments to provide journalists with the necessary guarantees against abuse and violation of their rights. According to Daramola (Daramola, 2003), the right to freedom of speech and expression has been variously formulated and incorporated in different international instruments and covenants. He observes that nations and international organisations adopt the principle of freedom of thought and opinion in their constitutions, or as a part of international instruments, or by covenant. In fact, the right to freedom of speech as one of the basic human rights is enshrined in major international human rights documents. The International Human Right Law is replete with specific provisions, such as those featured in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which provide for protections such as the right to life, freedom of expression and the right to personal liberty and integrity.

Thus, the safety of journalists has become topical worldwide. In spite of the fact that the safety of journalists is globally and ideally guaranteed by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and enshrined in the constitution of almost all countries, journalists and media workers around the world are increasingly being targeted, threatened, assaulted and even killed for performing their duties. Specifically, Article 19 stipulates:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers".

Similarly, the Nigerian constitution expressly provides that the press shall at all times be free to uphold fundamental objectives spelt out in the basic law, especially the responsibility of holding government accountable and responsible to the people. In Section 22 of the 1999 Constitution, even as amended, the Nigerian Constitution stipulates as follows:

"The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objective contained in this chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government of the people".

However, despite the enshrinement of the freedom of expression in Article 19 and in the constitution of several nations of the world, its applicability, especially in developing societies or developing countries, has often been ignored (Duh, 2014). Duh observes, that the provision on press freedom as articulated in Article 19 has so far not brought about the level of freedom of the press that might be expected internationally, because there are no legally binding mechanisms that guarantee its implementation. He notes that many transition countries (developing societies) that are signatories to the declaration have often neglected to implement the requirements of press freedom.

Clearly, anti-press violence absolutely negates the freedom that journalists are supposed to enjoy as they carry out their functions. It is perhaps for that reason that Okoye (Okoye, 2007) and Okunna (Okunna, 1990) advocate that those who work in the media should enjoy the liberty to discharge their duties without hindrance, as the freedom they enjoy will enable them to monitor those in authority who are capable of making decisions and spearheading actions that are detrimental to society. Okoye argues that press freedom is an essential ingredient of a democratic culture. In agreement, Nam (Nam, 1983: 319) observes that throughout political, scientific, and philosophical history it has been the ability to freely express ideas that has led to progress. Besides, he argues that the ability to have a voice for people's own ideas, as well as access to the ideas of others, provides society with the ability to operate freely and move forward. Bussiek (Bussiek, 1995: 271) asserts that the establishment, maintenance and fostering of an independent, pluralistic and free press is essential to the development and maintenance of democracy in a nation and for economic development.

Interestingly, the essential stature of press freedom and freedom of expression to any society has even been underscored by several world leaders. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon in a message on the occasion of the commemoration of the 2016 edition of the World Press Freedom Day in Geneva, Switzerland reiterated the need for traditional or digital journalists to speak freely and securely when he said: “Everyone has a voice and must be able to speak freely and in safety”.

Similarly, the centrality of freedom of expression to democracy was underscored by Nigeria’s Minister of Information, Alhaji Lai Mohammed at the 3rd Forum on China-Africa Media Cooperation in Beijing, China on June 10, 2016. In a remark at the occasion, the Minister had said:

“Under this dispensation, we have never even contemplated stifling the freedom of the media not to talk of hounding them to death... Not a single journalist is in detention in Nigeria today. The government of the day is not a threat to the media, and it is not about to stifle press freedom or deny anyone his or her constitutionally guaranteed rights”.

There appears to be an increasing global acceptance that freedom of expression is necessary to provide self-fulfillment and to understand diversity and differing perspectives, as the expression of thoughts and feelings is part of humanity. Akinfeleye (Akinfeleye, 2015) views freedom of speech as constituting one of the essential foundations of any democratic society. For Akinfeleye, freedom of expression and press freedom are components of good governance and sustainable development. He asserts that it is one of the basic conditions for the progress and for the development of society.

However, despite the awareness that freedom of expression is a sine qua non for the progress and development of a democratic society freedom of expression and of the press has remained one of the main challenges facing most developed and developing societies. Journalists and media workers around the world are continuously under attack, nearly every day. They are increasingly being targeted, threatened, assaulted and even killed in the course of their official duties. There are reported cases of intimidation, bullying, violence, physical attack and more recently cyber-attack from governmental and non-governmental organisations and individuals whose ultimate goal is to gag or censor them. Various international, regional and national bodies, including UNESCO and Media Rights Agenda, have documented cases of threat of arrest, deaths, withdrawal of broadcast licenses, proscription and general impunity. Donedo, cited in Madueke (Madueke, 2013), captures the violence that hovers over the practice of journalism in Nigeria and around the world succinctly when he opined that "Death threats to lives and beatings have become recurring decimals in journalism while fear is not too far away more from the newsroom". Clear infringements of provisions of statutes that guarantee the safety of journalists have made the issue become topical, the world over.

Suffice it to add that, besides Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), cited earlier, there is Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which provides as follows:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises".

Similarly, another international instrument – the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) – reads as follows:

"Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference; everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice".

In the same vein, Articles 4, 5, 6 and 9 of the African Charter on Human and People's Right guarantee the right of the individual against arbitrary deprivation of the right to life (Article 4), prohibition of inhuman and degrading treatment (Article 5) and the right to freedom of expression (Article 9), among other provisions. Furthermore, other regional instruments, including the Arab Charter on Human Rights and the American Convention of Human Rights, guarantee the right to freedom of expression and the right to liberty for individuals including journalists. All these and many other international documents clearly guarantee the right to freedom of speech and expression. Koch, cited in Akinfeleye (Akinfeleye, 2008: 171) observes that freedom of speech is grounded in the First Amendment to the constitution in the United States. As he puts it:

"It finds its form in the ongoing process of constitutional adjudication as rulings by the supreme court evolve general principles out of particular judgments, responding pragmatically and provisionary to such problems as radical dissent, illegal conduct, libels... to mention only some".

Therefore, the legal framework internationally and regionally seems comprehensive in scope. However, in spite of the existence of these laws, several countries of the world including Nigeria still feature prominently on the list of nations that are notorious for unpunished, deadly, violence against representatives of the press.

Nigeria also has a legal framework that protects journalists and guarantees freedom of the press. Journalists are protected in Nigeria through a number of legal instruments including the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the 2011 Freedom of Information Act (FOI Act). For instance, there are specific provisions in chapter II (Section 14, 2b; section 17, 2b; section 17, 3c) and in chapter iv (section 33, i; section 34, i; section 35, i) and section 38, i, which provide "that every person shall be entitled to freedom of expression including freedom to hold opinion and to receive and impart ideas and information without interference".

Similarly, the FOI Act makes public records and information more freely available, provides for public access to public records and information, protects public records and information to the extent consistent with the public interest and the protection of personal privacy, protects serving public officers from adverse consequences for disclosing certain kinds of official information without authorisation and establishes procedures for the achievement of those purposes. The existence of legal frameworks should protect journalists and guarantee freedom of expression and the press. The only caveat is that because there is no freedom that is absolute and unlimited, these international documents also provide for restrictions and respect for these rights.

Current trends in freedom of expression and press freedom: globally and in Nigeria

Globally, press freedom has become increasingly worrisome. The dangers facing journalists have remained unchanged over several decades. From New York to Cairo and from Cairo to Australia, the list of journalists who are either murdered, detained, restricted and indiscriminately attacked while performing their invaluable roles has continued to grow. Indeed the broad range of attacks, violence, prosecution, intimidation, restriction, judicial harassment and surveillance of journalists performing their duties has continued unabated in the digital era, including in Nigeria. Although sections in the Nigeria Constitution, like section 39 (1) and section 39 (2) of the 1999 constitution as amended, provide the legal basis for journalism practices, journalists both those in the traditional medium and those working in the digital divide like bloggers and citizen reporters have continued to be at the receiving end of unwarranted attacks. In fact, recent research conducted by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) shows that about half of the journalists behind bars at any given time work primarily online, and a majority of them work without institutional support, with neither insurance nor legal backing.

Abundant evidence indicates that journalists have been abused and, in worst cases, killed while performing their duties. In 2014, UNESCO released a report on world trends in freedom of expression and media development with a special focus on digital communication and the safety of journalists. The report, which UNESCO released to mark the International Day to End Impunity against Journalists, celebrated every November 2 since 2014, also focused on protecting sources in the digital age and the role of internet intermediaries in fostering freedom online. The report revealed the continuation of very high impunity rates against journalists globally. Specifically, the report revealed that in 2013, killings amounted to 91 deaths, which UNESCO described as a decrease by a quarter compared to 2012 (123 killings globally). In addition, the UNESCO report revealed that, overall, the Arab states region registered the highest number of killings of journalist at 190 deaths (32%) of the total recorded killings globally. Asia and the Pacific accounted for 179 deaths (30%), Latin America and Caribbean region 123 deaths (21 percent), Europe and North America region accounted for 25 deaths (4%) while the African region recorded 76 deaths representing 13%. With the increase in violent armed conflicts and terrorist activities, UNESCO envisages that journalists stand the risk of being more exposed to danger over time. It explains why the over 100 participants who recently met in Brazil under the auspices of UNESCO to asses major challenges facing journalists in the digital age concluded that media workers, including bloggers, should be protected as they face many challenges including licensing issues, protection of sources, accreditation and ethical responsibility.

Instructively, freedom of expression and opinion, which is the fulcrum around which the press revolves, is a universal human right. As the 99th member of the United Nations Organization (UNO), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is binding on Nigeria. Moreover, by its membership in the UNO, Nigeria assumed an obligation towards the realization of the principles enunciated in the declaration. However, it does not appear that Nigeria has been faithful to that obligation as evidenced by the fact that the country, like most countries in Africa, has its fair share of cases of death and abuse of journalists while performing their duties. According to Okpara (Okpara, 2015), the danger faced by journalists, the nature of the violations of their rights, the institutions and persons responsible for such violations and the actions taken or not taken to promote the safety of journalists, have been sources of serious concern in Nigeria. Findings have revealed many documented violations of the rights of journalists through assault, abduction, killing and destruction of their working equipment. A cursory look at the CPJ index of journalists who were killed in Nigeria between 1996 and 2013 reveals that 19 journalists were killed, with the most recent being the reported assasination of Ikechukwu Udendu of Anambra News on January 12, 2013. As Madueke (Madueke, 2013) observes, the figure of the 19 slain journalists is small when compared to the number of deaths recorded in Nigeria in 2012. According to Madueke (Madueke, 2013), 13 Nigerian journalists were killed in 2012 alone in active service, a figures which the CPJ considered the highest in the history of Nigeria since independence. Similarly, Azuakala (Azuakala, 2013) in a report published on www.thescoopng.com indicates that Nigeria in the decade after 2009 was ranked as the 11th worst in the world in combating deadly anti-press crime. The website listed some of the known cases of threats, abuse and death involving journalists in Nigeria, including the killing of Zakariya Isa, a reporter with the NTA in October 2011. Unknown gunmen in his home in Maiduguri shot the journalist. In addition, on 19 January 2012, a radio journalist with Highland FM, Jos, Nansok Sallah was killed. His body was found 200 metres from a military checkpoint. It was believed to be a targeted murder because nothing of value was taken from him.

Similarly, Enenche Akogwu, a reporter with Channels Television, was murdered in Kano while covering a terrorist attack. In the same vein, four reporters of Leadership newspapers were on April 8, 2013 detained without charge (Azuakala, 2013). The police said the reporters were detained for investigation into stories they published about a plan by the Presidency (then controlled by the ruling People's Democratic Party – PDP) to sabotage opposition political parties that merged as the All Progressive Congress (APC) to challenge the then ruling party. Also, last year (2015), the CPJ in a petition to the Inspector General of Police published on their website www.cpj.org, complained of how Yomi Olomoye, publisher of Prime Magazine, a monthly community magazine was beaten into a coma at the Seme border allegedly on the orders of men of the Nigerian Customs and Excise. There is also the reported case of a journalist with the Vanguard Newspaper Emmanuel Elebeke who was reportedly beaten by officers of the Nigerian Prison Service after he allegedly took pictures of three suspects accused of murder. There are many more cases of abuse and threats, which are sobering reminders of just how little press freedom exists in Nigeria and many parts of the world. What is common in all of the cases is that there has been no justice: no arrest or charges in connection with the arrest and killings.

Even, structures like the Nigerian Press council (NPC) and the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), charged with protecting the rights and privileges of Nigerian journalists, have not been able to adequately provide cover and protection for journalists in the country. Clearly, neither organs seems to be effective, nor even sensitive to the plight of journalists in this country. Akpan (Akpan, 2015) observes that both journalists and the public do not feel their impact even on significant issues of public interest involving journalists. Ebele (Ebele, 2013) notes that even though protection of the rights and privileges of journalists is an integral part of the function of the NPC and the NUJ, both organs – the first government established, and the latter privately driven, have been casual in taking up matters that border on infringement of the rights of journalists. Although Akpan (Akpan, 2015) acknowledged that the NUJ has been consistent in their determination to institute a welfare and insurance package for Nigerian journalists, he reasoned that what should be of utmost priority to the NUJ is ensuring that the government respects its own commitment to press freedom and freedom of expression, and should guarantee a normalized commitment to shun interference and media harassment. In agreement, Ebele (Ebele, 2015) thinks that in addition to the planned insurance and welfare scheme for journalists, the NUJ should as a matter of urgency undertake all necessary measures to ensure effective protection of journalists against violence, threats and harassment from both state and non-state actors.

Conclusion and recommendations

This paper examines freedom of expression and the safety of journalists in the digital age. It examines current trends in freedom of expression globally and in Nigeria, and examines the Constitutional and Legislative Framework of press freedom and freedom of expression globally and in Nigeria. The paper confirms that more than ever before, freedom of speech and of expression for journalists working online and offline has remained constantly under threat. It also analyzes new limitations on the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, including the right to receive and impart information for those working online. We note the artificial distinction between the exercise of freedom of expression online and offline. This finding is consistent with Muizniek's (Muizniek, 2016) view that journalists, whether online or traditional journalists, are at the risk of retaliation by state authorities or interest groups, and his observation that there exist new limitations to the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms. Clearly, these limitations and anti-press violence absolutely negate the freedom that journalists are supposed to enjoy as they carry out their functions, one of which is to uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. Because of the peculiar nature of their work, journalists should be at liberty to gather, hold, express and disseminate information and opinions without official or unofficial censure, or fear of retaliation by state authorities or interest groups. Besides, there should be no artificial distinctions between the exercise of freedom of expression online and offline. The new and diffuse nature of the internet should never be taken as pretext for introducing new limitations on the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms, including the right to receive and impart information. In light of the above, we make the following recommendations:

- Beyond appeals to media owners for improved working conditions for journalists, safe and secure environments for the practice of journalism must be created through collective effort. Present and future realities demand this. Stakeholders involved in the protection and safety of journalists have an obligation to create an appropriate regulatory framework to ensure the effective protection of freedom of expression on the Internet. Free speech should not be limited on the Internet. Measures restricting access, arbitrary filtering, blocking of Internet content and unjustified surveillance must if at all, be based on a law that is precise and that offers sufficient opportunities for judicial review.

- With a changing and increasingly dangerous work climate, it has become imperative for journalists to be guided by some basic principles. We see the need for rapport between government and media to be strengthened. Lack of communication and mutual suspicion constitute part of the reason for regular friction between the government and the media in Nigeria. We recommend that there should be a free flow of communications to eliminate suspicions.
- Government and its relevant agencies must ensure the protection of the premises of vulnerable media establishments when required to do so. However, this hand of fellowship should not affect the independence of such media organizations. In addition, all governmental and non-governmental institutions, including regulatory bodies like the Nigerian Press Council, should be further strengthened in order to perform their statutory duties, which should include standing up for journalists when they are deprived of their freedom.
- Security agencies and the media need to engage with one another by cultivating partnerships. They must view their roles as complementary and not see each other as adversaries. Similarly, security agencies must discharge their duty of preventing, investigating and punishing crimes

against journalists and remedying their consequences. A lot of the violence against journalists, including the murder of Dele Giwa on October 19, 1986, is still being investigated.

- We submit that there should be regular training and re-training opportunities for journalists to meet expectations of the changing roles and needs of the profession. To this end, periodic national seminar should occur in order to foster the safety of journalists and to reinforce the consciousness of journalists to operate safely in the line of duty.
- Professional associations, such as the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) and the Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE), must intervene and condemn attacks on journalists. They must fulfill their roles as visible advocates and lobby groups, placing the issue of press freedom, safety and insurance for journalists at the top of their agendas. They must also collaborate with media owners to develop safety training for journalists on how to enhance their safety in the face of the hazards looming before them as they report news and views. Working condition for journalists must be improved. Journalists should enjoy health and safety protection and should be covered by insurance.
- The NUJ and the NGE must insist on speedy, effective and independent investigation into harassment or killings of journalists, taking steps to bring instigators and perpetrators to justice. Priority should be rendered to providing access to justice and legal remedies to victims of all human rights violations, including the right to freedom of expression.
- Importantly, journalists themselves must be conscious of personal safety. Safety should be a primary consideration and they must not be flippant with information. They must take a range of personal precautions: in certain situations

they should not identify with their by-line; they must avoid areas designated as 'flash points' and limit how much they disclose about an investigative piece in progress; they must endeavor to prepare themselves thoroughly for each assignment by acquiring equipment that can help them in dangerous situations; they must have a map or mental map of surrounding areas in order to ensure an exit route in case of complications; they must understand the culture and be aware of the dynamics of their surrounding. Besides, they should always keep their editors informed about current stories; possible complication should be discussed with editors, colleagues and spouses.

- Finally, we recommend that journalists should enlist reliable security contacts and should develop a network of professional and family contacts that can be mobilized in an emergency. They must have a clear understanding of the potential risk of an assignment they are asked to cover. Importantly, journalists working online and offline are advised not to hesitate to turn down a risky assignment.

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CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

MEDIA CRITICISM AS A FORM OF LITERARY JOURNALISM: UPDATING THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO A META-GENRE

МЕДИАКРИТИКА КАК ФОРМАТ АВТОРСКОЙ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ: ОБНОВЛЕНИЕ ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИХ ПОДХОДОВ К МЕТАЖАНРУ

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This paper attempts to analyze current practices of literary journalism, manifest in the format of a column as its meta-genre, and media criticism as its global content. Critics mainly focus on *media products from such creative industries as modern television, theatre, cinema, as well as on literature and the work of cultural institutions. One of the most prominent journalists concerned with these issues is Tatyana Moskvina. The paper draws attention especially to a definition of literary journalism as a community of creative personalities with different professional backgrounds, working on staff or as freelancers, who are concerned with the most pressing issues and give their reviews in unconventional creative genres.*

Key words: *meta-genre, literary journalism, column writing, column, media criticism, tradition, tone.*

В данной статье предпринята попытка анализа практик современной авторской журналистики, метажанром которой является колонка, а глобальным контентом – медиакритика. Выявлены основные темы критики, связанной именно с медиа – критики искусства современного телевидения, театра, кинематографа, литературы, а также деятельности учреждений культуры. Наиболее интересным журналистом, в поле зрения которого находятся перечисленные проблемы, является Татьяна Москвина. Особый акцент в статье сделан на определении понятия авторской журналистики, которая представляет собой сообщество творческих личностей, получивших разные профессии, работающих постоянно либо приглашенных к сотрудничеству, пишущих отклики на злобу дня, комментирующих события, в неканонических, созданных собственной мыслью и талантом, жанрах.

Ключевые слова: *метажанр, авторская журналистика, колумнистика, колонка, медиакритика, традиция, тональность.*

Introduction

Recently, we have witnessed an increasing interest in the opinions published in periodicals by authors who are not necessarily full-time staff members. To give one example, half of the thirty columnists writing for “Gazeta.ru” are journalists working for other media establishments, while just a few of the on-staff columnists have a degree in journalism. This leads us to define literary journalism as a community of creative personalities with different professional backgrounds, working on staff or as freelancers, who are concerned with the most pressing issues and publish their reviews in unconventional creative genres. Although the emergence of new genres is a set trend, all the new literary genres center around a personal column – a meta-genre model, which has gained in popularity, seen a growth in dedicated column inches, and is assuming a place in the system of journalistic genres. The personal column today is, largely, a platform to exercise freedom of critical thought and air opinions on an array of issues, including opinions about a TV media product.

This paper aims to examine practices of literary journalism. To meet this end, it will consider the ratio of traditions to innovations in literary journalism, present the results of discourse analysis of critical content as textual space, identify the platforms amenable to originality and creative freedom for media critics, and discuss the ways they prioritize choice of genre.

Methodology

This research is aimed at analyzing genres of literary journalism Choosing the most effective method to analyze these genres is a multi-step endeavor. Each method must be weighted in order to establish its methodological value in journalistic research. The use of a traditional method of comparative analysis allows us to examine how new journalistic genres appear by revealing both the regulatory mechanisms that differentiate genres and the means of transforming their structure. It also reveals the flexibility of journalistic genres, which, on the one hand, allows the journalist to concentrate on certain aspects of the reality they depict and, on the other hand, takes into account response patterns of particular audiences perceiving a media text. The major content of the latter are critical reviews of modern media practices from television, theatre, and cinema. The comparative method is a research tool used to analyze the specific genres of media criticism represented in opinion columns, which has become a mainstay of literary journalism.

Deliverables

Today, opinion columns are found in many periodicals. However, not every edition can boast of professionalism in regard to their columnists. The study analyzed 600 writings published by the media critic Tatiana Moskvina in the newspaper "Argumenti Nedeli" over the last 10 years (the editor's column has come out regularly since 2006). This analysis covers all of the texts published in Moskvina's column over the past decade (2006-2016). K. Krippendorf refers to this method as systematic sampling (Krippendorf, 1980: 53). Qualitative analysis was applied to 600 texts, showing changes in the representation of the three most frequent issues raised in the sampling, i.e. cinema, theatre, and management of cultural institutions. The choice of articles was determined by a wish to find the most typical topics of media criticism. Special attention was given to articles about cultural events held in St. Petersburg.

Table 1

Topics in Moskvina's media criticism: results of content analysis

Topics of Publications							
Year	**Theatre (First Night Reviews, Festivals, Awards)**	**Literature (New Releases, Awards)**	**Cinema, Television (New films)**	**Cultural Issues (Restoration of Architecture and its Outcomes)**	**Cultural Institutions**	**Officials**	**Personalities in Culture (Interviews, Sketches, Obituaries)**
2006	7	5	8	4	2	4	10
2007	7	10	10	6	3	3	12
2008	9	6	10	3	10	5	10
2009	8	9	8	6	7	8	13
2010	8	8	9	6	8	9	12
2011	9	8	8	5	9	11	10
2012	8	6	8	5	8	12	7
2013	7	7	6	7	10	12	5
2014	6	8	6	6	10	13	6
2015	9	5	9	5	11	14	4
2016	8	9	8	4	7	16	5
Total	86	81	90	57	85	107	94

The study reveals that certain issues in culture, in particular the behavior of officials and corruption in cultural institutions, are increasingly becoming the focus of Moskvina's relentless eye.

The content focuses on five areas: cultural institutions (85 stories published by T. Moskvina in her column), theatre (86), cinema and television (90), literature (81), criticism of officials and outcomes of restoration of cultural monuments (164), an interview or a story about a personality in culture (94). Five hundred out of six hundred stories have headlines indicative of critical content and an ironic tone. The most remarkable feature of Moskvina's output is her attitude toward the critical tradition and the traditions of art (including television, theater, cinema, and literature). Stories featuring officials from cultural establishments are marked by a sarcastic tone and ceaseless disparagement typical of the Russian critical tradition.

Discussion

The theory of media criticism as criticism of textual content distributed through traditional media platforms (press, radio, television) was developed by Aleksander Korochensky. The theoretical basis for defining the opinion column as a natural platform for media criticism was laid by Russian and American researchers of column writing, in particular, Vitaly Tretyakov, Bill Moyers, Yassen Zassoursky, and Sofia Yartseva.

Approaches to this question are varied. An unusual approach to media criticism is demonstrated by Denis McQuail. He views media criticism, on the one hand, as self-regulation, while on the other, he considers it as a tool to gain media accountability, ensuring social responsibility of the media to society (McQuail, 2013: 233).

McQuail underscores the fact that media criticism facilitates public trust in mass media. In her doctoral thesis on media criticism in the U.S.A., Prof. Doc. Susanne Fengler makes particular mention of the idea that media criticism is driven by public discontent and disappointment in media practices (Fengler, 2003: 818-819). Arthur Hayes concerns himself with the history of U.S. media criticism. He traces the historical development of press criticism since the 1880s, noting specific stages and the categories that marked them: muckrakers, journalism reviews, columnists and authors, television press critics, press councils, advocacy groups, scholars, ombudsmen, bloggers, and satirists (Hayes, 2008). According to B.L.R. Vande, L.A. Wenner, and B.E. Gronbeck, too, there are linguistic formats and tonalities that distinguish several types of media criticism. These include categorization by semiotic, genre, narrative, rhetorical, and ideological characteristics (Vande, Wenner, Gronbeck, 2004: 222-223).

Personal opinion column: evolution of methods and forms

In 1721, James Franklin founded "The New-England Courant", a newspaper marked by the humorous tone in letters-to-the-editor written by Benjamin Franklin. Under the pen name Silence Dogood, Benjamin Franklin sent in more than fourteen letters, which reveal features typical of the modern opinion column (Silence Dogood, №1 from the New-England Courant, 1722). They were published bi-weekly, conveyed a full-fledge, if fictional, personality and clearly reflected some opinions of Franklin himself. It might be noted that the pen name "Mrs. Silence Dogood" sets a witty, joking tone; under the guise of a morally upstanding widow, Franklin mixes frivolous chatter with real social commentary. Franklin's column upheld the general spirit of the paper, which did not take aim at public officials but, rather, focused on the discussion of essential political issues. The stories, at once emotional, personalized and provocative, were also thought-provoking and controversial. Importantly, they aired ideas which were fundamental for the then population of the United States.

In the 1760s the press became politicized. According to Bernard Bailyn, this was driven by two factors: the Stamp Act of 1765 and, later, the Townshend Acts of 1767 (Beilin, 2010: 21). The latter was a set of laws that placed tax duties on certain goods imported to British colonies, e.g. paper and paint. Local publishers and printers considered the tax discriminatory, which lead not only to protests in the colonies, but also hit the headlines. One of the responses to the new duties was "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania". This series of essays was published starting in 1767 in "The Boston Chronicle". The series includes 12 letters written by John Dickinson, a lawyer and a legislator.

Remarkably, both Dickinson and Benjamin Franklin were able to create the image of an author and write on behalf of that persona. According to the historian Bernard Bailyn, such masks facilitated creative freedom (Beylin, 2010). A journalist hiding behind his pen name could air his stance, often different from official opinion, without the fear of political repression. Dickinson also needed a pseudonym. At the beginning of the series, his position towards officials in his native country [England] was moderate; however, it changed over time. At first, he called for coordinated actions among colonies in their fight against the new duties, including refusal to pay them. Later, his attitude towards the British government changed completely, giving way to harsh criticism. "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania" even called for an armed rebellion.

John Dickinson's letters, along with the letters by Silence Dogood, made a significant impact on American history. Both series raised social and political issues, a farmer from Pennsylvania and a widow from Boston speak about the value of freedom. The two series of essays are marked, too, by important differences. Dickinson's letters are considerably longer. The first letter of Silence Dogood is almost two and a half times shorter than that of the Pennsylvania farmer (3,500 against 8,000 characters). The total number of letters in the latter series is smaller. Noticeably, the 1767-1768 series is entirely dedicated to political issues, in particular, the relationship between the colonies and their motherland, and how citizens of the New World might change that situation. As is repeatedly emphasized in his letters, the farmer regards freedom and labor as cardinal virtues. Interestingly, Dickinson used italics and capital letters to highlight the most essential concepts and ideas.

Thus, it is fair to say that by the second half of the 18th century newspapers of the New World started publishing series of letters that can be regarded as prototypes for modern opinion columns. This is evidenced by certain similarities between modern opinion columns and letters of Silence Dogood and the Pennsylvania farmer. First, despite their imaginary or false features, readers were informed about the personalities of the authors. The authors used them to set the audience in the right frame of mind in order to help them perceive ideas voiced by a person of certain outlook and social position. Second, both authors were not hesitant to communicate provocative ideas about political power and society. Their views contradicted those of London officials and, at the same time, banded together and united residents of the American colonies. Third, similarly to opinion columns, the letters appeared regularly. Fourth, their average size is comparable with that of modern opinion columns.

Column writing in Russia

Russia welcomed the new genre in the early 1990s. Whatever the genre may be, once adopted in Russia, it will have its own style, i.e. a system of lexical, narrative, metric, and intonation patterns. In the period of normative conceptions about genres these characteristics were used to differentiate between and to define specific types of works. However, the situation changes when genres start to interact. Generally, in this case less stable genres are subject to a genre with more powerful stylistic characteristics. As B. Tomashevsky put it, “it is clear that we cannot build any solid and logical classification of genres... they are distinguished by a variety of characteristics and characteristics of one genre may appear to have an absolutely different nature that those of another one and, despite these, remain logically compatible... Genre studies have to be descriptive replacing the logical classification with an instrumental one” (Tomashevskiy, 1925: 165). Researchers face considerable difficulties when trying to define new genres since each particular case represents individual architectonic and conceptual features, making it impossible to resort to the concept of the genre in its conventional sense.

According to L. Chernets, a genre, as a category, has to perform two functions: first, to point at stable recurrent characteristics; second, to fulfill the task of genre classification (Chernets, 1982). To quote from Tomashevsky, “Specific groups or literary genres appear. What is characteristic of them is that devices of every genre are made of specific groupings of devices around these distinguishing devices or genre characteristics. It is possible to have numerous genre characteristics referring to any aspect of a literary work.” (Tomashevskiy, 1925: 161). With this in mind, it is reasonable to regard any text type as a particular genre if it has a clear-cut and a stable enough set of formal, functional or content-related characteristics notwithstanding the lack of compulsory and stable correlations between the form and the content, the structure and the function (Esin, 2003).

In his study on how new genres evolve, V. Dneprov determined five facets in genre development (Dneprov, 1980):

- esthetic attitude to reality;
- span of reality;
- type of narrative (narration, description, dialogue);
- composition (the role of action, characters, circumstances);
- language (rhythm, intonation, stylistic devices, etc.).

These five levels determine the genre brackets, the correlation between thematic and stylistics structures. Genre scopes changing over the course of time constitute the subject of the historic-literary approach, while stable characteristics of a genre constitute the subject of historical poetics. Genre typology resorts to the method of reflection and genre function as units of classification. M. Bakhtin made the point that genres function as "forms of vision and understanding of certain aspects of the real world" (Bakhtin, 1979: 307). Despite the fact that genres are renewed and reborn, each genre, by its nature, has a foundation. This is what Bakhtin called the archetype. However, the genre "repertoire", in journalism in particular, is subject to constant changes. This is where we witness two types of processes: the emergence of new speech genres and the transformation of archetypes of traditional genres. Through interaction the latter exchange stylistic and compositional devices creating meta-genres. In journalism, a meta-genre evolves on the principle of a spiral – the germination of elements of the new genre within the existing system of genres; its separation into an independent system of genres; stabilization of the system over a particular historical period; the climax of genre development; gradual accumulation of new characteristics at the "rethinking" stage, and, finally, genre transformation. In journalism, transformation is the most productive type of processes in genre development as in this case it has to rise to certain set tasks. "The exploration of the epoch in any possible way – through family life, household, social interaction or psychological effort is inseparable from types of its reflection, i.e. basic approaches to genre architecture" (Medvedev, 1928: 182) Once the types (methods) of reflection are supplemented with the types (methods) of free and open communication of different opinions, journalism has a wider range of approaches to interpret the reality.

Perspectivism was the first philosophical school of thought to point out the necessary coexistence of numerous interpretations of the real world. Perspectivists valued individual interpretation and personal opinions, allowing for an infinite range of interpretations of reality, none of them claiming to be exceptional. These ideas were shared by G. Leibniz, F. Nietzsche, W. Dilthey, J. Ortega y Gasset and H. Vaihinger. As F. Nietzsche put it, "Rational thought is interpretation according to a scheme that we cannot throw off." (Nitsshe, 2005: 186). An alteration in the scheme entails a change in interpretation, the phenomenon remains the same but acquires a different meaning. The interpretation schemes (or: "Interpretive schemes"?) are countless. The choice of a particular scheme is not driven by pursuit of truth, but a necessity to achieve mutual understanding (Nitsshe, 2005).

The majority of current media studies focus on issues of interpretation. Interpretation is regarded as an agenda-shaping technology. A. Garbuzniak states that "in today's context of conflict and diverse socio-political environment, the interpretation function of Russian mass media is coming to the forefront" (Garbuzniak, 2015). It is difficult to argue this point. However, the paper cited does not make any mention of the interpreter as a vital creative individual. According to Garbuzniak, interpretation is done by depersonalized mass media companies at home with effective technologies for communicating the ideas of public officials.

In our view, it is most fruitful to speak about interpretation within the context of literary journalism which manifests the importance of personal opinion, position, beliefs, and worldview of both the author and the reader. Literary journalism is a response to everyday challenges that may, to some extent, reflect an agenda, assimilate its scope of issues or reject it through criticism. Alexander Akhiezer, a renowned Russian political and cultural expert, sociologist and philosopher, underscores the importance of criticism, stating that historical inertia is indicative of a personal attachment to life experience; it causes constant lags in embracing innovation and, as a result, decreases the adaptive capacity of society when it has to constantly fit in with an ever-changing environment. Overcoming historical inertia is only possible through constant, massive criticism of the historical experience (Akhiezer, 1997).

Freedom of thought – one of the key achievements of democracy – is actualized in literary journalism. Being well-informed, educated, politically aware and pro-active as a journalist is the key to the freedom of opinion (Sherel, 1993). E. Vartanova, following D. Smythe, V. Mosco and A. Moles, concludes her study on the role of mass media in the economic market and the modern structure of free time with the opinion that "journalists are still very instrumental in creating media content" (Vartanova, 2009). Oddly, Bakhtin sounds up-to-date when he writes that "a journalist is, in the first place, a contemporary and has to be a contemporary who lives surrounded by issues that can only be solved here and now (or, at any rate, in the nearest future). The journalist takes part in a dialogue which has its end and its conclusion, may trigger action, may turn into empirical power. This is where 'one's own word' is possible" (Bakhtin, 1979: 336). Moreover, literary journalism meets the needs of the audience that is not interested in content meant for consumers of mass culture. 'Readers' and 'non-readers' have different interests and demands. This difference has already triggered new research. The analysis of survey findings conducted by S. Plotnikov, a renowned Russian scholar in the psychology of reading, shows that, "The readers, unlike the non-readers, are capable of critical thinking, can grasp a full picture and determine conflicting relationships between events; the readers will get a more realistic picture of the situation and are faster in getting the right solution; the readers haves a better memory and active imagination; they are more efficient speakers – their speech is emphatic, succinct, richer in vocabulary; they give more precise wording and write easily; they are more open to meet people and are pleasant to talk to; they need greater independence and internal freedom; they are more critical and independent in their judgments and behavior. To sum up, reading shapes the qualities of a most developed and socially valuable personality" (Plotnikov, 1999: 64-65). Preferences of a contemporary audience for journalistic content are affected by the fragmentation process. Content is differentiated according to two types of thinking – humanitarian and consumer – forming a dialectical opposition.

According to Bakhtin's theory, thinking in the human sciences can be best represented as "transcription of a special kind of dialogue: the complex interrelations between the text (the object of study and reflection) and the created, framing context (questioning, refuting, and so forth) in which the scholar's cognizing and evaluating thought takes place. This is the meeting of two texts – of the ready-made and the reactive text being created – and, consequently, the meeting of two subjects and two authors" (Bakhtin, 1979: 297).

Thinking in the humanities, in Bakhtin's view, is a dialogue of cultures and traditions which generates an audience's anticipation concerning a particular genre. As Bakhtin put it, "Truth is not born nor is it to be found inside the head of an individual person, it is born between people collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction." (Bakhtin, 1979: 299) The meta-genre in literary journalism reflects the ideology of civil society making the author and the reader equally important. Early in the 20th century, N. Rubakin developed a concept of the author's dependence on the reader's interpretation (Rubakin, 1925). The author focuses his attention on the relationship that a person or society has with the real world. Implicit communication creates communication space, the author and the reader are engaged in a dialogue that affects information behavior of the audience and textual strategies (stylistic devices, timeliness, polemical discourse).

Reading literary journalistic works requires creativity. The key feature of the author-reader communication is the focus on co-creation, which, if taken in the context of information space, touches upon a range of issues. One of the primary issues concerns the audience's attitude toward the author's text and possible limits of its interpretation. The author's text is not simply a set of words, it is an integral and complex set full of meaningful signs and images. The author's task is to unveil the meaning and help the reader understand the idea. To interpret the author's message correctly, the reader has to see the author in the text. It is not an object that is communicated in literary journalism – it is a thought and an emotional message that shapes the worldview and alters behavior. To quote from Karl Marx: "We have before us the objectified essential powers of man in the form of sensuous, alien, useful objects" (Marks, 1956: 301).

To understand the author is to reconstruct, to recreate his way of thinking objectified in the text. Science has already developed effective guidelines to creative reading. Defining several levels of understanding an author's text, Shreyder suggests understanding of the author's intention as one of the principal levels, which explains the purpose of the text. Shreyder calls the author's intention inherent to the textual "in-depth semantics" and defines it as "a supreme goal of writing or delivering the text" (Shreyder, 1972). To delve deep into a text is to feel its uniqueness, created thanks to the unique individuality of the author, to see the personality behind the text, to find the author. As a result, a thoughtful reader will arrive at a framing context – this is what renders humanitarian thought two-dimensional and bi-subjective. The fundamental difference between humanitarian and consumer thought reflected in the information behavior of the audience, is traced in a popular quotation from Bakhtin: "And so behind each text stands a language system. Everything in the text that is repeated and reproduced, everything repeatable and reproducible, everything that can be repeated outside a given text conforms to this language system. But at the same time each text (as an utterance) is individual, unique, and unrepeatable, and herein lies its entire significance (its plan, the purpose for which it was created). This is something in the text that refers to truth, veracity, kindness, beauty, history" (Bakhtin, 1979: 300).

Characteristic features of a literary media text are not only determined by the information behavior of the audience, but also by genre traditions of international print media, e.g. the term describing a section of a newspaper page may extend to include the name of the new genre. For instance, the early 19th century welcomed the genre of feuilleton and the new genre of an opinion column emerged at the turn of the 21st century gradually replacing the traditional lead story (the leader) – an article, which, as a rule, was anonymous and promoted the political program of the majority party. A number of scholars suppose that the genre of the “anonymous leader” is no longer relevant (Bobkov, 2005).

The essence of any tradition lies in its constant evolution, alteration at every new turn of history. If there is no change, no progress, there is no tradition – this is what constitutes its nature and has to be taken into account. Therefore, the most effective definitions of tradition point at its dynamic nature and emphasize its constant evolution. It is no coincidence that in recent theoretical as well as historical and literary studies concerned with continuity, the preference is given to the definition by A. Spirkin, who suggests that “tradition in its general philosophical sense is a type of relationship between the successive stages of the evolving object, including culture, when the old turns into the new and performs effectively in it” (Spirkin, 1980: 8). It is fair to say that this definition appropriately reflects the nature of tradition and seems the most promising for further research as, primarily, “here progress is interpreted as the basis, the force of nature that gives life to tradition” (Kamensky, 1982: 204). Defining tradition as “selection, interpretation, transfer and evolution of the historical artistic experience”, Kamensky proceeds from the assumption that tradition rests upon the dialectical unity of the historically stable and the evolving, the dynamic (Kamensky, 1982: 206). Similarly to Spirkin’s definition, the emphasis is placed on the dynamic character of tradition.

In his concept of tradition a German literary scholar R. Weimann considers dynamics as a major attribute of tradition. This is the cornerstone of his theory, which regards tradition as “a category of attitude indicative of the historical development”. “Tradition is something that is adopted and, as something that is subject to change, it changes the creative work of those who have adopted traditional images” (Veyman, 1975: 48). This is what, according to Weimann, makes great traditions eternal.

The present study of genre renewal in journalism is based upon Bakhtin's theoretical principals, defining tradition of genre renewal as "a representative of creative memory", capable of regeneration and acquisition of new properties in response to the changing times and, at the same time, preserving the archetype.

According to N. Leiderman, the core function of the genre is "a form of cognition that constitutes a new step in the development of modern artistic consciousness" (Leiderman, 1982: 126). As the genre is regarded as a form of the author's consciousness, Leiderman acknowledges that creative individuality affects genre development. If the genre is consistent with a certain level of artistic cognition of reality and has accumulated certain artistic knowledge about the modern "human world", it, as Leiderman argues, sets a genre trend which accelerates, gains momentum and sidelines other genres.

M. Gasparov claims that "To create a new genre is to confirm that certain forms utilize certain topics and use a set of feelings and thoughts to establish a firm relationship between them" (Gasparov, 1978: 203). If we apply this algorithm to literary journalism, we can conclude that a new genre is created by a vivid, talented, unbiased author. Bakhtin considered chronotopes as key determinants of the genre. Potebnya, Leiderman, and Chernets conclude that new genre forms are modifications of archetypes. Leiderman distinguishes between a genre and a genre model. He suggests that a genre should belong to the category of classification, whereas a genre model should be regarded as a factor of text formation. Therefore, a genre model functions as a transformation.

Transformations take place when some characteristics of the genre model appear to be less stable as a result of bringing together several models, discarding dominant genre-specific characteristics of the model, mismatches between elements of genre invariants, emphasis of certain characteristics of the basic genre model, and reductions of genre models. Hence, a new literary genre is a type of writing formed by the transformation of the invariant genre structure or several such structures resulting in an unconventional and often unique, non-reproducible genre definition. In each individual case, new genres appear in accordance with the author's intention. However, as is the case with any abstract entity, a meta-genre has structural components required for any modification. As regards a literary genre, this is a personal position, personal opinion, architectonics of the text, inter-textuality, super-textual elements (headlines, sub headlines).

The present study of literary genres is based on the structural approach and regards a meta-genre as a model that has accumulated conventional characteristics of other genres. For instance, an opinion column might develop new genre characteristics of a review, a commentary, a round-up, a letter, a lampoon, or a feuilleton. The trend for convergence of each genre invariants provides additional capacity for the interpretation of an event. Giving his opinion and stating his position, the author opens the dialogue with the reader. In the dialogue, the person "invests his entire self in discourse, and this discourse enters into the dialogic fabric of human life, into the world symposium" (Bakhtin, 1979: 126). Inter-textuality of the column makes it possible to analyze how particular authors affect the formation of the meta-genre.

Choosing the style is a step that precedes text writing, however, each text modifies its genre and, as a result, a genre model is just a work material. From this dynamic position a genre may be defined as a functional category. To avoid the mistake of regarding a certain text of a particular epoch as an "ideal text" dependant on the "meta-text", i.e. on the whim of a literary scholar, Leiderman suggests considering a genre a category of classification which refers to reading, whereas a genre model is regarded as a text-forming factor (Leiderman, 1982).

Focusing on the meta-genre, it is necessary to refer to the "Theory of Literature", a book by R. Wellek and A. Warre (Wellek, Warre, 1979), who consider the classics of literary scholarship. As the authors suggest, "Genre should be conceived, we think, as a grouping of literary works based, theoretically, upon both outer form (specific meter or structure) and also upon inner form (attitude, tone, purpose – more crudely, subject and audience)" (Wellek, Warre, 1979). "Outer" and "inner" structures of the meta-genre make up genre-specific characteristics. For the column these are an appropriate size (4,000 characters), structure (composition), emotionality (mood, attitude), constructive criticism (intention). Hence, the elements of the meta-genre structure: critical tone, explicit/implicit attitude, object of criticism, and emotional intensity.

Literary journalism: esthetics of critical thought

A text with critical semantics will use irony as an esthetic principle. Linguists define irony as "the use of a word, a word combination or a sentence so that the intended meaning of a statement contradicts the literary (check: is the word "literal"?) meaning of the words to express criticism or evaluation" (Kuznets, 1960: 38). The author always makes it clear that his irony does not only reveal criticism, but also his "life stance" – an observation made by Plato thousands of years ago. Irony makes the author unobtrusive and non-judgemental – features necessary to communicate with the modern reader.

An analysis of the genre model of literary journalism reveals that the mega-genre is the most effective form for thoughtful individuals to communicate opinions, ideas, attitudes, and life stance to a thoughtful audience who consider them interesting personalities.

As history shows, the interpretation of reality in an anonymous, depersonalized text fails to rally the audience's confidence. Interpreting the situation from a personal perspective, evaluativity, a critical tone – this is what constitutes the archetype of the genre. Texts published on the allocated space of a newspaper page await the reader who might be unaware of such genre names as feuilleton, review, round-up, and the like. The column is sure to become part of the reader's thesaurus and the theory of journalistic genres as a meaningful name of a well-established, stable group of texts with the stated characteristics.

The present study is particularly interested in the sociological explanation of the popularity of media criticism. According to one sociologist, such content gains a vast amount of popularity when the society "is in doubt, when old values are shattering and new values are just emerging" (Shreyder, 1972: 67). M. Walzer suggests that social criticism takes all these forms – political censure, moral indictment, skeptical question, satiric comment, angry prophecy, and utopian speculation (Uolcer, 1999: 332).

Russian and international scholars in psychology (V. Vilunas, L. Vygotsky, B. Dodonov, A. Leontiev, P. Simonov, P. Fraisse, et. al.) provide a conceptual vision of the display of emotions in communication. This helps the addressee grasp the addressor's opinion, accept a particular point of view, make a choice, etc. Emotion is a psychological category, which, taken on the linguistic level, transforms into emotionality or the tone of the text. The tone of the text is the author's emotional attitude to an event, a process, or a phenomenon, i.e. to reality. The tone of the text as well as nomination, ideologeme, evaluativity, and interpretation are text-forming categories of the powerful discourse of criticism.

Widening the scope of N. Klushina's definition, it should be emphasized that media criticism in regard to journalism is not simply a paradigm of the author's strategies, but also a set of tactics forming genre invariants (Klushina, 2008). The notion of the author's strategy appeared in Russian scholarly writings at the very beginning of the 21st century within narrative and reception studies (Tiupa, 2003), then made its way into narrative discourse analysis and, later, into the research on the author's thinking (Osmukhina, 2014).

The strategy depends on the ultimate goal of communication and aims to reach the suspended target. During communication the goal is mediated by specific tasks, which condition the choice of speech tactics within the chosen strategy. The tactics are taken through conversational turns (Lanskikh, 2008).

Communication strategies and tactics used in media criticism provide promising grounds for further research. Such an approach, on the one hand, broadens scientific believes about "verbal behavior of individuals in different types of discourse" (Kiselev, 2012), while, on the other, it allows researchers to determine the specifics of critical media texts. Despite a substantial amount of interesting data that has accumulated over the two decades, there has been no research on literary strategies deployed by media critics. In this regard, it would be of exceptional interest to do a study of writings by Tatiana Moskvina in order to delineate a clear-cut authorial position expressed in strategies, which, as O. Issers suggests, represent a set of speech actions necessary to reach the goal of communication (Issers, 2006). Among them a special mention should be made of self-representation that allows a media critic to express his or her personality.

A study of 600 writings reveals that commercialization and westernization affecting modern theatre and cinema are the factors that negatively impact the level of national culture. In most cases a new film, TV series, theatre play or book do not go unnoticed and receive critical reviews by T. Moskvina with her personal evaluation. The critic gives an overview of the plot, discusses the work of the film director and the actors, and provides her personal assessment of the work's quality. As is often the case, meaningful analysis by a journalist facilitates better understanding of a given creative work, raises philosophical issues and broadens audience outlook.

According to Moskvina, the mission of the media critic is to steer the reader through the cultural environment. She believes that it is the critic who has to help the reader navigate through a myriad of new films, TV series, theatrical performances, and books. Moskvina calls out negative cultural trends, which are distributed in four groups: television, theater, cinema, and literature.

The low quality of TV products has serious consequences for society. Moskvina comments on the unjustifiably large number of versions of American films and game shows on Russian night-time television. This, in turn, raises the question of why the country needs TV and all its accessories: TV listings, satellites, extra power consumption, investments of money and time. Moskvina expresses the concern that such parodies of the West impoverish national culture, which is already at a low ebb due to copyism and a lack of original creative work. She believes that copying foreign TV format is equivalent to stealing. We will call this problem westernization.

The introduction to each "Petersburg – Channel 5" broadcast in 2013 went, "Our Channel Turns 75". In her breakdown of the title, Moskvina capitalizes the word 'OUR' and sarcastically invitess the channel management to show some programs from the archive if it still identifies the channel with the times when St. Petersburg was called Leningrad, since the "WE" mentality of Soviet communism is at variance with the channel's dense western programming. Among the problems of modern Russian television, the media critic mentions westernization, a lack of due reverence for the cultural heritage of TV channels, and ignorance and indifference on the part of TV management as regards centrally important cultural events.

In her discussion of the cinema, the author bemoans the difficulties of choosing a title for a new film. The choice is difficult not only because of the abundance of films and titles. The major problem is, as Moskvina argues, meaningless plots for which it is difficult to find a title. The problem with the title lies in the problem of meaning. If there is no meaning, there is no clever title. If a film lacks both, it may fail to match the viewer's expectations and turns out to be a flop.

Another important issue raised by Moskvina is the lack of quality in contemporary film-making. She commends the quality of Soviet films, making special mention of the great skill of such talented film directors as Eldar Ryazanov, Leonid Gaidai, and Alexander Sokurov. She emphasizes that today Russia boasts a great quantity of films, although, it cannot boast great quality. She deplores the events scheduled for the "Year of Cinema" in Russia and offers her own agenda. In her writings Moskvina often describes contemporary authors as too materialistic.

Conclusions

The study concludes that media criticism constitutes the core of literary journalism as it gives important social and artistic meaning to the meta-genre of the column. Tatyana Moskvina, a media critic, is relentlessly critical of cultural institutions. She analyses the reasons for the considerable decrease in quality of modern art. Providing critical reviews of media products from such industries as television, theatre, cinema, and literature, Moskvina draws the dividing line between a work of culture and a cultural product.

In literary journalism, assessments of the esthetic aspects of media texts are as effective as are discussions of social issues facing the media community and criticism of the creative industries that produce media products. The opinion column is the fundamental meta-genre of media criticism. Unlike the meta-genre, the format – a mode of existence of genre modification – is flexible and depends on the author's intention.

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REVIEW

“MAGAZINES “RABOTNITSA” AND “KRESTJANKA” DEALING WITH “WOMEN’S QUESTION” IN THE USSR IN 1920-1930S: MODEL OF PROPAGANDA SUPPORT TO SOCIAL REFORM”: REVIEW OF THE MONOGRAPH BY O.D. MINAJEVA

«ЖУРНАЛЫ “РАБОТНИЦА” И “КРЕСТЬЯНКА” В РЕШЕНИИ “ЖЕНСКОГО ВОПРОСА” В СССР В 1920-1930-е гг.: МОДЕЛЬ ПРОПАГАНДИСТСКОГО ОБЕСПЕЧЕНИЯ СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ РЕФОРМЫ»: ОТЗЫВ НА МОНОГРАФИЮ О.Д. МИНАЕВОЙ

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The monograph by O.D. Minajeva performs a deep comprehensive analysis of domestic women periodical press in 1920-1930s, which played an important role in forming a “new” human for the life in communist society. The author attempts to explore the activity of party magazines in dealing with so-called

“Women’s question” in the USSR during this period. It should be mentioned that this attempt was rather successful. The work presents the history of establishment and functioning of central party magazines for women, their role in the process of women’s emancipation during pre-war years, translation of new values and gender concepts, new life scenarios for women.

The first chapter “Central party magazines for women: goals and work during pre-war period” is quite saturated with historical material. It describes in detail the work of the CC RCPb Women’s Section as founder and ideologist of mass magazines for women, the role of I.F. Armand, A.M. Kollontaj, N.K. Krupskaja in building women’s party press which was to attract women part of society to the communist party and provide for their participation in social development. During the pre-war period, there were over 90 newspapers and magazines for women, which were issued by local party committees.

The author discusses certain tasks which were identified for mass propaganda magazines of the CC RCPb Women’s Section “Krestjanka” and “Rabotnitsa”: translate the bolshevist ideology to certain groups of women readers; every possible increase of the number of women supporting soviet power; explain the party policy in general and in “Women’s question” in particular; propaganda of new communist values.

The work pays considerable attention to the Women’s question publications of the CC “Women’s Section” workers in 1918-1922 – A. Kollontaj, I.F. Armand, K.N. Samojlova. A lot of attention is given to the journalist activity of N.K. Krupskaja who could use simple words to explain big and important questions, link high goals with clear practical steps which can be done today. O.D. Minajeva stresses that the ideological heritage of Krupskaja is significant and in her publications contents is always more interesting and important than the form. Among “Women’s Section” columnists

(I.F. Armand, A.M. Kollontaj, L.I. Stal, etc.) it was Krupskaja who was the most active in promoting her views.

The analysis of the readership of women's magazines and specific approaches to work with them during pre-war period is quite interesting. The charts provide key mass magazines for women and their circulation in 1922-1941. The author introduces a large set of archive materials. She also shows that the readership was illiterate and functionally illiterate, poor, with limited intelligence.

It should be mentioned that the work presents in detail content, genre and typographic characteristics of "Krestjanka" (1922-1941) and "Rabotnitsa" (1923-1941) magazines in separate sections. It shows the huge efforts of "Krestjanka" staff to distribute the magazine in 1920s, the circulation grew very slowly. The attempts to increase the circulation steeply, dramatically were not successful – the circulation inevitably went back to the previous level or even lower. Therefore, it is even more surprising, as the author mentions, that the fight for the circulation did not prompt the staff to make the magazine more readable, diversified and useful for the readership, less political. Such functions of "Krestjanka" as cooperation with local party propagandists, "recruitment" of "rural journalists", "engagement" of women into social and party life, propaganda of soviet policy related to "Women's question" etc., are not typical for traditional women press. As is truly mentioned by O.D. Minajeva, "Rabotnitsa" and "Krestjanka" played an important role – provided materials to party propagandists corrected their work, identified relevant objectives for propaganda work among women. This function also makes them different from common entertainment women press. The journalists did not follow the needs and tastes of the target audience but tried to "ensure" this audience to politically correct materials of "Rabotnitsa".

The second chapter "Key thrusts in the translation of communist ideology for women audience” explores rather deeply the main objectives of “Rabotnitsa” and “Krestjanka”: attract women to labor and social activity, “retain” them at the production and support changes in their life style, common life scenario. There is a serious analysis of general and specific objectives of industrial propaganda for women in 1920s. It includes conscientious attitude to labor, understanding of its necessity and constructive character, fight again absenteeism, labor productivity improvement, labor safety, women training and retraining, nomination of women to managerial positions, stimulation of their participation in social work etc. Together with that, they were developing a negative understanding of traditional family relationship and mother duties. They were to be “abandoned” for the sake of liberation, which was waiting for the women at the industrial unit, and in the village – at the post of village council chair or delegate.

This, as O.D. Minajeva aptly notes, is a propagandist preparation to industrialization and collectivization when the woman’s life scenario changes drastically.

The author of the monograph competently explores the arguments of the industrial propaganda in women’s magazines during the period of industrialization and collectivization – politicization of industrial labor, description of heroine attractive appearance, opposition of the industrial labor to home one, adding the topic of the industrial labor to the topic of personal happiness, love.

The women’s magazines of 1930s give a significant attention to the cult of “udarnitsa” and “stakhanovka” (super productive workers), demonstration of the new life practices, education privileges, and improvement of professional mastership. This supported the rapid deconstruction of gender stereotypes offering the women generations new life scenario, attractive and desired by the government.

Military propaganda was not forgotten in the women's magazines during the pre-war period.

The author comes to consistent conclusions that the processes that happened in 1930s had a huge significance for the equal rights of women. The government policy, industrialization needs brought to the change in the gender composition of the working class – women were attracted to those industrial spheres that were traditionally considered as "masculine" and they became half of the proletariat. And here a significant role was played by "Rabotnitsa" and "Krestjanka" magazines.

A revolution in society conscious happened: a woman should work. She got a broad choice of occupations. Propaganda formed a positive relationship to industrial labor among women, suggested "scenarios" of its implementation, and supported overcoming challenges in this ways, showed advantages. At the same time, the author notes negative consequences: due to the errors in the labor payment policy, women massively went for "masculine" occupations, which were obviously harmful for their health.

In the third chapter "Transformation of women's private life in the context of social reforms in 1920-1930s" the author of the monograph discusses the daily life reform and deconstruction of patriarchal family, explores the women's press publications related to parenting. The work uses a large set of newspaper and magazine publications, which provide a holistic view on the situation.

O.D. Minajeva concludes that women had absorbed from the press the pathos to fight for women's rights, new value orientations, and new life scenarios. However if these life scenarios hadn't corresponded the government interests and hadn't been supported by economic, social and other measures, the process of women involvement into the industrial activity wouldn't have gone that fast. The propaganda influence and organizational work of the government went in parallel. The press combined the information about the real state of art in the social sphere – lack of places in nurseries and kindergartens, lack of maternity hospitals and polyclinics, low standards of life, lack of hygiene etc. – with a generally optimistic view at rare “new life sprouts”. A significant amount of fiction (essays, short stories, poems) supported this mixture of reality and fiction and embarrassed the readers. Marvelous palace sanatoriums, factories with polyclinics and nurseries, canteens and recreation rooms, new commune houses with a full set of communal services, seamless kindergartens etc. – this was performed as a common thing or at least the nearest future. The experience of social reforms, which were performed by the government together with active propaganda and measures of economic and other stimulation, is unique and is successful to some extent. The reforms went fast, within the life of one generation.

In general, I should conclude that the level of scientific and research work done is high. The monograph can be of interest to both experts in this topic, and the broad audience as well.

CONFERENCE REPORT

THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL 'MOSCOW READINGS' CONFERENCE "MASS MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS-2016"

ВОСЬМЫЕ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ НАУЧНЫЕ ЧТЕНИЯ В МОСКВЕ «СМИ И МАССОВЫЕ КОММУНИКАЦИИ-2016»

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On November 17-28, 2016 the international 'Moscow Readings' conference took place at the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University. The event, in its eight year, was organized with support from the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation. The overarching theme in 2016 was "Expanding Media Frontiers in the XXI century: The Impact of Digitalization upon Media Environment".

The conference 'Moscow Readings' brought together scholars and journalists from 16 countries and over 20 research and educational institutions. As a pre-conference event, a public talk by Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng (University of Tampere, Finland) took place on November 16. Professor Nordenstreng discussed the history of international journalist associations and the changes undergone by these organizations in the past 120 years.

The first day of the conference started with an official opening ceremony and greeting speech by the Dean of the Lomonosov State Faculty of Journalism, Professor Elena Vartanova. She expressed hopes that the conference would be a fruitful and inspiring event, with many interesting speeches and presentations. Her speech was followed by the first plenary session and a keynote address by Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng. He described the concept of media system in terms of its advantages and disadvantages, as well as challenges this concept is experiencing today.

Professor Gunnar Nygren (Södertörn University, Sweden) focused on the problem of fake news in modern society. He drew attention to several key questions. How should journalists act when they are surrounded by information flows? What is the role of verification in the post-modern era? The first plenary session ended with a presentation by Professor Elena Vartanova (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia). She spoke about the digital divide, the challenges it creates for the modern society and for the media sphere, and possible solutions to overcome the digital gap today.

The topic of digitalization was discussed by Professor Francois Heinderyckx (Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium) in his talk during the second plenary session. He pointed out the diversity of media forms and concluded that "it is difficult to agree on what media actually are and will be in the foreseeable future, as the notion is stretched and bent to accommodate technological innovation". Professor Bharthur Sanjay (University of Hyderabad, India) spoke of the rapid growth of digital technologies in India today, and discussed the role of new media in transforming media practices and media consumption in this country in the past years. Dr. Jia Lerong (Communication University of China) gave an overview of how Chinese media have changed under the impact of mobile communications and modern technologies. Finally, Professor Jens Wendland (Humboldt University, Germany) spoke about The Dialogue of Civilizations research institute (DOCRI) established within the World Public Forum, its policy and main goals.

Both days of the conference were filled with engaging discussions and interesting meetings. Presenters took part in 14 thematic sessions and plenary meetings, discussing issues of the development of media systems under the influence of new technologies, media policy in different countries, the future of regional media and media for minorities, journalistic practices across the world, the problem of digital literacy and much more. The Faculty of Journalism, MSU is proud to host such important academic events, which are aimed at bringing together members of the international research community to discuss current issues of media studies.