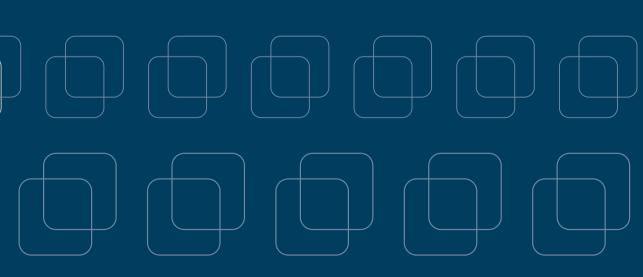
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Motivated skepticism as a formative factor for credibility measures of television news in India: A Structural Equation Modeling approach

Uma Shankar Pandey¹

Surendranath College for Women, University of Calcutta, India

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Abstract

Trustworthiness, accuracy and believability are the most common indicators of news credibility measures. The impact of selective exposure, i.e. audience choosing content similar to their beliefs, on News Credibility is generally not considered in this context. This paper suggests that perceptions of News Credibility are influenced by selective exposure. This means people judge attitude-consistent content and sources as more credible. One explanation for selective exposure is 'Motivated Skepticism': we define a five-item construct for this construct. We hypothesize a Structural Equation Model with the latent construct Motivated Skepticism as a formative factor for News Credibility estimation of Indian television news channels. An online survey of 351 respondents from two Indian cities measures the goodness-of-fit and construct validity of the hypothesized SEM model. News Credibility is reported as a two-factor, second-order structure measured by Message Attributes and Channel Attributes, with Motivated Skepticism as a formative factor.

Keywords

News Credibility, selective exposure, Indian television channels, Motivated Skepticism, SEM.

Introduction

News Credibility is generally measured as an attribute of media content. It is most commonly inferred by measuring a range of perceptions about media

Uma Shankar Pandey, Surendranath College for Women, University of Calcutta, India. Email: mailusp@gmail.com

¹ Corresponding author:

content, i.e. believability, accuracy, fairness, bias, trustworthiness, ease of use, completeness, reliability, coherence etc. (Chung, Nam, & Stefanone, 2012; Gaziano, & McGrath, 1986). In earlier studies, credibility has also been evaluated in terms of channel attributes (Metzger, Flanagin, Eyal, Lemus, & McCann, 2003). Other studies have shown more sophisticated ways in which people assess news credibility. For example, news consumers frequently rely on their peers to make news credibility assessments, often through the use of group-based tools (Metzger, Flanagin, & Medders, 2010). Robust scales for measuring message credibility (Appelman & Sundar, 2016) and source credibility (Graham, 2009) are also widely used by news credibility researchers. Most of these earlier credibility measures were a part of an ecosystem where balanced news reporting was the norm and there were fewer choices for the media audience (Stroud, 2011).

The present context of the media ecosystem, especially the socio-technical context, makes it imperative to consider the influence of other factors impacting the perception of news credibility. With the easy availability of a large number of media channels, often with different perspectives on the same issue, the media audience has to make regular choices about the type of content they consume. The *selective exposure* explanation for the choice of content consistent with one's beliefs and preferences, dates back to the 1950s (Sears, & Freedman, 1967). There is also strong evidence that people are interested in opinion-reinforcing political information (Frey, 1986 provides a good summary).

What has changed is that in the last two decades, news media have often tailored their content to appeal to partisan audiences (Stroud, 2011). This phenomenon of channels tuning their content to resonate with particular groups of viewers has been noticed in the Indian context as well (Kadicheeni, 2016).

At the same time, this leads individuals to prefer information sources that are more supportive of their opinions over the ones that do not support their opinions (Mutz, & Martin, 2001). Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance theory is most frequently used to explain such selective exposure. The premise of the theory is that people do not tolerate inconsistency well. Hence, anticipating dissonance people are motivated to defend themselves by seeking out information that confirms their preexisting attitudes and beliefs. The presence of cognitions inconsistent with one's beliefs arouses a state of cognitive dissonance which is experienced as uncomfortable tension. Individuals constantly try to reduce this tension (Cooper, 2007). A number of landmark studies have been conducted in recent times demonstrating this effect (e.g. Knobloch-Westerwick, & Meng, 2009; Garrett, 2009a; Iyengar, & Hahn, 2009).

Dissonance reduction is not just a cognitive mechanism, but a motivational phenomenon as well. It leads to a conscious decision where one seeks confirmation for preexisting beliefs and attitudes. For instance, an experimental study, established that conservatives and Republicans preferred to read news reports attributed to Fox News and to avoid news from CNN and NPR, while Democrats and liberals showed an equal preference for CNN and NPR (Iyengar, & Hahn, 2009). Consumers tend to ignore the differences in news media which they perceive to be hostile to attitudes and beliefs held by them. For instance, Republicans see little difference between MSNBC and CNN, while Democrats would see these channels very differently. At the same time the audience sees the 'putatively neutral' media to favor the opposition.

Much of the research on credibility measures however does not account for the fact that people judge *attitude-consistent* sources and messages as more credible. One of the first studies to suggest that people regard like-minded sources to be fairer and more credible was by Fischer, Jonas, Frey, & Schulz-Hardt (2005).

Another study demonstrated that partisan supporters regard channels airing 'attitude-consistent' content as being neutral (Stroud, Muddiman, & Lee, 2014: 887). In a very important study linking news credibility to selective exposure was by Metzger, Hartsell, & Flanagin (2015). They demonstrated that people judge attitude-consistent and neutral news sources as more credible than attitude-challenging news sources (Metzger, Hartsell, & Flanagin, 2015: 1).

The present paper postulates that a measure for news credibility must also factor in Selected Exposure by the audience to like-minded information. To arrive at a sophisticated explanation for selective exposure, and to identify measurable indicators we begin with the Motivated Reasoning Theory. According to this theory, people are influenced by either 'accuracy goals' or 'directional goals' to choose content they want to consume. Those driven by directional goals are more likely to seek like-minded information. Those driven by accuracy goals on the other hand consume all types of information (Kunda, 1990). Directional goals, on the other hand, lead to the use of those resources that are considered most likely to yield the desired conclusion. The goals determine what information will be processed in the reasoning process (Kunda, 1990).

The Motivated Reasoning phenomenon suggests that when one wants to draw a certain conclusion, one feels obliged to construct a rationalization for that conclusion that would be reasonable to a dispassionate observer. In doing so, one accesses only an inclined subset of the appropriate beliefs and rules. The notion that Motivated Reasoning is 'mediated by biased memory search and belief construction accounts for much of the reasoning phenomenon (Kunda, 1990: 492).

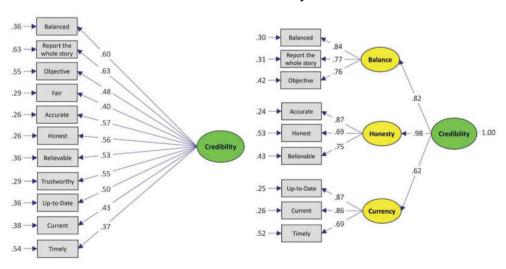
Drawing on the work on Motivated Reasoning Taber & Lodge (2006) propose a model of *motivated skepticism* to explain why citizens are 'biased-information processors'. They use three mechanisms of partisan processing, i.e. prior attitude effect, disconfirmation bias and confirmation bias. Following these mechanisms they predict attitude polarization, attitude strength effect and a sophistication effect (Taber, & Lodge, 2006: 757).

In the present study we adopt these concepts as measurable indicators to arrive at a latent measure of Motivated Skepticism. Using a Structural Equation Model we will demonstrate that the Motivated Skepticism is a formative indicator of News Credibility measures. Credibility perceptions are influenced by these choices. The motivated skepticism phenomenon composed of confirmation bias, disconfirmation bias, prior attitude, sophistication effects and polarizing effects leads one to choose more attitude-consistent messages and sources and to avoid attitude-challenging sources and content. This in turn leads one to regard these choices as more credible.

For the News Credibility scale, we use adapt the scale by Abdulla et al. (2005) which is a three-factor construct for News Credibility – *Balance* measured by the indicators 'balanced, report the whole story, objective, fair, accurate'; *Honesty* measured by 'honest, believable, trustworthy', and *Currency* measured by 'upto-date, current, timely' (Abdulla, Garrison, Salwen, Driscoll, & Casey, 2005).

News Credibility

Figure 1



Source: Yale, Jensen, Carcioppolo, Sun, & Liu (2015: 157, 165)

As seen in the figure above, News Credibility has often been hypothesized as a one factor model (all measurable indicators 'balanced, report the whole story, objective, fair, accurate, honest, believable, trustworthy, up-to-date, current, timely' all reflected by the latent variable 'Credibility'. The three-factor model with the latent constructs 'Balance', 'Honesty' and 'Currency' is shown to have a better fit, even more so as a *second-order factor* construct where these latent constructs are reflected by Credibility which is a latent construct. We hypothesize that the measure for News Credibility will be influenced by Motivated Skepticism.

Hypothesis 1: Motivated Skepticism is a formative indicator for News Credibility.

With our approach of examining News Credibility through Motivated Skepticism there is need for a fresh estimation of the factor structures of the News Credibility scales discussed above. This leads us to our research question:

Research Question 1: What are the underlying factors of News Credibility of Television Channels in India?

Motivated Skepticism

We adopt the theoretical basis for the construct of Motivational Skepticism by Taber & Lodge (2006) in their experimental study for evaluating political beliefs. The preference of audiences to choose information slanted toward their political views has been demonstrated in many studies (e.g. Dilliplane, 2011). Selective exposure leads individuals to seek information that supports their attitudes or beliefs. This allows them to defend their attitude, beliefs and behavior. The first element of the motivated skepticism construct is *confirmation bias* – audience is likely to accommodate evidence that supports their prior belief. This confirmation bias exists among liberals and conservatives alike, as partisanship did not moderate the extent of selective exposure to attitude-consistent versus attitude-challenging content. This observation supports an *informational utility* rationale for confirmation bias (Knobloch-Westerwick, Johnson, & Westerwick, 2014).

A related concept defining motivated skepticism is the *Disconfirmation Bias*, when people actively disparage information with which they disagree while accepting compatible information almost without expending any cognitive effort. These biases lead to *attitude polarization* as exposure to the reconfirming information leads partisans to diverge in their attitudes. These biases are particularly pronounced for people with 'knowledge and strong preexisting attitudes' (Taber & Lodge, 2006: 767).

A recent authoritative meta-analysis of studies on selective exposure of information demonstrated that the confirmation bias is smaller when there is support for the *preexisting attitude* or belief. The bias is larger when the information available for selection is regarded to be of high quality. As expected, the confirmation bias is bigger for people with higher commitment to an attitude or belief. This bias was higher for high value relevance of the issue. The bias was larger for those scoring high in closed-mindedness. At the same time, those scoring higher on the confidence scale scored lower in confirmation bias (Hart, Albarracin, Eagly, Brechan, Lindberg, & Merrill, 2009).

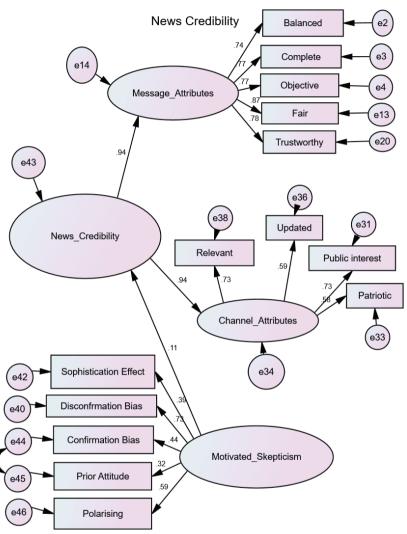
Individual characteristics affect the extent to which like-minded information is sought. The certainty with which an individual holds a position influences selective exposure (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009). A major contributing factor to this defence mechanism is the value system of the individual. If the point of view in the media content is closer to the enduring values of the individuals, the attachment to the view is higher.

Personality differences also determine the extent to which people are motivated to defend their views and behaviors. Those measured on the trait of closed-mindedness, scoring high on the measures of dogmatism or authoritarianism and high on the repression end of the repression-sensitization scale manifest a stronger confirmation bias. At the same time, people who view themselves as unable of contradicting challenging information may be 'more motivated to proactively guard against such threats' (Hart, Albarracin, Eagly, Brechan, Lindberg, & Merrill, 2009: 560).

The process of confirmation bias is impacted by *the perception of the information* itself, i.e. its credibility and refutability (Donsbach, 1991). Earlier studies on selective exposure did not distinguish between motivated exposure to particular channels and the natural consequence of viewers' personal networks.

Whether 'people actively seek out information channels that conform to their beliefs or it is a result of the influence of one's peer group' has not been conclusively proved yet (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009: 21). Whatever be the reasons behind the selective exposure, its existence aided by news algorithms maximizing reach by providing attitude-consistent content is a reality. We describe this as the *Sophistication Effect* in our measure for Motivated Skepticism (see *Figure* below).

Figure 2
Final SEM model for News Credibility



In summary, motivated skepticism helps explains the selective exposure which occurs when one's attitudes are challenged; an affective judgment is called for; one's attitude is strong; the consequences of being wrong are weak; the judgmental task is complex; objective information is not readily available and 'counterarguments come easily to mind' (Lodge & Taber, 2000: 185). We hence define the latent construct of Motivated Skepticism to be reflected by the indicators: Confirmation Bias, Disconfirmation Bias, Prior Attitude and Polarizing

Effect. As discussed earlier, one's decision to choose a particular news source and a news content, especially when partisan choices are available, is an important factor in determining whether the news is regarded as credible. The Selective Exposure to news content is an important formative indicator for News Credibility.

It has also been observed that exposure to attitude-consistent messages is significantly higher than exposure to messages opposed to one's preexisting beliefs and attitudes. At the same time, people who identified themselves as heavy users of media preferred attitude-consistent information more strongly and avoided consuming information opposed to their attitudes and beliefs. Even if they do expose themselves to information on the 'other side' they do not see themselves changing their views in the light of counter attitudinal information. For these reasons, credibility measures need to incorporate the attitude-consistent choices made to selectively expose oneself to certain sources and messages.

Indian television channels

Most commercial television news channels in India are modeled on the American news channels. The 10-billion-dollar television industry in India mostly consists of general entertainment channels. Despite low viewership compared to vernacular channels, the English television news channels are regarded as very influential (FICCI, 2021).

In recent years there has also been a marked polarization of these channels on political lines. For instance, an editor of a prominent news channel, mirroring the realities of other news channels, said in an interview: 'Zee News basically works on the nationalist editorial line. We are portraying ourselves as the nationalist channel. So unfortunately, what has happened is that people have associated nationalism with BJP (the ruling right-wing political party in India)' (Chaudhury, 2016). Some channels have also modeled themselves in format and delivery on Fox News for example (Mailonline India, 2017).

Observers have noted that the media in India, especially television channels is 'a player in Indian politics and elections.' The media does take sides and tends to editorialize news reporting (Hasan, 2014). Against this backdrop it becomes even more important to incorporate sophisticated measures of selective exposure which measure news credibility.

Method

The participants for the research were English-speaking individuals from the Indian cities of Kolkata and New Delhi via online snowball. This was cleared by the institutional review board for responsible research. The online survey was in English, the participants over the age of 18 were invited to complete the survey by accessing the link that was posted on social media platforms, namely, Facebook² Messenger and WhatsApp. The data were mainly collected in September, 2019. A total of 27 incomplete responses were rejected. The total number of respondents, after the rejections were N=351 (189 females, 53.8 per cent and 162 males, 46.2 per cent), Measures of central tendency for the age variable showed (N=351, M=27.5, SD=8, ranging from 18-64 years).

The measurement of this Motivated Skepticism can be achieved by three different processes: self-report, behavioral, and physiological measures. The physiological measures are ruled out for Motivated Skepticism as they could only operationalize spontaneous orienting responses to media stimuli and not selective exposure to media units (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2015: 87).

The behavioral measures also do not provide immediate insight into the causes of behavior or reports of perception. Self-reporting measures have inherent problems of reliability and validity. Value judgments too may be involved in self-reporting.

A measure of Motivated Skepticism has to incorporate measures through latent, indirect means. One of the statistical tools to measure latent factors with the help of observed variables is that of Structural Equation Modeling. In the present study we propose a SEM approach using observed indicators to measure Motivated Skepticism as a latent construct. These variables ascertain accuracy and direction goals of Motivated Skepticism. Objective questions include 'how likely are you to change channels which air divergent opinions to yours on political issues'; 'do you avoid watching channels which are unfair to some political parties'; 'Do you avoid watching channels which expose only one political group'; do you avoid watching channels which are unfair to some political parties'.

The 11-item news credibility scale by (Abdulla, Garrison, Salwen, Driscoll, & Casey, 2005) was used to measure credibility. Respondents evaluated the content of their preferred television channel on 7-point scales ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree on the items: balanced, report the whole story, objective, fair, accurate, honest, believable, trustworthy, up-to-date, current, timely. In addition we adopted the three items on the Meyer Affiliation subscale along with these 11 items. These were also measured on the 7-point scale: 'watches out after your interest', 'concerned about the community's well-being' and 'patriotic' (Meyer, 1988). We hence started with 14-items to measure the News Credibility. The Meyer Affiliation scale was incorporated since it is theoretically consistent with the Motivated Skepticism approach hypothesized in the present study.

Questions for the Motivated Skepticism factor were: 'I avoid channels which are politically motivated, I avoid watching channels which are unfair to some

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ Belongs to Meta company, banned at the territory of the Russian Federation.

political parties, I avoid channels whose political views are biased. Other questions included I don't watch channels biased toward certain political parties; I prefer watching content which supports my political beliefs; I avoid watching channels which expose only one political group. Respondents evaluated these on 7-point scales ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

A Principal Component Analysis with a Varimax (orthogonal) rotation of the 14 items from this attitude survey questionnaire was conducted on the data gathered from the 351 respondents. This popular rotation method assumes that the factors are unrelated. This also results in high factor loadings for a smaller number of variables and low factor loadings for the rest. For reasons of parsimony in the model we begin with a small number of factors through this orthogonal rotation. The first part of the study is hence an exploratory factor analysis to discern the reflective indicators of News Credibility. We have already hypothesized motivated skepticism as a formative factor of News Credibility. The goodness-of-fit of this model – with Motivated Skepticism as a formative factor and the factors identified for News Credibility as reflective factors, through the Exploratory Factor Analysis will be validated through a Confirmatory Factor Analysis model. An examination of the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable (KMO=.915).

Table 1 Principal Component Analysis of the News Credibility items, α =.91

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2
Balanced	.750	.093
Complete	.734	.239
Objective	.725	.208
Fair	.831	.210
Accurate	.722	.310
Honest	.779	.194
Believable	.694	.379
Trustworthy	.782	.340
Up-to-date	.432	.670
Faster	.125	.882
Latest	.237	.869
Public interest		.514
Patriotic		.473
Well-being		.271

Results

The results show that the subscales suggested by Abdulla, Garrison, Salwen, Driscoll, & Casey (2005) are not replicated in our study. In fact, the two subscales suggested in that study 'Balance' and 'Honesty', load highly onto the first factor here. The items on the currency subscale load highly on the second factor which also demonstrates high factor loadings for the affiliation scale. This fits well with the hypothesis that Motivated Skepticism influences the credibility scales, to the point where it leads to a fresh estimation of the factors. We posit the first factor of the Credibility scale as *Message Attributes*. It has some similarity with attributes of recent studies on Message Credibility (e.g. Appelman, & Sundar, 2016).

The other six items including the three affiliation items can be seen as defining the characteristics of the channel which we define as the *Channel Attributes*. Hence to answer RQ1 we posit that News Credibility scales, in the context of the Indian television channel are a two-factor structure measured by the latent factors, **Message Attributes** and **Channel Attributes**.

The Message Attributes are measured by the observed indicators – Balanced, Complete, Objective, Fair and Trustworthy.

The Channel attributes are measured by indicators – 'Patriotic', 'Looks after public interest', 'Provides updated information' and 'looks after my interest'. With these as reflective indicators for News Credibility, we suggest the following Structural Equation Model, hypothesizing 'Motivated Skepticism' as a formative indicator.

Figure 2 shows the final SEM model with the hypothesised Motivated Skepticism as a formative factor for News Credibility. In the formative model, the latent construct News Credibility is dependent on the Motivated Skepticism construct. The causality flows, as indicated by the regression weight arrows, from Motivated Skepticism to News Credibility. As already indicated in the SEM model above, News Credibility is a two-factor structure measured by the latent factors 'Message Attributes' and 'Channel Attributes'. These are shown as reflective indicators in the above model – the direction is from News Credibility to 'Message Attributes' and 'Channel Attributes'.

The data were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis, with the maximum likelihood estimate method with IBM AMOS 19. The first step in the model estimation was an investigation of the hypothesized model's goodness-of-fit with the sample data. The results of SEM showed that chi-square statistics were significant, 2(74) = 12.08, p = .000, 2/df = 1.66 for the model. This preliminary test indicates significant errors in the hypothesized model. However most scholars agree chi-square is affected by sample size, i.e. larger

samples produce larger chi-squares that are significant even with very small discrepancies between the hypothesised and obtained covariance matrices. It is generally believed that it is difficult to get a nonsignificant chi-square (indicative of good fit) when sample sizes are much over 200 (Kline, 2016).

With a big sample size of 351, the results of SEM analysis revealed an acceptable fit for the hypothesized model as indicated by the standard goodness-of-fit indices. The indices – Comparative Fit Index, Iterative Fit Index, Non Normed Fit Index and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation showed more than reasonable fit of the sample data to the hypothesized model. The significant test for the chi-square to degrees of freedom hence can be safely ignored.

The Comparative Fit Index compared to a saturated model is found to be 0.972, proving that the hypothesized model fits with the sample data excellently. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is found to be 0.044, which means good fit between the research model and the sample data.

The Hoelter value of 300 indicates that our sample size of 351 is adequate for the hypothesized model. All the above goodness of fit indices proves that the hypothesized model (Fig 1) fits well with our sample data, which proves our hypothesis that Motivated Skepticism is a formative factor for News Credibility.

Based on the modifications suggested in the initial hypothesized model by the modification indices and the error covariances, the *Message Attributes* are limited to the observed indicators; 'Balanced', 'Complete', 'Objective', 'Fair' and 'Trustworthy'. The factor Channel Attributes is measured by 'Looks after the Public Interest', 'Patriotic', 'Provides the latest news' and 'Cares for my interests'. The other two indicators were removed in the final confirmatory model shown above.

Goodness of Fit tests for SEM model

Table 2

Model	NPAR	CMIN	DF	P	CMIN/DF
Default model	31	123.085	74	.000	1.663
Saturated model	105	.000	0		
Independence model	14	1867.994	91	.000	20.527

Model	RMR	GFI	AGFI	PGFI
Default model	.104	.953	.933	.671
Saturated model	.000	1.000		
Independence model	.652	.404	.313	.350

Model	NFI Delta1	RFI rho1	IFI Delta2	TLI rho2	CFI
Default model	.934	.919	.973	.966	.972
Saturated model	1.000		1.000		1.000
Independence model	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Model	RMSEA	LO 90	HI 90	PCLOSE
Default model	.044	.029	.057	.776
Independence model	.236	.227	.246	.000

Model	HOELTER .05	HOELTER .01
Default model	271	300
Independence model	22	24

 ${\it Table~3}$ Regression weights

			Estimate
News Credibility	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.114
Message_Attributes	<	News Credibility	.945
Channel_Attributes	<	News Credibility	.941
Balanced	<	Message_Attributes	.744
Complete	<	Message_Attributes	.772
Objective	<	Message_Attributes	.768
Fair	<	Message_Attributes	.872
Trustworthy	<	Message_Attributes	.779
Public interest	<	Channel_Attributes	.726
Patriotic	<	Channel_Attributes	.583
Latest news	<	Channel_Attributes	.587
My interests	<	Channel_Attributes	.732
Avoid opposing views	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.729
Avoid politically motivated	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.387
Prefer supporting content	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.443
Avoid unfair channels	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.589
Would change channels	<	Motivated_Skepticism	.316

Notably all the items in the News Credibility factor exhibit high regression weights (see *Table 3*) confirming the construct validity of the hypothesized model (*Figure 2*). This confirms our primary hypothesis that Motivated Skepticism is a formative factor determining News Credibility Measures.

Discussion

The present study provides one of the first SEM models to incorporate selective exposure measures to define news credibility. It confirms a number of previous studies that people regulate their cognitive inference and decision processes according to the broad motivational patterns of selective exposure (Baumeister, & Newman, 1994).

One very important corollary of this finding is that motivated skepticism has 'echo chamber' effects. It serves to reinforce existing attitudes and opinions, which by default limits the choices available to consumers. This has been seen in a number of earlier studies too. Despite the possibility of a large number of options, people tend to 'isolate themselves from topics and opinions they prefer to avoid' (Iyengar, & Hahn, 2009: 34).

The existence of Motivated Skepticism as a formative indicator for News Credibility also explains why *putatively neutral channels* are regarded low on credibility by those driven by Motivated Skepticism, especially the ones with defence goals if the content does not support their pre-existing beliefs.

Media providing content closer to one's beliefs is regarded as more credible, while those with content divergent from one's beliefs and attitudes are less believable. This has interesting ramifications. For a certain section of the audience, i.e. those with directional goals the media organization can appear more credible, simply by identifying the existing state of opinion of the audience and tailoring content to conform to their opinions. We have already seen this tailoring of content in the American context (Stroud, 2011) and other global contexts (e.g. Lopes da Silva, 2020; de Albuquerque, 2023). A systematic content analysis approach would be required in the context of Indian television channels as well.

Personal commitment to an attitude or belief is an important attribute of the Defence Motivation. Several contributing factors to Motivated Skepticism have been identified, among them are confirmation bias, disconfirmation bias, prior attitude effect, attitude polarization and a sophistication effect. In earlier studies, Motivated Reasoning (a related construct) has been measured by self-reporting (Hart, Albarracin, Eagly, Brechan, Lindberg, & Merrill, 2009). The indirect measure of Motivated Skepticism as a latent construct in our study is justified by the underlying nature of Motivated Skepticism itself.

In the present context our study reveals a two-factor structure for credibility measured by 'Message attributes' and 'Channel attributes'. This is in line with earlier studies which suggested a two-factor structure for credibility (Yale, Jensen, Carcioppolo, Sun, & Liu, 2015). The Message Attributes dimension of this study is similar to the trustworthy dimension seen in a number of credibility measures (Graham, 2009).

An important finding of our study is that the 'expertise' and 'affiliation' are not distinct factors in the news credibility measures of Indian Television channels. The observed indicators of these two latent factors (in other studies) load on to a single factor in our study. In effect 'affiliation' may be seen as a measure of 'expertise' and vice-versa. We have named these as 'channel attributes' – the second reflective factor of the credibility measure, which replicates indicators from the Meyer scale (Meyer, 1988).

Often one is not aware of the cognitive judgment one undertakes to choose media content. A major limitation of the study is that there are theoretical constructs like a lack of media literacy, for example, which can provide a cogent explanation for audience differences of credibility (Claussen, 2004). There is strong theoretical evidence to regard media literacy as a formative indicator of News Credibility. People access only a subset of their relevant knowledge to construct a justification for their desired conclusion, often not realizing that they also possess knowledge to support the opposite conclusion. An important corollary is that people often do not realize that the process of constructing this justification is biased because of their goals: accuracy or defensive.

Self-reporting perceptions of Motivated Skepticism, even indirect latent ones are prone to distortions; hence the Motivated Skepticism scale in the present study needs to be validated in diverse contexts.

An important area that has not been considered is whether the respondents believed that they could see through the media strategy of using systematic techniques to reach out to audiences with attitude-consistent content. Four out of ten respondents in an earlier study in another context believed that 'media bias clouds facts so much that people cannot find out what the facts are' (McGrath, & Gaziano, 1986: 63). A similar survey in the Indian context would be quite useful.

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ARTICLES

Media representations of social conflicts: Identifying theoretical foundations for typology¹

Elena Vartanova Anna Gladkova² Denis Dunas

Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

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Abstract

The paper suggests integrated theoretical foundations for systemizing media representations of social conflicts and defining major roles attributed to media coverage of conflicts in current academic research. Using theoretical modeling, we identify the main types of social conflicts identified by Russian and foreign scholars, which is essential for revealing diverse media representations of conflicts. Then we show the key variables used by Russian and foreign media scholars to categorize the roles played by media in representation of conflicts, and discuss the results within broader media conflictology paradigm.

Keywords

Social conflicts, media conflictology, media representations, theoretical modeling.

Introduction

For many decades, the issue of conflict typology has been in the spotlight of conflict theorists from across the globe. As a result, current conflict typology is highly diverse, in accordance with the rich ensemble of factors affecting existing tensions and incompatibilities. Different criteria employed by researchers can intertwine and run together, and at times operate in cause-effect relationship,

Anna Gladkova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia.

Email: gladkova_a@list.ru

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² Corresponding author:

allowing for a cross-categorization. Although the scholars are often conflicted on the typology elements, it is possible to distinguish major sets of grounds for categorization. Today, the research of conflicts represented by media has become a diverse research area merging broadening fields of conflict and media studies which aim to explore nature, types, social roles, effects of conflicts themselves and their media representation. The aim of this paper therefore is to build up integrated theoretical foundations for systemizing media representations of social conflicts and defining major roles attributed to media coverage of conflicts in international academic research, which has not been done on a large theoretical scale before.

In this vein, the research questions we address in this study are the following: first, what are the main types of social conflicts identified by Russian and foreign scholars, essential for studies of media representations of conflicts; and second, what are the key variables used by Russian and foreign media scholars to categorize the roles played by media in representation of conflicts. The method used in this study is theoretical modeling, which is an indirect study of social objects, during which they are reproduced in an auxiliary system (model) that replaces the original in the cognitive process and allows obtaining new knowledge about the subject of study, which is media conflictology.

Typology of conflicts: Theoretical background

Early theorists convened on the fact that despite the common belief of that time, conflict can be positively functional for the antagonists. Thus, one of the earliest typologies drawn by the scholars is based on the functional consequences of conflicts, and boils down to the distinction between functional/dysfunctional or productive/destructive conflicts. Simmel (1904) was one of the first to talk about the necessity of conflicts for "conserving the total relationship", and to distinguish between the functional and dysfunctional conflict based on their motives. Dubin (1957) writes that conflict can either disrupt social stability or point to the existing instability. In line with this, Coser (1957) distinguishes between functional and dysfunctional conflicts, stressing that the ability of conflicts "to remove dissociating elements in a relationship" and to "exert pressure for innovation" (ibid.). He goes further to draw a line of demarcation between functional consequences for internal and external conflicts.

Extensive typology by Dahrendorf includes classification according to social consequences with two aspects considered – whether the conflict is successful or unsuccessful, and creative or destructive (Dahrendorf, 1994). Dahl argues that conflicts lead either to polarization or to segmentation depending on

the level of antagonism (Khokhlov, 2014). Modern theorists still abide by the similar dichotomy (Gromova, 2000; Cottle, 2006; El-fatih Abdullahi, 2006; Reuben, 2009; Sapuzhak, 2019). As Cottle (2006) notes, conflicts can both entail the most tragic outcomes and "serve as vitalising spur for participatory democracy". Focusing on the conflict typology in the Muslic world, El-fatih Abdullahi highlights that conflict has either productive or destructive potential depending on the strategies of implementation, underlying beliefs and level of flexibility (El-fatih Abdullahi, 2006).

The roles media play in numerous social conflicts are considered by media scholars in a multidimensional and multifaceted way and mostly reflect typologies of social conflicts based on the duration of their life cycle, the scale of their spread, methods and intensity of counteraction, goals and consequences (Castells, 2009; Hallin, 1986; Pickard, 2019; McQuail, 2010). In the 20th century theoretical visions of media roles in conflicts as independent observers, objective moderators or biased associates have been linked to the analyses of social conflicts rather than to understanding specific functions and effects that media fulfil and play in public communication while covering conflicts emergence, progress and resolution.

As was noted above, Coser draws the distinction between functional consequences on yet another division, which is internal and external conflict. Categorization based on the scale is a typical strategy for conceptualizing conflict types. Early scholars were concerned with another variation of this division, talking about the conflict "within the system and about the system" (Parsons, 1949). In line with this, Marshall (1939) distinguishes between the conflict over terms of cooperation within the system and conflict over the system itself that entails alternation of basic institutions and relations. To Coser, the most important factor in this is whether conflict occurs within or outside the group. According to the theorist, internal group conflict is low-level, more frequent and can lead to further social integration, while external conflict, most vividly exemplified by inter-state wars, can ultimately lead to higher levels of internal solidarity, especially if there is substantial rise of violence exercised in the course of the stand-off (Coser, 1967). He also distinguishes between types of internal conflict based on whether it "contradicts the fundamental assumptions of the group relationships". Dahrendorf draws a more itemized division according to the scope of conflict manifestation, distinguishing between local, regional, inter-state, global, as well as micro, macro-, and mega-conflicts (Khokhlov, 2014). Following this strategy, Tsoi identifies a generalized dimension of conflict boundaries, talking about macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level (Tsoi, 2001). A list of Russian scholars also talk about scale and scope of conflict manifestation (Gromova, 2000; Sapuzhak, 2019).

The category of scale is inextricably linked to the actor-based division, which is oftentimes stressed by the theorists in their attempts at conflict conceptualization. While distinguishing between individual and collective level of conflict, Johan Galtung also talks about intrasystem and intersystem conflicts, i.e. conflict in the small subunits of system versus conflict between systems or major subsystems (Fink, 1968). In this vein, Cottle identifies inter-personal and inter-state level of conflict, as well as its local and global scope. Kudryavtseva summarized the similar distinction under the term "complexity of actors" (Boikov, 1995). Wallensteen (2011) groups conflicts according to their scale into four categories: global, inter-state, internal and conflict triggered by specific state institutions. Singer draws a more complex distinction based on the political status of conflict parties, arguing that wars can be of interstate, extra-systemic (colonial), 'civil' and 'complex intrastate' nature (Ramsbotham, et al., 2005). The typology by an early theorist Stuart Chase is not confined to the realm of violent conflict and includes a variety of levels based on the participants involved: personal quarrels, inter-family conflicts, feuds (between clans), community quarrels (e.g. between towns), sectional quarrels (between territorial units, e.g. South vs North), national rivalries, inter-cultural conflicts (Fink, 1968). Khokhlov goes in line with most of the previous findings, while also highlighting the existence of inter-class and intra-class conflict. Having zoomed up the scale of categorization, Zvonitskaya ranges conflicts from intrapersonal to inter-group levels, with individual vs. society conflict in-between (Omelaenko, 2019). Other scholars adopt a more generalized approach, stressing the number of conflicting parties (e.g. bilateral and multilateral), as well as the similarity and difference in the structural composition of participants (e.g. cumulative and intersecting) (Gromova, 2000; Khokhlov, 2014).

Some theorists devise complex typologies that include both actor-based and origin/cause-based division. (Boulding, 1962) goes in line with the above-mentioned scholars in identifying different types of actors, while also adding categories based on the underlying issues, e.g. "boundary conflicts between groups" and "ecological conflict between groups". (Smelser, 1994) categorizes conflicts according to the complexity of the actor, pointing to previously unmentioned intra- and inter-institutional conflicts, while also emphasizing the cultural grounds of conflicts. In doing so, he also distinguishes between three types of conflicts based on the cultural development of societies: anomie,

cultural delay, and alien influence. Huttington further stresses culture as a core underlying driving force of conflict, and talks about inter-civilizational conflict powered by cultural differences (Huttington, 1993). (Holsti, 1996) presents an even more intertwined framework, as he simultaneously outlines the actors and the conflict grounds in his four categories of non-inter-state conflicts: state versus armed intervention; decolonizing wars; ideology-based internal wars; and ethnic/religious state-nation wars. A plethora of other scholars, including the above-mentioned Stuart Chase (Fink, 1968) and, for instance, Russian political scientist Vladimir Amelin (1992), follow the same strategy in developing a two-fold classification, taking actors and conflict grounds as a basis for categorization.

Simmel (1904) sees antagonistic impulses as the foundation of any conflict, and makes a distinction between conflicts driven by objective struggle and social motives versus conflicts instigated by individual impulses, thus identifying war, factional strife, litigation, and conflict of impersonal ideas. In conceptualizing the origins of conflicts, Cottle (2006) talks about "structurally determined and purposefully enacted" conflicts. According to the same logics, Khokhlov (2014) analyses organization specifics of conflicts, identifying intentional, accidental, provoked and proactive conflicts.

Ayodeji, Theophillus, & Livian (2002) distinguish between conflicts of interest, values, goals, perceptions, roles, resources, and pseudo conflicts. Analysing conflicts in the African region, de Haan, et al. (2016) groups them according to goals and consequent forms of conflict into localized conflicts over resource access, criminal activities, rebellion and irredentism, and religious extremism. Objects and interests that constitute the source of occurrence are considered by a wide range of Russian conflict typologists as well, who sometimes also talk about goals, which is another highly linked notion (Tsoi, 2001; Gromova, 2000; Sapuzhak, 2019). In particular, Tsoi distinguishes between material (goods, natural resources, territory) and non-material (spiritual values, social norms, religion, ideology, information and facts) objects of the conflict.

Within the origins-related framework, there is a separate categorization described as 'nature of conflict occurrence' that gathers different sets of parameters that have to do with the perceptions by conflicting parties. For instance, Borodkin (1989) distinguishes four types of conflict situations based on expediency from the point of view of subject and object: objective expediency – objective inexpediency and subjective expediency – subjective inexpediency (Cottle, 2006) suggests a distinction between "objectively real and subjectively perceived" conflicts, a distinction further supported by Tsoi.

Origins of conflict are often found in the social sphere, since, as noted by (Dahrendorf, 1959) conflict groups are formed out of conditions of social structure. Thus, the division according to the social sphere presents a separate ground for categorization, which is widely agreed upon by conflict theorists. In line with the previous strategy, Zdravomyslov (1994) considers needs, interests and values as driving forces of conflict, cross-analysing them in the major spheres of life, namely, political, national-ethnic, and socio-economic realms of social existence. Categorization of inter-state conflict by Holsti (1996) includes five composite sets that are in large part concerned with social spheres – along conflict over territory and nation-state creation, the scholar talks about conflicts in the spheres of economics, ideology, and 'human sympathy' (i.e. ethnicity/ religion). Typology of violent conflicts in the Muslim world developed by El-fatih Abdullahi (2006) draws the distinction between territorial dispute, economic conflict and conflict of ideas, the latter further split into the social spheres of religion, ideology and ethnicity. One of the classic theorists concerned with social spheres of conflict is Robert Dahl, who distinguishes between economic, social, political, legal, ideological, moral, religious, scientific, and management conflict (Khokhlov, 2014). Krasheninnikova, & Nikolskaya (2022), who expanded Dahl's framework by adding war conflict, found that this approach allows for a more objective conceptualization.

A more complex, multi-layer distinction is based on forms of conflict development, which is conceptualized according to a variety of traditions. Based on four criteria – starting point, image of the opponent, objective, and mode of interaction – Rappoport (1961) identifies three types of conflicts: fights, games, and debates. Dahrendorf pinpoints the same types of conflict, conceptualizing these characteristics as tactics used by opponents (Khokhlov, 2014). One of the important factor is the degree of rationality in the relationship between parties. In this line, Tsoi (2001) draws a clear-cut distinction between the socially-positive, rational and socially-negative, irrational opponents. Drawing on the similar criteria, namely, mode of interaction and objective, Simmel distinguishes between military game or tournament, legal dispute, and hostility within groups (Khokhlov, 2014). Closer look at the typologies existing within this framework allows to identify common sub-categories used by scholars for further distinction of conflict forms.

Many conflict theorists concur in analysing different forms of manifestation. In this vein, both early and modern theorists distinguish between latent and manifest conflicts (Coser, 1957; Cottle, 2006). Sandole (2003) suggests a typology that goes beyond this simple dichotomy to include latent conflicts (pre-

MCPs), manifest conflict processes (MCPs), and aggressive manifest conflict processes (AMCPs). Khokhlov (2014) takes a slightly different approach, talking about hidden, partially hidden, and open conflicts based not only on the ability to witness the physical manifestation of the conflict but also on the ability to adequately judge about conflict's causes and other features.

Going back to Sandole's classifications, the way the categories are labelled reveals their connection to another important criterion, which is the level of violence. From the beginning on, conflict theorists were highly concerned with the level of violence, identifying violent and non-violent forms (Coser, 1967; Boikov, 1995; Tsoi, 2001). Coser goes beyond this simple demarcation, and talks about two factors that can impact the degree of violence – emotional involvement and transcendent goals (Dahrendorf, 1959). Notably, Coser points to the fact that while the level of violence is linked to the form of manifestation, non-violent conflicts can be both latent and manifest. Following these scholars, Dahrendorf recaps the essence of the category of violence, highlighting the crucial role of "the weapons chosen by conflict groups to express their hostilities". The theorist comes up with a continuum of conflict types depending on the degree of violence applied: discussion, debate, contest, competition, struggle and war (ibid.). Thus, scholars draw distinction based on methods and severity of confrontation (Gromova, 2000; Sapuzhak, 2019).

Apart from the level of violence, Dahrendorf (1959) is predominantly focused on the degree of intensity, which is a separate parameter of conflict that shows no clear-cut dependence on the violence. According to the scholar, this parameter indicates the involvement of opponents, which is largely determined by the value and importance attached by the participants to the ongoing stand-off. In this regard, Russian scholars can talk about the force of influence on the participants (Gromova, 2000), while others echo their international counterparts in viewing the intensity as it is (Tsoi, 2001). While conceptualizing this category, Dahrendorf also talks about the pluralism-superimposition scale, which denotes whether the opponents represent multiple conflicting groups at the same time, which substantially increases the intensity of the conflict.

Cottle (2006) goes on to suggest the inverse relation between the intensity of the conflict and its length. The latter presents another widely-accepted base for distinction, with scholars analysing conflict duration and studying its life cycle (Gromova, 2000; Sapuzhak, 2019), and differentiating between long-term, short-term (Tsoi, 2001), and protracted (Khokhlov, 2014) conflict. Another parameter that is identified as a ground for conflict categorization is

manageability that boils down to whether a conflict lends itself to containment or calls for extreme prosecution measures (Gromova, 2000; Cottle, 2006).

The list of parameters can in fact be extended indefinitely, since the number of typologies can amount to the number of theorists striving to conceptualize the phenomenon of conflict. Other kinds of criteria can include the direction of impact, the needs affected (Gromova, 2000), the resources involved, e.g. material vs social (Tsoi, 2001), the place of habitation, e.g. rural vs city (Fomenkov, 2018), position on the social pyramid, e.g. horizontal vs vertical (Khokhlov, 2014), and so on. The above-presented review attempted to include the most widespread types of criteria used in the categorization of conflicts

Representations of conflicts: The roles of media

A mediator between the public and elites

According to Castells (2009), publishers and editors tend to index the salience of news and viewpoints according to the perceived importance of a specific issue among the elites and in public opinion. The capacity of the media to decide on indexing depends on the level of agreement or disagreement on an issue among the elites and opinion leaders. If there is little dissent, the media will index according to a single set of evaluation on a given issue (for example, 9/11 in its immediate aftermath in the United States, inducing the acceptance of the "war on terror" frame). On the other hand, as Castells notes, the more there is division and ambiguity in elite responses to a crisis (for example, the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in the United States), the more the media exercise their own diverse judgments in the indexing of an event. According to Bennett (2008), indexing by journalists does not depend on the importance of an issue for the public, but on the level of engagement by the elites. Public opinion polls are selected to support the narrative that fits into the news story.

Gitlin (1980), Hallin (1986), and Luther and Miller (2005) have found that, during times of war, the American press tends to marginalize dissenting voices (e.g., the anti-war movement), privilege political insiders, and often focus on the spectacle of the protest itself rather than the positions of the protestors. Hallin (1986) showed that the relation between the media and the government during Vietnam was in fact one of conflict: the media contradicted the more positive view of the war officials sought to project, and for better or for worse it was the journalists' view that prevailed with the public, whose disenchantment forced an end to American involvement. Often this view is coupled with its corollary,

that television has decisively changed the political dynamics of war so that no 'televised war' can long retain political support.

'Vietnam coincided with a number of other dramatic political events in which the role of the media was clearly central. First was the civil rights movement, played out largely on a media stage, then the urban conflicts of the late 1960s, the Democratic Convention in Chicago, the rise of a host of new political movements, and finally Watergate. The growing prominence of the media coincided with what seemed to be a crisis in political institutions. These developments have provoked a broader controversy about the relation of the media to the institutions of American government' (Hallin, 1986). Today journalists often portray the Vietnam/Watergate era as a time when the media 'came of age', by which they mean both that the media became more autonomous in relation to government and the professional journalist more autonomous within the news organization (ibid).

Studies of Iraq War coverage have found that actors in official political positions are consistently granted more media time than those who dissent from them in the United Kingdom (Murray et al., 2008), in Sweden (Dimitrova and Str mb ck, 2005), and in Germany (Lehmann, 2005; Dornschneider, 2007). Castells (2009) notes in this vein: 'As political criticism of the conduct of the war emerged among Democrats and intensified around the world, mainstream media stopped following the agenda set by the Bush administration, and disassociated the Iraq War from the dominant frames that had until then continued to influence their reporting. They began reporting misinformation, thus introducing counter-frames into the process. The more political competition transformed the landscape of agenda-setting, the more journalists in the mainstream media used decision-making bias (i.e., exercised their own professional preferences in the priming and indexing of the news) to produce different patterns of slant, depending on the interactions of elite politics and "facts on the ground."

Pickard (2019) adds here that one of the most pronounced weaknesses in the US news media system is an over-reliance on official sources. The fear of appearing controversial and jeopardizing access to elite sources often leads journalists to reproduce official accounts. 'This tendency was cast into stark relief in news coverage during the build-up to the Iraq War in 2003. When asked at a Harvard forum about press performance from this time – what is seen now as a major press failure – the famous news anchor Dan Rather conceded that "more questions should have been asked" (ibid).

An instrument of struggle

The typology of media systems suggested by Hallin and Mancini back in early 2000s indicates that Polarized pluralist societies have been historically characterized by sharp political conflicts often involving changes of regime (Hallin, & Mancini, 2004). The media typically have been used as instruments of struggle in these conflicts, sometimes by dictatorships and by movements struggling against them, but also by contending parties in periods of democratic politics. 'Through much of history ... that state has played the role of censor. ... The financial dependence of media on the state, and the persistence of restrictive rules on privacy and on the publication of official information have combined with the intertwining of media and political elites and – especially in the French case - with a highly centralized state not prone to "leaks" of information to produce a journalistic culture cautious about reporting information that would be embarrassing to state officials. ... investigative reporting and the exposure of corruption, incompetence, and conflict of interest were indeed rare. This changed dramatically in the 1980s and 1990s, as most of the Mediterranean countries experienced numerous political scandals' (Hallin, & Mancini, 2004).

In the Italian case the Tangentopoli or "bribe city" scandal, which involved revelations of bribes paid by businessmen and corporations to most prominent politicians, produced a radical change of the political structure of Italian democracy, with the disappearance of almost all of the parties that ruled Italy for half a century – the Christian Democratic, Socialist, Liberal, and Republican parties – and the imprisonment of many important political leaders (ibid). Hallin and Mancini note that the exact dynamics of these scandals, and the role of the media in them, varies from country to country. Still, in all cases it involves important changes in the relation of the media to the state: media become less deferential and their relations with political elites more adversarial. In the French case, the exposure by Le Monde of the role of the French State in an attack on the Greenpeace ship the Rainbow Warrior, which was protesting French nuclear testing in the Pacific, is often seen as a watershed event in the shift toward a less deferential attitude toward the state.

In this vein, Hallin and Mancini apply their typology to the study of framing and conflict situations, arguing that 'In all of the Mediterranean countries there is an increased tendency to frame events as moral scandals, and for journalists to present themselves as speaking for an outraged public against the corrupt political elite. These changes are not unique to the Mediterranean countries. They are connected with the growth of powerful, market-based media, with a

cultural shift toward "critical professionalism" in journalism, and with a deeply rooted decline of traditional loyalties to political parties' (ibid).

A producer and disseminator of meaning about the events

One of the landmark studies in media and communication research, McQuail's mass communication theory (2010) dealt with questions of values in regard to political and social conflicts. McQuail argued that all societies have latent or open tensions and contradictions that often extend to the international arena. The media are inevitably involved in these disputed areas as producers and disseminators of meaning about the events and contexts of social life, private as well as public. It follows from these remarks that we cannot expect the study of mass communication to provide theoretically neutral, scientifically verified information about the 'effects' or the significance of something that is an immensely complex as well as intersubjective set of processes.

An interesting observation in this vein was made by Bebawi and Evans (2019), discussing media roles in investigative reporting. A successful example of how investigative reporters have worked with foreign reporters is an investigative story entitled *Jordan's Secret Shame*, which was conducted in collaboration with the BBC (Bebawi, 2016). This story aimed to uncover the maltreatment, negligence, and daily abuse of children with physical and mental disabilities in private care homes for children. The local investigative reporter, Hanan Khandakji, posed as a volunteer worker in these homes and documented beatings and abuse of children over a period of time. Both this role and the time it took to collect all the evidence is something that cannot be achieved by a foreign correspondent alone.

The news media are often accused of bias, especially on issues where emotions are charged and opinion sharply divided. In the case of the first and second (Iraq) Gulf wars, the media of Western participant countries were widely said to have failed to live up to their role of objective reporter and critical observer. In this vein, McQuail applies to the theory of the spiral of silence, noting that 'in order to avoid isolation on important public issues (such as political party support), many people are guided by what they think to be the dominant or declining opinions in their environment. The result is that those views that are perceived to be dominant gain even more ground and alternatives retreat still further'.

On another note, he draws attention to so-called 'CNN effect': the term derived from the myth that new global television channels can connect governments at home most directly and quickly to unfolding events abroad. The

idea has much deeper roots, since the press has often played a role historically in decisions about war (for instance, the American–Spanish conflict in 1899). According to Gilboa (2008), the term implies that television coverage forces policy makers to take actions they otherwise would not have taken. Scholars and practicioners have also noted how the media, particularly radio, was instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia (Buric, 2000; Kellow, & Steeves, 1998), and concluded that roles can be converted into positive contributions to conflict resolution.

A dialogue- or peace-maker

Another important role of media in conflict situations is related to so-called 'solutions journalism' which positions both causes and potential problem-solving at the centre of the coverage, rather than merely the conflict itself (Gutsche, & Hess, 2018), together with peace journalism. Richmond, & Visoka (2019) draw attention to peace journalism referring to a particular practice of journalism that aims to contribute toward peace in various conflict situations. 'Peace journalism offers a framework to critique the shortfalls of traditional war journalism and it expounds a set of standards for practitioners to constructively report on conflict situations with a view toward achieving peace. Peace journalism could help to mitigate crises because it is based on constructive norms that enable journalists to report on the causes of societal problems and provide constructive strategies for social action and change' (Richmond, & Visoka, 2019). Jamil et al (2022) note the important role of media in rapidly changing conflicting world during the pandemic, also when it comes to 'media sustainability' and building dialogue between conflicting parties in the society.

Peace journalism was developed with a critical view toward how journalists and news media treat conflict and contribute to rather than mitigate war and violence. Scholars note that Solution Oriented Peace journalism should crucially focus on reporting nonviolent societal initiatives of peace and conflict resolution to de-escalate and avert more violence. Rather than concentrating on "battle" and "war," peace journalism should aim to highlight the consequences of conflict with a constructive as well as creative emphasis on "resolution," "re-construction," and "reconciliation" (Galtung 2003, p. 178). In this vein, Galtung suggests for journalists to implement the outlined components of peace journalism as part of their working routines.

If we look at the roles of media from a Cultural Discourse Studies perspective, we may note that the role of media in fostering intercultural-intellectual dialogue and debate, all with a view to enhancing human cultural coexistence, harmony

and prosperity, is essential (Shi-xu, 2015). In a situation when representatives of different ethnic groups generally trust each other, perceive each other rather positively than negatively, know about the culture, way of living, traditions of other ethnic communities, conflicts on ethnic grounds occur more rarely, and the intercultural dialogue between people belonging to different ethnic and cultural communities becomes more productive and beneficial. This is in line with the very fundamental principles of Cultural Discourse Studies suggested by Shi-xu (2014), including the very first principle, that is 'to study human communication holistically and dialectically' (Shi-xu, 2014: 28). In multiethnic contexts such as for example Russian context, Cultural Discourse Studies allows for holistic approach to communication between and also across ethnic communities, relying to a large extent on transdisciplinary and multicultural perspectives in research work (Shi-xu, 2015), and allowing for minimizing conflicts on different grounds.

Discussion

As we can see, there are different approaches to categorizing both conflicts in the structure of the society, and the representation of conflicts in the media. The basis for the classification of social conflicts in the context of their media images is a variety of determinants. It all depends on which aspect of the conflict as a process attracts the attention of researchers. It is possible to single out the following basic classifications as possible determinants for constructing theoretical conceptualizations in the field of media representations:

- by conflicting parties / subjects of the conflict, where the levels of actors involved in the conflict are considered, i.e. the state or public systems, institutions, societies, communities, groups, individuals;
- by systemic attributes of the conflict, which can have both intersystem and intrasystem characteristics, which determine the logic of the conflict development and management; special attention in this case is paid to the size of conflicting systems in the case of an intersystem conflict, since the scale of the system gives certain dynamics to the conflict, i.e. the conflict between large systems and between small ones will differ significantly;
- according to the level of geopolitical confrontation: local, regional, international or macro-, meso-, micro-characters of the conflict in the context of the current processes of political and economic development of blocs of countries and continents, as well as individual countries, leave an imprint on the development and outcome of conflicts in general

- and the structure and properties of media representations;
- according to the type of activity of the conflicting parties/subjects in the
 conflict: the quality and scale of manifestation of the conflicting party
 in the conflict differ (for example, duration, resonance and involvement
 of the parties). Special attention is paid to the fact of the use of violent
 methods, including weapons, or their absence in the activities of the
 conflicting parties;
- the fact of belonging to the sphere of public life. The most common is the typology of conflicts in the spheres of life of society: economic, social, political, legal, ideological, moral, religious, scientific, managerial, military.

Media studies traditionally have not associated the type of conflict with the role of the media. In general, the dynamics of academic knowledge about media in conflict conditions fluctuates between recognizing the active role of media in conflict escalation and highlighting the peacemaking, constructive role of media in resolving and de-escalating all types of conflict. Information that incites conflict is newsworthy (Lukina, 2021), it is easier to catch the eye of the media audience, at the same time journalists should focus on the long-term perspective in their work, in which the conflict is waiting for a peaceful resolution, supporters of the peacemaking approach in journalism believe (Galtung, & Ruge, 1965). This contradiction is reflected in many theoretical approaches to defining the role of media in the coverage of conflicts.

The conceptualization of peaceful journalism is based on the idea that in any conflict, the goal should be its resolution and termination, the elimination of contradictions in favor of human life, peace and universal well-being. Habermas emphasized in this regard that the goal-setting of any communication model should be based on morality (Habermas, 2006). He proposed an original model of the communication process, the effect of which is a certain communicative action based on moral consciousness. The purpose of communication as a social action is to reach agreement between the parties to the conflict on difficult issues. The rejection of other communication models in favor of a model of communicative action creates new forms of social management not only of communication flows, but also of the whole society. This philosophical clause, somewhat divorced from the real state of affairs, nevertheless corresponds to the normative model of journalism, in which compliance with ethical standards is a professional ideal.

The approaches of peaceful journalism orient journalists to cover military conflicts from the positions of peacekeepers – that is, not journalists in their

pure form, developing special norms that must be observed in such work. Peaceful journalism should shift its focus from the demonstration of war to its alternative — the demonstration of peace, which can re-orient readers from the mood of confrontation to interaction. It is based on the observance of certain norms: the use of neutral words that do not formulate a negative or positive attitude towards any one side of the conflict; lack of engagement by any political force; focus on conflict resolution and reduction of hostility of the parties to each other; focus on finding solutions and compromises (Lynch, & McGoldrick, 2000; Ruhanya, & Matsilele, 2022).

However, the idea of spreading peaceful initiatives in journalism, although it proceeds from high humanistic ideals, requires critical reflection. The implementation of this approach is possible only when covering a conflict that takes place outside the national state, on the territory of which the editorial office of the media operates and of which the journalist is a citizen. This is due to the fact that the role of the national state, its interests, the legislative framework for the media to carry out their activities on the territory of a particular country, as well as, in general, the special academic status of the military conflict as a concept in media studies are offset (Jamil, & Sohal, 2021). Making peace is possible when the conflict takes place within the system, has a local, internal character.

Russian researcher Tamara Yakova, analyzing the concept of peaceful journalism, studied how American, British and French mass media covered the confrontation between the USA and North Korea and the war in Syria, and came to the conclusion that in their publications attitudes to confrontation appear even at the headline level. About 80% of the materials of *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *Le Figaro* when covering various conflicts and crises do not correspond to the concept of peacekeeping journalism (Yakova, 2019).

The bias of journalists, even of the generally recognized highest–quality media in the world in relation to the actions of the participants in the conflict, the use of negative expressive vocabulary in materials, the lack of consideration of different opinions regarding confrontation – all these are the realities of national models of journalism in many countries of the world in conditions of military conflicts. Publications are oversaturated with markers with the connotative meaning of war and chaos, expressive vocabulary that gives value judgments aimed at one of the parties to the conflict, aggressive quotes from participants of the confrontation that discredit the authority of the other participant.

The representation of a military conflict in the media is one of the most widespread media representations in the world and is not an easy subject to analyze from the point of view of researchers. Unlike structural social conflicts within society, where the media can perform a variety of roles – from an observer to a full-fledged participant, conflict relations between nation states change the normative roles of the media. The fact of the military manifestation of the conflict is one of the most significant milestones in the transformation of the media role model.

The scientific problem in media conflict studies is that in the research field there is no conventionally shared essential distinction between the roles of media for different types of conflict. The peacemaking role of national media is hardly feasible in the conditions of military conflicts taking place on the territory of the national state, and the conflict has an external character.

Conclusion

In the most general form, the types of conflicts and types of media representation are poorly related to themselves and have not been developed theoretically. The only common distinction in the typologies of conflicts and media representations can be seen in the following pairs of dichotomies:

- 1) Media as peace- or war-maker;
- 2) Conflict within the system, or external conflict.

In the conditions of wars, military and armed conflicts, terrorist attacks and other forms of violence that lead to victims, the media cease to be distant observers, peacemakers and independent interpreters, and become the basis of the information security of the national state. When covering violent conflicts, the media are as important means of organizing a nation—state as a large-scale society and a single territorial integrity as the state language, culture and education. This role of the media in the representation of the conflict has been verified by the history of the development of mass communication, having found confirmation in regulatory documents and practice of media communications in many countries of the world (for instance, *USA Patriotic Act, Media Law in Ukraine*, etc.).

This is due to the fact that academic knowledge about media conflict studies is influenced, on the one hand, by politological and sociological approaches that consider conflict as an inevitable fact of reality and an integral feature of the existence of modern societies; on the other hand, moral and ethical assessments are obvious, which media researchers are close to, which implies considering the conflict in the context of not only the conflict situations themselves, but also within the framework of a peacemaking process with the absolutization of the value of human life. However, the interpretation of the value of life is not limited

by the logic of a particular nation-state, but is understood very abstractly, which often does not correspond to reality.

In theoretical approaches, due attention is not paid to the differentiation of the role of the media in the representation of the conflict, depending on its type, as well as the context of the model of the media system and the national state.

Media change their structural and functional significance in the context of armed conflicts in the following way. Within the framework of peaceful functioning, media communications are embedded in the system of the social organism as one of the structural components for maintaining public order, balance and vitality. The condition for the harmonious functioning of society is the freedom of media communication in the coverage of social conflicts, except for the military, which requires systematic management. The key task of media communication is to ensure the interests of society and its citizens, acting from a position of social responsibility and in accordance with ethical principles.

In case of military violent actions against citizens of a national state, the institution of which is media communications, the structural and functional model of 'society – media communications' is transformed into the model of 'national state – society – media communications'. The task of the media in the case of armed conflicts is to act in the interests of the national state, ensuring, first of all, the integrity of its territorial and political form, the unity of the nation as a community, the security of the cultural and political organism. The media act as a guarantor of the security of the nation as a large community of citizens along with a common language, history, culture and traditions. Freedom of speech, respect for the diversity of points of view and open discussions in case of a threat to the lives of citizens fall by the wayside in favor of the ideal of national security, implemented, in particular, with the help of information security.

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Representing the guests: How Russians are portrayed in Antalya local media

Gülseren Şendur Atabek Ümit Atabek¹ Akdeniz University, Turkey

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Abstract

Antalya is a destination favoured by the citizens of the Russian Federation not only for tourism but also for settlement in Turkey. As the Russian tourist and resident population increases in number, the interest of the Antalya local media to Russians increases too. In this study, we examine how Russians are portrayed in Antalya local media by employing quantitative and qualitative methods. Russian representations in two local online newspapers were analysed using the content and frame analysis methodologies. The findings reveal that the number of stories presentation of Russians have increased over the historical process. The sentiments for the Russians were generally positive in the news stories. In addition, Russians were framed mostly as tourists, residents and artistsathletes. It is concluded that Antalya local media use an attentive language for representing the Russians in the news stories.

Keywords

Russians, Antalya, representation, portrayal, image, local media, content analysis.

Introduction

Representation is a visual and written depiction of an entity, such as a person, a social group, a nation, a place, a country, or an object. This term usually refers to what images and texts mean, the meanings that they potentially convey, and how they come to take on those meanings (Beltran, 2018). Furthermore,

Ümit Atabek, Akdeniz University, Turkey.

Email: uatabek@akdeniz.edu.tr

¹ Corresponding author:

these meanings are created and transmitted through media, and when we speak about representation, we usually refer to the media representations. Study of media representation is currently an important and prevalent field of study among communication and media scholars. The literature usually deals with the issue of representation in the context of stereotyping effect of media. Stereotyping practices of media usually deforms the reality, and contribute to the reproduction of the dominant discourses and ideologies. Especially, cultural studies scholars studied the media representations extensively. According to Hall (1997), representation is a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between the members of a culture, and the mass media create stereotyped representations as shared meanings. Stereotyping reduces, exaggerates, simplifies and "divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable" (Hall, 1997: 258). Fiske (2017) discusses prejudices in more detail and suggests that stereotypes can be categorized into two: shared stereotypes (gender, age) and variable stereotypes (race, ethnicity, religion).

This study will primarily trace the latter type of stereotypes, as they are reflected in media outlets. However, these categories may overlap in certain news stories, as in the case of representing Russian young women. Our study aims in advancing the existing body of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians in media. It focuses on the representations in local media of Antalya, a southern Turkish city, where Russians prefer both as a touristic and a settlement destination.

Literature review

There is a large body of literature on the representation of nations and countries in media (see e.g. Kunczik, 2002; Ogunyemi, 2011; Hammarlund, & Riegert, 2011; Tarasheva, 2014; Bunce, Franks, & Paterson, 2017; Segev, 2019). Media outlets portray nations and countries in a particular way so that the perception of the audience is shaped accordingly. While the media's influence in image-building is not absolute, governments attach great importance to image-building efforts in the media. In this context, image-building efforts always require a political strategy with profound sociological, cultural and ideological evaluations, aiming at soft power accumulation. These efforts are also related with disciplines such as international public relations and public diplomacy. As put by Kunczik (2016), the image of a nation develops through a complex communication process starting from early childhood with fairytales, children books etc., and matures in media content such as TV programs and newspapers.

Within the context of tourism marketing, a country's image is a multi-dimensional construct based on political, economic, technological, and social desirability (Martin, & Eroglu, 1993). The image of a country is reproduced through mass media representations, and circulated into the international public opinion.

As suggested by Hall (1997: 270), "meaning can never be finally fixed" in media representations, therefore the representations of a nation and a country may change throughout historical periods. For instance, according to the longitudinal study of Magnusson, Zdravkovic and Westjohn (2022), between 2008 and 2020 the country image of South Korea improved while that of Japan deteriorated, measured in terms of brand origin recognition accuracy, as perceived by US consumers. Similarly, Boeva-Omelechko et al. (2019) found that the image of Russia in British mass media has changed from positive to negative, between the years 1991-1993 and 2013-2019, due to the changes in the political evaluations of journalists regarding the post-Soviet Russia's international positioning.

The image of Russia and Russians in Turkey is a function of political, military, economic and cultural relations of the two countries, both of which have a long-standing powerful imperial past. Throughout their history, Russia and Turkey have fought twelve wars between each other since the mid-16th century. Apparently, such long history of conflicts had created the seeds for reciprocal negative images. Both of the imperial states had collapsed at the beginning of the 20th century. Then, the Soviet Union was an ally of the newly emerging Turkish Republic, not only for the military aid but also for the economic cooperation. However, after the second half of the Century, there was the Cold War, during which they became "ideological enemies" due to the membership in rival military pacts. The change of the image of Russia and Russians after the start of the Cold War could be traced in Turkish history books; the positive images during the first years of the Republic had deteriorated after the 1950s (Akta, 2006). Unfriendly attitudes towards Soviet Union and Russians were particularly strong among the supporters of Turkish right-wing political circles, who ardently revived historical hostilities in an anti-communist fashion during the Cold War years (Me e, 2017). Nevertheless, this did not restrain the two countries from improving economic relations, especially during the d tente years when USSR provided credit and know-how for heavy industries in Turkey.

During the Cold War, negative stereotypes of Russians and Eastern Europeans have been common in the West for decades (Ibroscheva, 2002). However, such negative views somehow continue to persist even after the end of the Cold War. A new kind of Orientalism still functions for a distorted view of

Eastern people and cultures by the West. The current views of Russians by the West can be explained within this context. Russia and other Eastern states are perceived by Western governments as presenting a threat to their international dominance, and Russia has begun to replace the Islamic world among perceived threats (Gray, 2018). In order to overcome these image challenges, the Russian Federation has initiated several communication campaigns in the post-Yeltsin period to rebrand itself within the context of soft-power politics (Simons, 2011). Nye's (1990) concept of soft power suggests that technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more important in international power relations. After the end of the Cold War, the international politics shifted from hard power to soft power, public diplomacy being a primary tool. Russia's rebranding efforts are to be conceived as a part of such public diplomacy. On the other hand, as witnessed in the Sochi Olympic games, the Russian media seem to redefine a new Russian identity through the Russian symbolic politics of 'the derzhava' which is supposed to be rooted in Russian history, providing social support and cohesion (Akopov, Aslanyan, Boliatchevets, & Slusarchuk, 2017). Nevertheless, reconciliation of the Soviet past with the new Russian image is not always an easy task for strategic communications efforts, especially in connection with the international public opinions.

After the dissolve of the USSR, following a short period of ambiguity, the Turkish-Russian relations of have again improved, especially in the economic sectors. Although political crisis had deteriorated the relations, the leadership of Putin and Erdogan was able to restore a relatively stable partnership. Leadership styles of Putin and Erdogan is an important factor for developing the Turkish-Russian relations (Ergezen, 2022). Nuclear energy, natural gas trade and tourism were the main areas of partnership. Declaration of Turkish Russian Cultural year in 2019 is an apparent sign of commitment to further improving the bilateral relations. Lastly, the Ukrainian crisis has played the role of a catalyzer to strengthen the tested relations in a stressful international environment.

As explained by Repina et al. (2018), Russia's recent negative image in the West is largely based on last century's stereotyped evaluation of the Russian foreign policy, described as aggressive, and grounded on imperial ambitions. This idea that the foreign policy is one of the most important components of the image of a country is in parallel with the findings of Boeva-Omelechko et al. (2019). Therefore, the progress in the Turkish-Russian relations on the international level is a key factor for advancing the image of Russia and Russians in Turkey, and vice versa. Although there are limited empirical evidence, we can suggest that, in parallel with the improvements in the Turkish-Russian relations,

the image of Russia and Russians is improving in Turkey. A previous study (Bakan & Tabak 1, 2008) had found that 38% of Turkish university students felt themselves closer to Russia as compared to 46% to US, and 17% to EU. A later study in 2021 however, shows the improvements of the positive attitudes of Turks towards Russian, 50,4% of Turks believe that the US as the biggest threat, while only 8,9% believes it is Russia (Cengiz, & en, 2021). Recently, Aydın et al. (2022) has found that 50,9% of Turks define the Turkish-Russian relation as partnership, while only 11.9% as problematic. Another recent study by Ya ar and U urhan (2022), using a 5-point Likert-like scale, also confirms that Turks believe Russia is more honest and reliable (m=2,08) than the USA (m=1,54), and find the Russian leader much wiser (3,21) than the US leader (2,27). It is also possible to suggest that the leader of a country is an indicator of the image of that country. According to Pew Research Center 2019 survey, confidence to the Russian president (35%) is much higher than that of the US president (11%) among Turkish citizens. The same year, the ratio of favorable opinions of Russia (39%) was higher than that of the US (%20). It should be noted that favorable opinions have increased from 15% in 2015 to 39% in 2019 (PEW, 2022). On the other hand, the attitudes of Russian towards Turkey have also improved in parallel with the current strong relations, and ratio of positive views by Russians increased from 25% in 2016 to 68% in 2022 (Levada-Center, 2022).

The literature on Antalya local media is relatively limited. These works usually concentrate on the history (see e.g. G l, 2012; st n, 2019; z etin, abuk, & z etin (2019), and structural and technological problems (Bayram, & Atabek, 2010; i ek, & Atabek, 2006) of Antalya local media. The only study on the representations of social entities in Antalya local media concerns with how local newspapers represent foreign women (U ar-lbu a, & Sepet i, 2010). This study had relatively a small sample size of newspapers in only one-month, from mid-June to mid-July in 2009. The findings of the study revealed that foreign women were usually stereotyped as young, beautiful, nude, flirty blonde tourists in visuals while Russian and Eastern European women were slightly depicted in news about show dancing business, crime related prostitution, and being converted to Islam. These results may be attributed to what Bauhn and Tepe (2017) name as "Occidentalism in Turkish media" which causes the morally othering of the Western women.

However, it may also be argued that the mainstream media in Turkey is not much different than that of other countries in stereotyping both local and foreign women, and nations. As emphasized in several documents of the international organizations such as UNESCO (see UNESCO, 2014) and EU (see European

Commission, 1999) gender stereotyping is a common problem for all mainstream media around the world. The same is true for nation stereotyping in Turkish mainstream media, which is arguably not much problematic than the mainstream media of other countries. Nevertheless, we think that the representations of Russians in Antalya local media must draw further academic attention in parallel with the recently increased interest of Russians towards visiting to and/or settling in Antalya. Additionally, considering the fact that the research on Russians' representation in Turkish media is very limited, our study on Antalya local media will not only contribute to this scarce literature but will also develop and enrich the academic understanding of Turkish-Russian intercultural communications. We also believe that current fragile status of international relations on global level urges and justifies the importance of our study that aims in exploring the national stereotypes on a local media of Antalya, where Turks meet more Russians not only as tourists, but also as residents in their daily life.

Research questions

This study addresses three research questions. The first research question is about the change of Russian representations in Antalya local media over time. After the end of the Cold War, Russians had started to travel to Turkey, and particularly to Antalya, in the 1990s. The reasons for Russians' interest in Antalya are manyfold, possibly tourism was at the top. Since then, the number of Russian travelers and residents had grown rapidly, and surpassed Germans and other north Europeans who had previously been Antalya devotees. Currently, Antalya receives more than 2 million Russian tourists a year, and almost 50,000 Russians have obtained residence permits in the central Antalya. However, through the years these numbers have fluctuated in parallel with certain political and social events. Therefore, the first research question investigates the variations of Russians' coverage in Antalya local media. As explained by Hutter and Kriesi (2019) crisis increases politization and reshapes the political culture of countries. In relation to this, reshaping of the political culture also effects the stereotypes towards other nations. For instance, Fokas, Jelenfi and Tardos (2022) have shown that recent financial and refugee crises have impacted the stereotypes of others in Europe. Therefore, it is worth to investigate if such crises have some impact on Russian representations over history.

RQ 1: How does the coverage of Russians in Antalya local media change through years?

The second research question is about the sentiment of the news stories in Antalya local media. The sentiment, or the tone of the news, is a qualitative variable, and it will be handled accordingly. This qualitative aspect of the news stories is important in exploring the overall representations of Russians in Antalya local media. News stories have a general tone: positive, neutral and negative. The polarity of news is also called valence or direction, and based on the positive/negative aspects of evaluations. Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, and Vohs (2001) suggest that bad news is more effective in shaping the opinion of readers, and bad impressions and bad stereotypes are quicker to form than good ones. In this respect, investigating the overall sentiments of news stories is needed to clarify the Russian representations in Antalya local media.

RQ 2: What is the overall emotional and evaluative tone of the news stories about Russians in Antalya local media?

The third research question is about another qualitative aspects of the Russians' representations in Antalya local media. This research question is intended to explore the bias and stereotyping in the representations through the frames of Russians related stories. Framing theory suggests that meaning is not given but created (Olsson & Ihlen, 2018). We will scrutinize the frames as the key attributes that are expressed in the news stories. Consequently, the meaning creation in representations may be better explained within the context of the frames created in media.

RQ 3: How are the Russians framed in Antalya local media news stories in terms of the key attributes?

Addressing these research questions, our research is expected to advance the current body of scholarly knowledge on media representations of Russians. We believe that its focus on Antalya local media will fill a gap in the literature, which generally focus on international and national media outlets. This particular case from Turkish media will shed a light on the general discussions about the representations of Russians.

Materials and method

The main method of analysis pertaining to the research questions is content analysis. Content analysis is an established method for analyzing the media content both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is not merely limited to counting words or sentences, and it may have different formats. However, it is imperative that content analysis should be systematic and replicable (Krippendorff, 2019). We employed a quantitative content analysis for the first research question. The unit of analysis was the news stories, that included the words Russian and/or Russians.

For the second research question, we also employed content analysis method, but this time with a qualitative perspective. The news stories were coded into three categories, in accordance with their tone. Positive, neutral and negative categories were defined for the overall sentiment of the whole of a news story, and decided by the coder in terms of words that were used in the news story. Sentiment or tone of communication is one of the central topics of communication research (Lengaue, Esser, & Berganza, 2012). Conventionally, sentiment of the news stories is measured using manual annotators. However, there are also automated methods of sentiment analysis using computer software. Computational techniques are using either lexiconbased dictionaries or machine learning algorithms. These techniques are obviously very useful for large sets of data, however they are not much better than the human coded results (Atteveldt, van der Velden, & Boukes, 2021). Manual coding especially in smaller data sets performs much better, therefore in this study the first author manually annotated the overall tone of each news story.

For the third research question, we analyzed the frames in which Russians were represented. In his seminal work, Goffman (1974) defined frames as schemata of interpretation that allow people to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences or events. Applying the frame analysis to the media studies, Tuchman asserts that the news media set the frame in which citizens discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978). In short, framing is selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communication (Entman, 1993). Wimmer and Dominick (2008) considers frame analysis as a form of qualitative content analysis. Without going deep to the methodological discussions, we preferred to call this methodology as qualitative content analysis. After examining the literature, we developed six different frames. These frames are "Russian as guest/tourist"; as "business person/investor"; as "artist/athlete"; as "resident/pensioner"; and as "criminal". These frame categories are coded as mutually exclusive categories, in such a way that each story is coded only for one frame, which is the dominant one. The frames were initially reviewed in accordance with the examination of a small amount of news stories by the authors. As a result, seven frames were defined as tourists, business persons, artist-sports persons, residents, criminals, accident victim, and others. All coding was performed by the first author, therefore inter-coder reliability issues were prevented.

In compliance with the purposes of the study, the sample is composed of two online newspapers, *Antalya Ekspres* and *Yeni Alanya*. Purposive sampling is the

selection of the richest situations in terms of information that can be obtained in the context of the research purpose (Patton, 2002). Started in 1983, Antalya *Ekspres* is purposively selected for the sample as one of the oldest newspapers which still continues publication in print. It has also an online searchable archive since 2015. Yeni Alanya is also selected purposively in order to include Alanya, a long-time hotspot for foreign tourists and residents in Antalya province. Yeni Alanya has also a searchable online archive system since 2010. The time scope of our study is from 2016 to 2022, with one-year intervals. Therefore, we collected a total of four years of data, which was considered sufficient to examine the change over the period from 2016 to 2022. The month of October is selected as the sample month for each of these four years. October is considered suitable for the sampling since it is a month when tourism movements are neither very high nor very low. In this way, it is assumed that a better representative sample is obtained in which the effect of tourism is normalized. The retrieval of the news stories is performed by using the Turkish equivalents of the search words, "Russian" and "Russians". As a result, the sample yielded 191 news stories in total.

Results

Table 1 shows the overall distribution of news stories over the years. As can be seen from the table, there is a slight increase in the total number of the news stories (191) about Russians in Antalya media. As can be observed from the *Graph*, the slope equation of this slight increase in the number of news stories is y = 5.9 + 33 with a mid-level correlation ($R^2 = 0.4197$) for the regression line. The examined time period from 2016 to 2022 includes several important events which may be explanatory for the changes in the numbers of news stories. 2016 is the year just after the jet plane shut down event (in 2015) which obviously effected the Turkish-Russian relations worst. However, the July 2016 coup d'tat in Turkey was an opportunity to repair the relations following the Russian support of the Turkish government. Unfortunately, the merely repaired relations in 2016 had again deteriorated severely after another shocking event in December, the assassination of the Russian ambassador in Ankara. After all these events, the number of the news stories jumped to 53 in 2018 when the leaders of both countries were successfully able to normalize and improve the bilateral relations.

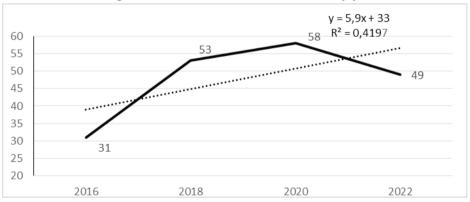
Despite the Covid restrictions, the number of the news stories continued to increase and hit the highest (58) in the year 2020, which witnessed a continuation of Russian tourists' influx to Antalya in the milieu of friendly relations between

the countries. Nevertheless, a slight decrease in the number of news stories in 2022 may be attributable to a small decrease of incoming Russian tourists due to the Ukrainian conflict in February. In addressing RQ1, we conclude that the coverage of the Russians in Antalya has increase in numbers over the years, and this increase is partially a function of the relations of between the two countries. On the other hand, this trend of increase does not differ according to the sampled media outlets. Both *Yeni Alanya* and *Antalya Ekspres* follows the same trend of increase in the number of the news stories between 2016 and 2022. However, in the same period *Yeni Alanya* produced more news stories (139), as compared to *Antalya Ekspres* (52), which is statistically significant (X2 = 39,628, df=1, p=0.01).

 ${\it Table~1}$ Distribution of news stories by years

2016	2018	2020	2022	Total		
31	53	58	49	191		

 ${\it Graph~1}$ Change in the number of news stories by years



In addressing RQ2, we find that the overall tone of the news stories in Antalya local media is positive, as shown in *Table 2*. Additionally, as in the case of findings for RQ1, the ratio of positive representations increases slightly in parallel with the improvements in the Turkish-Russian relations. It is also found that the negative representations are very low, 6% only. We think that this is much lower than the negative connotations of Russia in national Turkish media, which mostly use Western media sources in their

Russia related news stories. Additionally, Turkish national media is more concerned with the security and economic issues in the context of Turkey-Russia relations (Kalaycı, 2017). Therefore, this highly positive attitude of Antalya local media may be attributable to its attentive approach towards Russians in terms of the tourism industry in Antalya region. We observed that Antalya local media used an attentive language even when stereotyping Russian women

Table 2
The tone of news stories about Russians

	2016	2018	2020	2022
Positive	12(39%)	34(64%)	30(52%)	28(57%)
Neutral	16(52%)	19(36%)	21(36%)	20(40%)
Negative	3(10%)	0(0%)	7(12%)	1(2%)

The findings regarding RQ3 are presented in *Table 3*. As expected, "tourist" is the largest category the Russians are framed in. As of the end of 2022, Russians are the largest incoming tourist group in Antalya region; therefore, it is expected that Russians are represented mostly as tourists in Antalya local media. The second-largest frame was "residents" of Antalya region, and this is also as expected, since the Russians are the largest foreign resident group in Antalya. We observed that an attentive language is used for both the tourists and residents, usually naming them as "guests" for the tourists and "our neighbors" for the residents. When the news story used the officials from government or tourism industry as sources, they were particularly attentive in referring to the Russians in Antalya. The third-largest frame was the Russian "artists and athletes" either visiting Antalya for a special event, or permanently residing in Antalya. There are many artistic or sportive events with Russians participation throughout the year, organized either by Turkish authorities or by Russian cultural institutions in Antalya. The fourth-largest frame was the "victims of accidents". Unfortunately, many Russians become victims of traffic accidents yearly. Framing Russians as "business person" is relatively low (5,8%). A small Russian business community in Antalya is growing; however, many Russians work as freelancers on-line. The smallest frame for the representations of Russians is "criminals" (4,2%). This is quite low for such a large group, especially when compared with other foreign large groups such as Syrians and Iranians in Turkey.

Table 3
Frames for representations of Russians in Antalya local media

Tourist	Business	Artist- Sports	Residents	Criminals	Accident	Others
82	11	30	35	8	21	4
42,9	5,8	15,7	18,3	4,2	11,0	2,1

Discussions and conclusion

This study examined how Antalya local media portrayed Russians. It aimed to expand the body of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians, with a focus on Antalya local media. *Yeni Alanya* and *Antalya Ekspres* were sampled as local online news outlets. The month of October is included in the sample for the period from 2016 to 2022 with one-year intervals. The sample yielded 191 news stories in total. The news stories were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively with content and frame analysis methodologies. The findings revealed that the coverage of Russians in Antalya local media have increased through the years, and the representations are mostly positive. Russians are mostly framed as tourists (42,9%) and residents (18,5%) in the news stories. Usually, an attentive language is used for labelling them as "guests" and "our neighbors". The smallest frame for the representations of Russians is "criminals" frame (4,2%).

The overall results indicate that Antalya local media uses an attentive language for positive representations of Russians, both as visitors and residents. These findings are quite different than the ones that were reported in some other research (see e.g. Ibroscheva, 2002; Repina et al. 2018). It is observed that quantity and quality of these representations are mostly in parallel with the Turkish-Russian political relations, which is also indicative for the number of Russian tourists and residents in Antalya. Subsequently, we may suggest that Russia and Turkey relationships are very important with respect to the fluctuations in their political cultures (Hutter, & Kriesi, 2019) and political crises (Fokas, Jelenfi, & Tardos, 2022).

Apparently, in parallel with public authorities, Antalya local media wishes to contribute to the improvement of Turkish-Russian relations from their tourism industry perspective. It is evident that this perspective needs to be more realistic than being emotional. On the other hand, the positive approach of Antalya local media seems to be sustainable. Although there have been some minor provocative incidents exploiting the Ukrainian-Russian dispute and aiming at transferring the tension to Antalya; this attentive positive role of the local

media has not changed. However, further precautions need to be taken for the sustainability of the positive role that Antalya local media currently plays.

Obviously, reciprocal positive images of Russia and Turkey in respective public opinions is important in order to maintain the friendly relations in the international arena. Russia, having the 27th and Turkey, having the 38th places in current Nation Brands Index (Ipsos, 2022) must pay watchful attention to media representations. In the context of National Branding Index, Anholt (2006) lists four main reasons for nation branding as introduction, targeting, correction and improvement. Considering the level of Russian-Turkish relations, we may suggest that further public communication efforts need to be designed for the improvement phase.

It is obvious that Turkish public opinion still has certain associations of Russia with the Soviets, which are usually negative due to Turkey's ideological connections in NATO over the years. This seems to be a significant obstacle for implementing positive values of Turks towards Russia and Russians in general. However, the more they encounter with the Russians themselves in their everyday life, the more they witness that the life style of Russian tourists and residents are not much different than that of other foreigners in Antalya. Additionally, through matrimonial and business relationships, Turks discover some cultural elements in the personalities of Russians that are similar to theirs. Such similarities contribute positively to improve the relationships between the two peoples with mutual non-Western cultural characteristics.

On the other hand, the global domination of the Western media has a contributing role in developing the negative images of the non-Western world. As Kim (2002) states, due to this domination, there is an ethnocentric tendency to assume what is true of the mainstream US media is true of other parts of the world. In this context, he suggests that communication theory must be freed from the Euro-American confines. Accordingly, re-evaluation of stereotypes and negative media representations issues from a non-Western perspective may open new paths to comprehend the dynamics of Russian and Turkish representations in Western media.

Antalya is a characteristic place in experiencing positive shifts in the images of Russians. It is interesting to note that Antalya local media outlets do not refer to the Soviet past of Russians, and only few reader comments bring negative issues. Therefore, we may conclude that reconciliation efforts of the Soviet past with the new Russian image are not much relevant in the case of Antalya local media. The public communication campaigns by the associations of Russian residents in Antalya is also important in this direction. Especially, artistical

and athletic events draw the attention of the Turkish public opinion in Antalya. Especially, artistical and athletic events draw the attention of the Turkish public opinion in Antalya. It is clear that joint organizations will further strengthen and sustain these positive relations.

These empirical results suggest that the study's primary goal of expanding the corpus of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians, with a focus on Antalya's local media has been accomplished. Nevertheless, this study has certain limitations. A longer period could have been sampled for covering an extended period, in order to examine the whole scope of change. Additionally, more local media outlets could have been included in the sample for a better representation of Antalya local media. A comparison of Antalya local media and Turkish national media could also improve the explanatory capacity of the research design. Lastly, our research lacks to capacity of comprising and differentiating the identities of the citizens from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which the Turkish public opinion may not properly distinguish through a generalized Russian identity. However, new research agendas are needed to address all these limitations. We believe that further research is necessary in order to better understand the role of Antalya local media in attentive representations of Russians. Nevertheless, we also believe that this research is a mean contribution to explore the role of public communication in understanding Turkish-Russian relations from the particular perspective of Antalya.

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Domestic scientific media discourse in academic journals: Structural analysis

Igor Anisimov¹
Andrey Vyrkovsky
Kristina Zuykina
Darya Razumova
Nataliia Trishchenko
Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

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Abstract

The article presents the results of meta-research devoted to the study of domestic scientific discourse in academic journals in the field of journalism and mass communications. The empirical basis of the study was formed from an array of articles published in journals indexed in the RSCI and Web of Science Core Collection (WoS CC) databases in the period of 2015–2021. The authors analyzed more than 18 thousand articles, determined the quantitative indicators of published materials; marked the most significant research centers engaged in academic research in the field of journalism and mass communications (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Saint Petersburg State University); and reviewed the largest number of publications (Elena Vartanova, Olga Smirnova, Andrey Vyrkovsky). The most relevant thematic clusters in domestic media studies were also identified. For journals indexed in the RSCI, these are the digital media environment, the history of Russian journalism and literature, and media linguistics. For journals indexed by WoS, this is the digital media environment, as well as political topics, media linguistics and media theory.

Keywords

Scientific communication, scientific journal, citation rate, scientific discourse, Web of Science, eLibrary.

Igor Anisimov, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia.

Email: igor.anisimov@gmail.com

¹ Corresponding author:

Introduction

The increasing number of publications related to media is, on the one hand, a completely natural phenomenon due to the changes taking place in this area and the corresponding transformations in society under the influence of media. On the other hand, such an array of data leads to questions about the problems covered in such publications, the most popular journals on these topics and the quality of materials in general. Thus, in this study, an attempt was made to characterize such academic activity and amass a bank of research in the field of journalism and communications over the past 7 years by assessing the scientometric and quantitative indicators of articles in this area.

Significant interest in such meta-studies has been clear for a long time. Increasingly, the number of publications and citation rates serve as a measure of the significance and volume of a researchers' contribution, although such an interpretation is rarely valid without the use of qualitative evaluation methods (Zitt, & Bassecoulard, 2008).

The most popular tools for analyzing publication activity are international databases, primarily WoS, which, on the one hand, offers quite a broad set of data and, as a result, parameters for analysis and, on the other hand, allows for comparison of indicators for different countries, organizations and authors. A "classic" version of an article based on WoS data, as a rule, involves an analysis of the evolution of a particular discipline, including the dynamics of changes in thematic areas, methods used, etc., in some cases covering the entire history of the formation of a particular research field (Ouyang et al., 2021). Another common approach is to analyze articles about a phenomenon within a clear time frame (e.g. digital journalism studies, see Salaverr a, 2019).

The main source of information about publication activity in the Russian-language segment of scientific journals is, first of all, the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI) as the most complete database of domestic scientific publications. During the formation of the joint project of eLibrary and WoS to create a regional Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI), the latter attracted close attention from researchers. Both of these bodies assess the level of journals differently, and notable serious discrepancies are especially prevalent for the sector of the humanities and social sciences (Mazov, Gureev, & Kalenov, 2018). In this article, the object of research is scientific journals indexed by the RSCI and WoS, and the focus is on publications that study various aspects of the functioning of the media sphere.

Theoretical background

The use of scientometric tools for science management contributes to the emergence of numerous articles devoted to indicators of publication activity within certain scientific fields at the national level, including those with the involvement of interdisciplinary and cross-country comparative analysis (Zhang, Shang, Huang, & Sivertsen, 2021; Shaposhnik, 2020; Kademani et al., 2007; Cano, 1999). Such studies often involve additional data from national or regional digital libraries and projects.

One of the popular sources of bibliographic information for such research is the SciELO (Scientific Electronic Library Online) platform, the largest database of journals from Iberoamerican countries (Meneghini, Mugnaini, & Packer, 2006). Many studies are to some extent related to the so-called 'Matthew effect' in scientific communication. Although the phenomenon was first described as early as in the second half of the 20th century (Merton, 1968), the question of how articulated this effect is for various countries and disciplines still attracts the attention of researchers, including Russian ones (Pislyakov, & Dyachenko, 2009).

A number of Russian authors combine ISDB data with information from the Russian Science Citation Index, with the main focus on comparing the citation rates of articles by Russian researchers and authors from Western Europe and North America (Kirchik, 2011; Muravyov, 2009), as well as the impact factors journals (Mikhailov, 2017) with consistently disappointing results for domestic publications.

Another issue that has been actively studied with the help of scientometric tools over the past two decades is the extent to which open access is widespread and what impact it has on citation within certain disciplines (Piwowar, Priem, Larivi re, Alperin, et al., 2017; McCabe, & Snyder, 2015; Wohlrabe, 2014; Lawrence, 2001). Research using WoS data shows that there is a clear correlation between citations and social media sharing of academic articles (Repiso, Castillo-Esparcia, & Torres-Salinas, 2019), with open-access materials being generally cited more frequently (Schultz, 2017) and downloaded more actively (Makeenko, & Trishchenko, 2018) compared to the subscription articles.

All these approaches have been applied to the sector of scientific journals devoted to media and communication, both when analyzed as part of other disciplines, and when considered independently. For example, assessing research activity in the field of media and communication within individual countries, such as China (Yan, 2014), or on particular issues, related to social media (Yunan, 2020), the phenomenon of influencer bloggers (Chang,

Wang, & Kuo, 2020) or social media propaganda (Chaudhari, & Pawar, 2021).

The problem of correlation of publications of Western scientists and representatives of the countries of the Global South in leading scientific journals, the peculiarities of their citation and the mentioned 'Matthew effect' take an important place in a number of articles devoted to publications on media and communication. One of the first studies focused on national diversity in journals indexed by WoS in 1998–2002. The results showed that most of the major international communication publications are almost exclusively American and few include articles from other countries (Lauf, 2005). Other studies have repeatedly confirmed the conclusion that this scientific field is dominated by articles of Western authors published in Western journals (Demeter, 2018, Connell, 2007; Katz et al., 2003).

The results of another study (Moreno-Delgado, Gorraiz, & Repiso, 2021) also confirm the dominance of English-speaking countries in scientific discourse and the noted importance of ESCI for European countries such as Spain and the Netherlands. It is also interesting that at least 30% of scientific publications in the case of most states are based on international cooperation, and most often researchers from the USA participate in joint projects.

A separate block of studies focuses on the peculiarities of citing articles by authors from the BRICS countries (Vartanova, & Gladkova, 2020; Ai, & Masood, 2021; Shi-xu, 2022; Darong, 2022). As it turned out, the degree of integration of domestic and 'Western' science in the BRICS countries varies significantly although, in general, the dominance of the West in the field of journalistic research on a global scale remains undeniable (de Albuquerque, 2023). This is also proved by the fact that BRICS researchers themselves prefer to cite European and American colleagues, rarely referring to the publications of scientists from the Global South. At the same time, unlike representatives of other countries, Russian and Chinese researchers are more inclined to cite Russian literature and remain within the national pool of sources.

These studies complement works that address network analysis and, for example, make it possible, on the basis of scientometric data, to understand how authors who publish in leading journals are connected, what kind of groups they form, and what role editorial boards play in the formation of such communities around publications (Goyanes, & de-Marcos, 2020). Conclusions about the presence of so called "elite groups" and the dominance of authors from the English-speaking countries are partially confirmed by the results of another study on the influence of the geographic diversity of editorial board

members on the geographic diversity of authors of scientific articles (Goyanes, & Demeter, 2020), which also continues the tradition of studying links between journals in the communication field (Feeley, 2008).

Some studies based on scientometric data go beyond the use of scientometric tools and use methods that are more typical of social sciences, which makes it possible to rely on more than just statistical data and, as a result, to come to broader generalizations than are usually possible when using exclusively quantitative methods. In this context, it is necessary to mention meta-research based on the content analysis of articles in specialized scientific journals. The first notable works of this kind appeared at the end of the last century. Their result, in particular, was the concept of three paradigms in the study of media (Potter, Cooper, & Dupagne, 1993) and the classification of methodological approaches to the study of mass communication (Fink, & Gantz, 1996) and, somewhat later, a classification of the most actively used scientific schools and theories (Bryant, & Miron, 2004).

Among the first meta-studies of Russian scientific journals, the work related to the study of the activity of Russian scientists in the field of media management and media economics should be mentioned (Vyrkovsky, 2016), as well as a number of studies by representatives of the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University, produced as part of the implementation of the research project of the Russian Science Foundation 'Development of the fundamental foundations of domestic media theory in the context of the transformation of social practices and digitalization of the media' (ed. Vartanova, 2019; Makeenko, 2017, 2018). The results of the research have demonstrated the minimal involvement of representatives of the domestic research community of different generations in the global research context and the limited use of foreign sources, which is consistent with the results of the previously mentioned studies.

In this work, we focused on the study of the domestic media discourse in journals indexed by the RSCI and WoS, identifying several questions at the beginning of the study: first, whether we can talk about the formation of certain 'elite groups' in the Russian segment of magazines on media and in the foreign segment; and second, what the place of Russian media research in journals indexed in WoS is. We are also interested in learning whether the subject of articles published in the Russian segment of WoS and foreign ones differ, and if it is similar to the topics in the RSCI journals.

Research methodology

The study involved several stages: data collection, preparation and analysis. At the first stage, we decided to use materials indexed by the largest electronic

scientific library for publications in Russian, eLibrary, as well as the foreign abstract database WoS. The choice of these platforms was driven by several key factors. Both platforms are interdisciplinary, which makes it possible to conduct research based on materials published in the journals, both specializing in journalism and mass communication, and in related fields of knowledge. The eLibrary database includes more than 38 million publications from more than 74 thousand scientific journals. In turn, WoS contains data on more than 161 million records in 254 subject areas. The combination of these parameters allows for the most detailed meta-study.

Each source has its own characteristics, which requires creating separate algorithms for collecting and analyzing the relevant information. One of the features of working with eLibrary data is that, despite providing open access to materials and bibliographic data, the portal completely lacks tools for exporting the data obtained, which makes it difficult for researchers to study the academic activity of domestic scientists. There are also technical features in the operation of the resource. When the results of a search query exceed 10 thousand records, the system does not provide the possibility of obtaining information over the specified limit. According to preliminary estimates, more than 60 thousand works fell into the scope of our search, which, taking into account the foregoing, makes it impossible to work using the built-in functionality of the digital library website. Therefore, the process of collecting primary data was carried out in two simultaneous directions: working directly with journals and processing the results of an extended search query. In the first case, the authors singled out publications classified according to the upper level of SRSTI under the heading Mass Communication. Journalism. Mass media. As an additional filter, we excluded journals that are not indexed in the RSCI. The preliminary sample included 12,128 articles from 38 publications, which were analyzed de visu to compile a database on the topics we analyzed.

In order to form the most complete corpus of articles that would maximally cover interdisciplinary research in the field of journalism, we additionally collected materials using the built-in eLibrary search service, within which data was recorded on articles published in journals related to SRSTI headings. At this stage, filtering was carried out using keywords that covered such basic concepts as "mass communication", "mass media", "media", "journalism", "newspapers", "magazines", "television", "TV", "radio", and "social networks" in various combinations, as well as morphological forms. The authors decided to exclude the generated database materials from publications not indexed in the RSCI. The search was conducted on such structural elements

of scientific articles as the title, abstract and keywords. The preliminary sample included 48,931 articles. Given the multidisciplinary nature of some of the keywords we use, it is clear that this dataset required additional *de visu* processing.

Unlike eLibrary, the WoS abstract database allows data collection, as well as more precise filtering of the results, including such a criterion as the author's affiliation, with subsequent export of the obtained data to generated files for further analysis. Extracting from the WoS database was carried out in the "Communication" category, taking into account the type of materials ("article") and the author's affiliation by country (Russian Federation).

As a part of the second stage, the received materials were filtered: materials not related to the subject of this study were excluded from the sample and a corpus of materials was formed, consisting of 18,267 articles, of which 1,266 were published in thematic journals on journalism and mass communications, 16,165 articles – from publications on related topics, as well as 835 articles – from journals indexed by WoS (130 of them in the foreign segment of WoS, 705 in the Russian one). For detailed analysis, the authors identified 11 criteria, which include the year of publication, the title of the article, the author and his affiliation, the name of the journal and its rubric according to the State Rubricator of Scientific and Technical Information (SRSTI, for materials obtained from the eLibrary), keywords, abstract, number of citations, etc.

Results

Dynamics of publication activity

At the first stage of our study, we examined the dynamics of the publication activity of the authors of articles in the field of media from the eLibrary and WoS databases (Russian and foreign segments) over seven years. Quantitative analysis of articles from the eLibrary database showed that the peak of the publication activity of Russian authors was observed in 2018, when more than three thousand articles were published (see *Chart 1*). In our opinion, this is primarily due to the implementation of the state scientific policy – the expansion of grant support (see *Chart 2*), the allocation of additional funds to increase the remuneration of scientists and the implementation of the 'May decrees'.

 ${\it Chart~1}$ Number of publications in Russian journals from eLibrary database

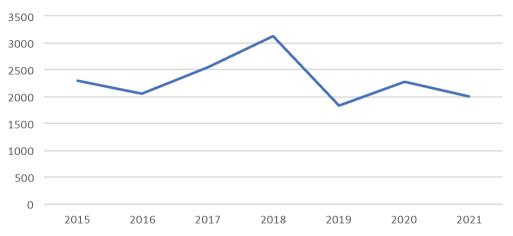
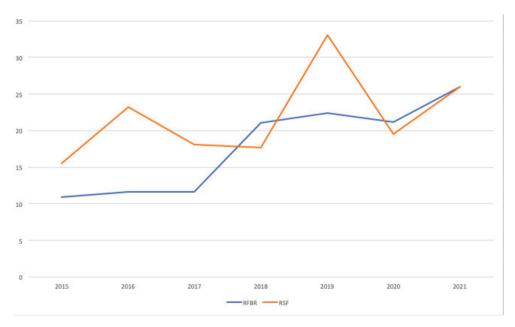
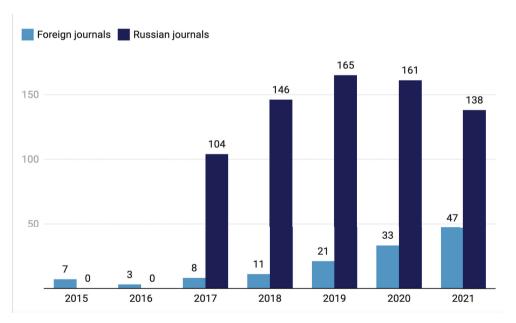


Chart 2
The amount of funding for scientific projects of the Russian Science
Foundation (RSF) and the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR),
billion rubles



The data on WoS journals clearly shows that there is a predominance of materials in the Russian segment, despite the fact that the first issues were indexed only in 2017, and the decision to include at least some of the journals in WoS was even made later (see *Chart 3*). At the same time, before the launch of the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) in 2015, it was virtually impossible for journals in Russian to be included in the database. At the same time, in recent years there has been a linear increase in the number of publications in the foreign WoS segment. This is due, in particular, to grant funding and state scientific policy; in particular, the implementation of the President's order to increase the number of publications in journals indexed by WoS. Thus, in 27% of articles that were written for foreign journals, the source of grant funding was indicated. In the Russian segment, only 16% of such articles were included. An increase in the number of scientific articles by Russian researchers was recorded in a similar study – thus, according to the WoS CC system, the number of publications increased by 34.9% in 2020 compared to 2016.

Chart 3
Number of publications in journals indexed in WoS



The results of the study showed that the highest publication activity of journals from the eLibrary emanates from Moscow based universities (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Higher School of Economics, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow

State Pedagogical University) and Saint Petersburg State University. Thus, we can talk about a high degree of heterogeneity in publication activity: most of the articles are published in the largest Russian centers with a high concentration of scientific organizations (Moscow and Saint Petersburg).

If we take the top 10 universities in terms of the number of publications, Lomonosov Moscow State University accounts for 36% of all top publications, Saint Petersburg State University – 25%, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia – 8.6%, Chelyabinsk State University – 8.4%, other universities – 22% (see *Table 1*). At the same time, changes in the publication activity of universities (growth or decrease in the number of publications) occur primarily from two universities – Lomonosov Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University. For the rest of the universities, the publication activity over the past six years has remained approximately at the same level.

To determine the degree of concentration of publication activity in key research centers (out of the top 10), the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) was calculated. The result of 2167 shows a moderate concentration in the Russian scientific 'market'. Considering the dynamics in the number of publications attributable to each of the top 10 universities for a particular year, we note that most of the publications also come from 2018. At the same time, such a surge is observed to a greater extent, again, typical for Lomonosov Moscow State University and Saint Petersburg State University. At other universities, the picture has not changed much over the years.

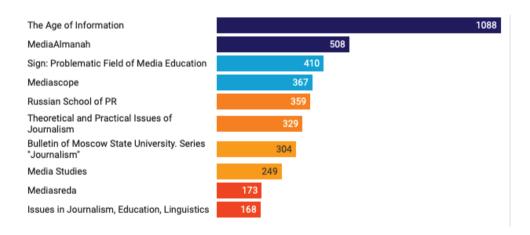
Table 1 Top universities by the number of publications in journals from eLibrary database

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Lomonosov Moscow State University	274	312	274	341	215	236	181
Saint Petersburg State University	153	151	214	301	133	162	120
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia	73	51	68	75	59	49	53
Chelyabinsk State University	57	61	72	57	55	67	55
Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration	40	38	45	67	39	40	41
Ural Federal University	29	28	34	44	25	33	32
Russian State University for the Humanities	38	14	9	38	18	38	39
Moscow State Pedagogical University	16	24	33	28	27	35	30
Voronezh State University	40	23	30	27	22	23	18

The most productive organizations in terms of the number of articles from the WoS database were not only Moscow based universities (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration) and Saint Petersburg State University, but also regional universities.

Further, in the course of the study, we analyzed the publication activity in journals from the databases in question. If we look at the top 10 journals in eLibrary's database, we find that a significant proportion of them are from the metropolitan area (see *Chart 4*).

 ${\it Chart~4}$ Top journals by the number of publications in journals from eLibrary database



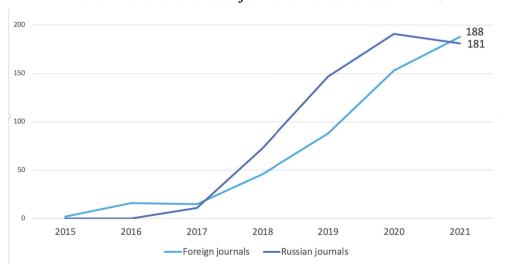
It is quite natural that the top authors in terms of publication activity represent the "school of Moscow University" (Elena Vartanova, Olga Smirnova, Andrey Vyrkovsky, and others). One of the essential indicators of the "weight" of publications in scientific communication is citation. In the course of the study, we compared the leading journals by publication activity with the list of journals with the highest number number of citations. In this case, first place was taken by the journal *Bulletin of the Tver State University*. *Series Philology* (an edition from the list of the Higher Attestation Commission, each issue is dedicated to one particular humanitarian direction: linguistics, journalism, translation, intercultural communication, etc.). Next comes the *Bulletin of Moscow State University*. *The series 'Journalism'* published by the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University, indexed in RSCI, WoS, Scopus and included into the list of the Higher Attestation Commission. The aforementioned *The Age*

of *Information* takes the third place. A similar discrepancy between publication activity and citation rate is also confirmed by foreign studies: according to WoS, the largest number of publications does not fully correlate with their significance, which is understood as citation (Moreno-Delgado, Gorraiz, & Repiso, 2021).

An analysis of data in WoS journals showed that three publications are leading in terms of the number of publications in general and in the Russian segment in particular: *Media Education* (published in the USA since 2022), *Theoretical and Practical Issues of Journalism* (Journal of Baikal State University), and *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*. *Seriya 10. Zhurnalistika*. For the foreign segment, the following situation: *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies* (Mert Bastas, no quartile), *Journalism* (SAGE, Q1), and *Media and Communication* (Cogitatio Press, Q1). The most active authors whose papers appeared in journals included in the WoS database are representatives of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Saint Petersburg State University, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Volgograd State University, and Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration.

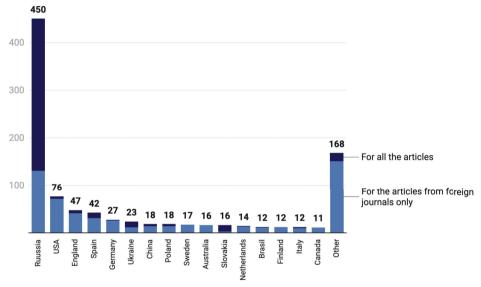
If we look at the number of citations, we will notice a significant increase in this indicator both in relation to Russian journals and foreign ones (see *Chart 5*). This dynamic is primarily related to the number of articles published, the cumulative effect of earlier publications and, at least in the case of Russian journals, self-citation opportunities.

Chart 5
The number of citations of journal articles indexed in WoS



More detailed analysis of citations by countries of affiliation shows that the articles from Russian WoS journals receive the largest number of citations in works of Russian scholars (see *Chart 6*). Thus, among articles citing publications in Russian, 96% refer to Russia (92%, if self-citations are excluded). If we talk about publications in Russian journals in English, then this figure will be somewhat different: 82% of citations are from Russia (and only 65%, if self-citations are excluded).

Chart 6
The number of citing publications for articles from journals indexed in
WoS, by country of author's affiliation



If we look at the average values of citations and usage counts in WoS for each of the groups of articles, the difference between articles in foreign and Russian journals and in English and Russian will also be obvious (see *Table 2*).

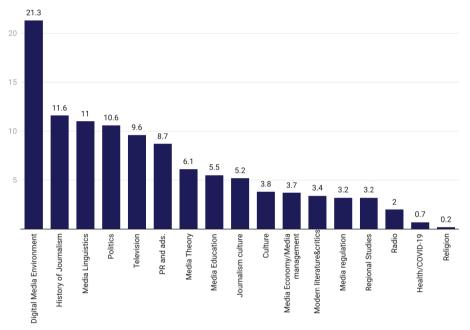
Table 2
Average scores for articles published in 2017–2018

The type of articles	WoS CC Times Cited Count		Usage Count (Last 180 Days)
Articles from Russian journals	1,3	1,4	0,9
Articles from Russian journals in the Russian language	1,0	1,0	0,8
Articles from Russian journals in the English language	2,1	2,2	0,9
Articles from foreign journals	7,1	7,5	1,9

Thematic priorities

Finally, based on the corpus of keywords and annotations, using clustering tools, thematic areas of the analyzed publications were identified, after which a frequency analysis was carried out (see Chart 8).

 ${\it Chart~8}$ Topics of publications in journals from eLibrary database, in %



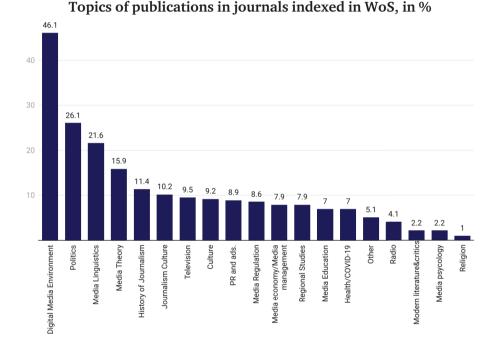
The results showed that most of the articles from the Russian scientific database were devoted to the study of the digital environment (the transformation of traditional means of communication, the use of new media in political communication, educational practices, marketing communications, etc.). A significant proportion of publications was devoted to historical topics – the study of Russian journalism of the 18th and 19th centuries, as well as the history of the Soviet print media and literature. At the same time, we found a large number of works related to the study of the history of regional journalism. We also noticed a large layer of research devoted to the study of the linguistic features of modern discourse in the media.

In terms of the topics of articles from WoS journals in the Russian and foreign segments, they are often similar (see *Chart 9*). Articles related to

the digital environment are also in the first place in terms of the number of publications. However, in the second place are articles devoted to political topics (studies of political communication, conflicts, images of political leaders in the media, etc.).

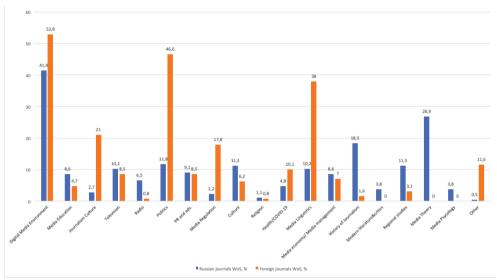
etc.).

Chart 9



The greatest differences are observed in the thematic section between publications in the Russian segment of WoS and the foreign segment. Thus, the topics of Russian articles in addition to studies of the digital environment include the theory of journalism and communications, the history of Russian journalism and literature, and regional issues. The topics of publications in the foreign segment include political and linguistic areas, as well as works devoted to the study of journalistic cultures and the legal regulation of the media (see *Chart 10*).

Chart 10
Topics of publications in journals from the Russian
and foreign segments of WoS



Studies related to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on journalistic practices, electoral behavior, student satisfaction with learning during distance learning were also identified. Given the fact that the pandemic actually began in 2020, over the past two years it has taken one of the main places in research in the field of communication.

Discussion and conclusion

Our study shows the significant activity of Russian researchers in relation to topics connected with the study of journalism and media communications in general. At the same time, the concentration of such interest is distributed extremely unevenly, given the increasing volume of publications. Key journals in terms of publication activity, citations and, accordingly, authors, are published in just a few Russian scientific centers.

Most of the articles, even in the foreign WoS corpus, are aimed primarily at the Russian audience. Thus, it is typical for Russian scientists to turn mostly to the domestic literature, while the scientific community pays very little attention to publications in the Russian journals. This is also proved by the number of citations. Although the share of citations from abroad is growing, it is happening quite slowly. Thus, "echo chambers" appear in scientific communication which,

on the one hand, can increase citation in its cluster and, on the other hand, moves away from the global context and leads to the limitation of scientific discourse.

If the list of leading journals by key research centers is approximately similar in terms of publishing activity in eLibrary and WoS journals, then the lists of key authors are noticeably different. Russian scholars who publish in eLibrary indexed journals rarely publish in WoS journals and when it happens it is usually Q3-Q4 journals or no quartile at all. Thus, today we can identify only a small group of Russian scientists who have the necessary resources to conduct high-quality research and are primarily focused on publishing articles in Q1 and Q2 journals of the foreign WoS segment. This is partly due to the change in the grant policy of scientific foundations. In 2014, to participate in many grant contests, a project manager was required to have at least three articles in indexed journals. Three years later, in 2017, five publications in five years was a requirement. Finally, in 2021 the number was increased to eight publications (Zheleznov, Guba, & Chechik, 2021). On the other hand, the publication of articles in high-ranking journals is often carried out precisely in line with available grant funding.

Another aspect that stands out between different databases is the topics. The thematic areas of articles from eLibrary are often focused on "descriptive" analysis of theoretical aspects of the media functioning, linguistic features of media discourse, the history of journalism and literature, which is generally typical for Russian tradition of studying media (Makeenko, 2018), as well as the study of media "in digital" (communicators, environment, channels, content, audience). The latter aspect was also observed in WoS publications.

However, studies using original methods are presented to a greater extent. The emphasis in the thematic direction is on the study of the influence/role of media and technologies on the current context (primarily political). This approach is noted mainly in the foreign cluster of publications in WoS journals. Thus, even without any in-depth analysis of texts, we notice the uneven correlation of a significant number of publications in quality. This applies to a greater extent to Russian eLibrary journals. This aspect needs to be studied in more detail in the course of future research.

We believe that further attention should be focused on a deeper analysis of the relationship between quantitative scientometric indicators and the qualitative characteristics of publications (the use of theoretical approaches, methods, tools for collecting and analyzing data), which will determine the most promising areas of research in the field of media. The second question for

further research is the applicability and practical significance of academic works in this area in the industry.

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The system of actor's individual paradigms as an attribute of social communications

Mikhail Kussy¹ Lubov Savchenko

Crimean Federal University, Russia

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Abstract

The article proves that semantics in social research is a category subject only to contextual and situational analysis and further contextual filling with meaning through actors' situational communication. The article considers the category 'system of actor's individual paradigms', which is presented here as an attribute of social communications. Using this category (taking into account current expectations of the actor, current preferences of the for all actors, as well as actors' current anticipated intentions for each actor involved in communication), we examined the mechanisms of preparing two actors for the future communication. The assumptions made in the article as for limitations of the behavioral freedom of actors, preparing for communication, allow us to focus on proving the relevance of the hypothesis that the system of individual paradigms of the actor is a tool with which actor contextually and situationally cognizes the world and reflexively interacts with it. We reveal that in the conditions of interdisciplinary research, when ontological and methodological 'norms' of a particular scientific discipline are not constructive enough, which, in turn, leads to mixing and distortion of the methodology and ontology of various scientific disciplines, the choice of abduction as a methodological research tool seems quite justified. The results of the research, conducted in the article by means of abduction (as a methodological research tool) confirm the relevance and validity of the hypotheses put forward in the article. The results of the research conducted in the article specify the situational-contextual mechanisms that are used in preparation for communication between two actors with the aid of a system of each actor's individual paradigms, and taking into

Mikhail Kussy, Crimean Federal University, Russia.

Email: mikhailkussy@gmail.com

¹ Corresponding author:

account actors' current expectations, actors' current preferences, as well as the current anticipated intentions of each actor. We also confirm the importance of mandatory use of the adjective 'current' for the correctness of the study of actors' communications, since it really concretizes the actual semantics of the paradigms used by actors (in preparation for communication) for their relevant consideration in the research conducted in the article.

Keywords

Actor, actor's system of individual paradigms, actor's expectations, actor's preferences, actor's anticipated intentions, communication, situational contextuality.

Introduction

When studying the mechanisms of behavior of social systems, an important contribution to the relevance of such a study is to take into account the social aspects of such systems. A famous French sociologist P. Bourdieu writes that one of the most important aspects of sociology nowadays should be the sociology of perception of the social world to explain the processes of constructing reality through social construction (Bourdieu, 1990: 132).

As the analysis of the research results has shown, the essential attributes of social processes are (from the point of view of the relevance of research on the actors' perception of the social world): 'actors' expectations' (An et al., 2018; Ku inskas, Peters, 2018; Kussy, 2018, 2021; Mlambo, 2012; Pesaran, Weale, 2005), 'actors' preferences' (Beshears et al., 2007; Freeman, 2013; Kussy, 2018; Samuelson, 1948) and 'actors' intentionality' (Frolov, 2013; Freeman, 2013; Gallagher, 2012; Jacob, 2014; Krueger, 2018; Searle, 1983).

The use of such attributes of social processes entails the necessity of taking into account such attributes of social life, in relevant study of society, as 'situationality' (for more information about the meaning of situationality in social studies see in Baranovsky et al., 2019; Clancey, 2008; Kussy, 2021; Milton et al., 2005) and 'contextuality' (for more information about the meaning of contextuality in social studies see in Habermas, 1984, 1987; Kasavin, 2005; Kussy, 2021; Popov, 2016; Shmerlina, 2009; Yelkina et al., 2019; Simons et al, 2021; Darong, 2022; Sumskaya, & Solomeina, 2022).

The methodological tool of the proposed study is abduction. The category 'abduction' was introduced into the scientific lexicon by C. S. Peirce in 1930s: 'Abduction is the process of forming an explanatory hypothesis. It is the only logical operation which introduces any new idea; for induction does nothing but

determine a value, and deduction merely evolves the necessary consequences of a pure hypothesis' (Peirce, 1931–1935). Therefore, in the conditions of interdisciplinary research, when the ontological and methodological 'norms' of a particular scientific discipline are not constructive enough, which, in turn, leads to mixing and distortion of the methodology and ontology of various scientific disciplines, the choice of abduction as a methodological research tool seems quite justified.

The system of individual paradigms of an actor as a scientific category

The System of Individual Paradigms of an actor (hereinafter referred to as SIP) is a set of subjective semantically categorized objects, subjects, processes and causal relationships between them (SIP paradigms), which, based on the actor's personal experience, acquires the character of the actor's current subjective experience, knowledge, skills and abilities (including socially significant experience, skills and knowledge acquired by the actor that fit into his personal set of paradigms). In this definition, the category 'paradigm' means a certain set of current concepts or thinking patterns, as well as the mechanisms of the actor's actions, including theories, research methods, postulates and standards, mechanisms according to which subsequent constructions, generalizations and experiments are carried out by the actor.

At the same time, the current processes of formation and transformation of SIP are influenced not only by the the actor's current communications with the outside world, but also by the current endogenous factors that determine the actor's personality (mentality, culture, psychotype, genetics, skills and abilities acquired during the development of the actor, etc.). In this sense, SIP is the current set of actor paradigms (individual 'images-results' of the actor's subjective cognition of the particular object's semantic and applied essence, process or phenomenon acquired during the actor's development), which the actor operates in the current cognition's processes of himself and the surrounding world (including through apperception: the category 'apperception' introduced into the scientific lexicon by Leibniz (1989) and means the dependence of any new perception on the actor's previous life experience and his psychological state at the time of perception). At the same time, the paradigms themselves that are part of SIP can be transformed over time, both semantically and by the number of paradigms in the current set of SIP.

The individual-subjective nature of SIP allows, among other things, not only to explain such phenomena in society as dissent, deviance and delinquency, but

also allows us to understand the origin of the phrase 'everyone has their own truth': just a different SIP allows you to formulate different sentences that are 'similar to the truth'. The SIP of such 'truth-lovers', who put the meaning they set into the phrases they generate, is the basis for the formation of modern fakes, as well as distortions of historical righteousness that are now popular in the world. In such cases, SIP can be considered as a generator of subjective-individual interpretation of the meaning of processes or phenomena.

Comparison of the actor's system of individual paradigms with similar categories

It should be noted that SIP as a category is semantically different from the habitus of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1980, 1998), at least in the following aspects. First, according to Bourdieu (1998), habitus is a principle that generates and organizes the practices and representations of an actor, which, although they may be objectively adapted to the goal, however, do not imply a conscious focus on it and the indispensable mastery of the necessary operations to achieve it by the actor. In other words, habitus, being an instrument of cognition, manifests itself only in the actors' communications and only through them. In these communications, the habitus is actualized, and the focus of the habitus's action is determined only by the semantics of the actors' communication processes with other actors and the actors' adaptation to the society in which he functions. At the same time, systemic causality can be investigated using habitus only in the context of communicative expediency shared by members of the community of commuting actors, as noted in (Gutner, 2008), and the essential meaning of an object, process or phenomenon (as well as causality determining this natural meaning) in the case of searching for it using habitus is the result of reflexive iterations in the communication of actors and after approval of its semantics by members of the community of commuting actors. In this case, the resulting interpretation of the semantics of an object, process or phenomenon seems as if it is 'imposed' on the community of commuting actors by habitus (with the universal consent of all actors included in this community). Perhaps that is why the social practices formed by habitus eventually cease to be adequate to the actual reality, as noted in (Gutner, 2008; Baychik, 2023).

Therefore, only with the help of habitus as a category applied exclusively to social communications it is difficult to explain the mechanisms of heterogeneity and heteromorphism of the formation or transformation of expectations and preferences of a particular actor about the future development of the current situation in society, associated with the implementation (expectations and

preferences) of the actor's current social functions and the planning of the actor's future social actions in this community.

While the actor's SIP is a single-piece, individually subjective product, it is at the same time an instrument of the actor's cognition of reality. Some of the SIP paradigms may never be used by the actor, neither in his individual practice nor in intersubjective communications of actors: such paradigms are used by the actor only in the processes of formation and transformation of the essential semantics of other paradigms from the set of SIP. Causality, which is investigated and manifested with the use of SIP can be abstracted from the context of the situation and used by the actor in relation to other social situations with contextual application of SIP paradigms. As for the essential meaning of the subject, process or phenomenon analyzed during the formation of the preferences and expectations of the actor, it directly (contextually) follows from the semantics of the paradigms included in the SIP of a particular actor.

Habitus should be considered as a kind of system of social institutions, much more inertial in relation to the possibility of systemic changes than SIP, which can be transformed quite dynamically. There is simple explanation: the processes of formation and change of the social institutions' system (this system is objectified and incorporated within a certain social group) require agreement among all the actors / members of the group that determine (normalize), not only the mechanisms of such processes, but also their semantics (whereas this coordination requires additional time); while the processes of formation and change of SIP are controlled by the will of only one actor. In this sense, SIP can be a source of opportunistic or even deviant behavior of an actor (in relation to the habitus of the community in which this actor belongs). Let us recall at least the example of N. Copernicus and his heliocentric concept, which was born in spite of all the dominant habituses at that time. Habitus in the situation with Copernicus is an instrument of institutional counteraction to the emergence of new "Copernicuses".

Second, there may also be analogies of the CIP with Husserl's noems (Husserl, 1977). This is how Krueger describes Husserl's noematics (see Krueger, 2018): 'For Husserl, the intentionality's structure can be analyzed into two components: an object intended by consciousness (noema), and a conscious act that intend the object (noesis). In other words, noema chooses the object side of the intentional relation (i. e., what is given to consciousness), whereas noesis chooses the subject side (i. e., how "what" is given to consciousness). For example, if I remember the front door of my grandmother's house, noema is the door that I remember; this is what appears before consciousness. Noesis is the act of remembering; it is how the door becomes accessible to consciousness.'

Thus, Husserl's noematics is intentionally connected with consciousness and conscious acts. While in SIP there are not only paradigms that make it possible to isolate the door of the grandmother's house from the outside world, but also paradigms that 'know' how to open this door: which mechanisms in the body and which paradigms from SIP need to be activated in order for the door of the grandmother's house to open.

Third, as for the category 'Umwelt', introduced into the scientific lexicon by the Estonian Philosopher J. von Uexk ll (Uexk ll, 1909), the Umwelt for its carrier (in this case, the actor) is everything that is a signal for him to act and carries meaning. As Knyazeva (2013) writes, 'A person's Umwelt is a world that is created by a person depending on his bodily, mental, activity organization, it is an environment that is actively being built by him, which builds him himself." Thus, Umwelt as a category reflects for the actor only the semantic, categorical load of the analyzed object, subject or process, but does not include theories, research methods, postulates and standards, mechanisms that are part of SIP, and in accordance with which subsequent constructions, generalizations and experiments of the actor are carried out. Although it should be noted here the innovative approach of von Uexk ll, who at the beginning of the twentieth century noted the subjective nature of the cognition's process of the world by an actor, which does not fit into the picture of the world of linear (unambiguous) Laplace determinism that dominated science at that time. Thus, the category of 'System of Actor's Individual Paradigms' differs significantly from the categories of 'habitus', 'noema' and 'Umwelt' used in studies of social and psychological nature's problems.

Three hypotheses that determine the logic of the study

Shmerlina writes about the importance of context in the research of social problems: 'Meaning is no longer created by a person, but by context, though it is not yet drawn by 'pure consciousness' from the object. And personality is nothing more than a tool linking context and what is happening' (Shmerlina, 2009: 146). Luhmann postulated the contextual nature of social meaning in this way: 'Meaning exists exclusively as the meaning of the operations using it, which means only at the moment when it is determined by these operations – not earlier and not later. Therefore, meaning is the product of operations that use meaning, and not some property of the world...' (Luhmann, 1997). Thus, we can state the following:

Hypothesis 1. Semantics in social research is a category subject only to contextual and situational analysis and further contextual filling with meaning through situational communication of actors.

The categories 'contextuality' and 'situationality' are too ambiguous and will not be considered in detail in the article (for reasoned conclusions about the ambiguity of these categories, see Clancey, 2008; Kasavin, 2005; Kussy, 2021; Milton, 2005; Pennings et al., 2005; Popov, 2016).

As for situational contextuality in social research, it should be noted that, as a rule, the current expectations, preferences and intentionality of the actor have a situational and contextual character, and they can also change over time – both in terms of contextual semantics and vector orientation, due to the changing social situation. In this study we will consider situational contextuality as one of the reasons for the variability of actors' attitudes to current phenomena or processes occurring in society, which (variability) determining the mechanisms of heterogeneity (multiplicity of origin reasons) and heteromorphism (multiplicity of stratification) of formation or transformation of current expectations, preferences and intentionality of actors in the process of their communication. Moreover, here the situations describe the actor-centered world and include only those characteristics of the world, surrounding the actor, that are relevant to the actor's current goals and current intentions and actions associated with actor (Milton et al., 2005).

As noted in (Popov, 2016), a distinctive feature of the traditional phenomenological approach to the social reality's study is that in this case, attention is not paid to the reality of the facts' existence, but only the representations of individuals about reality are considered, on the basis of which individuals act. This leads to the expediency of putting forward the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2. The System of Actor's Individual Paradigms should be considered as the instrument by which the actor contextually and situationally cognizes the world and reflexively interacts with it.

The expediency of introducing SIP as a research tool, as well as the mechanisms of its application in social communication research, are shown in the next paragraph.

The two hypotheses formulated above – in order to increase the level of correctness of the research conducted here – need to be supplemented with another one.

Hypothesis 3. The use of the adjective 'current' for the correctness of the study of actors' communications is mandatory, because it is this adjective that specifies the actual semantics of the paradigms used by Actor for their relevant consideration in the research conducted in the article.

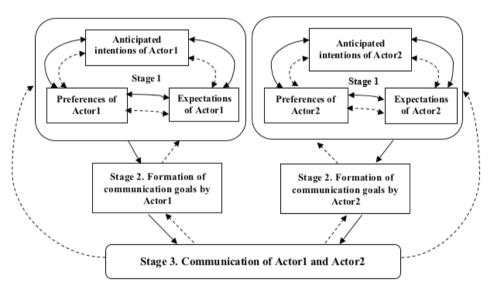
The validity of this hypothesis is confirmed by the study's results conducted in the next paragraph.

Mechanisms accompanying the preparation of actors for communication

The main way actors interact in society is their communication. *Figure cam* shows a scheme for preparing two actors for communication, taking into account the current subjective characteristics of each Actor and mechanisms using SIP, reflecting current subjective expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of each Actor in relation to the future communication.

It is assumed that each Actor is not predisposed to deviant intentions or actions. It is also assumed that each Actor is already ready to enter into the future communication on a constructive basis, taking into account the possibility of compromises between actors, and it is necessary for each Actor – it does not matter for what reasons.

Figure 1
Mechanisms with the use of SIP, accompanying the preparation for the communication of actors



- 1. *Solid arrows* in *Figure 1* indicate the direction of straitforward causal relationship from the addresser to the addressee (if the arrows are two-sided, then the addresser and the addressee of such causal relationship are equal in this causal relationship).
- 2. *Dotted arrows* indicate the direction of the backward causal relationship from the addressee to the addresser (if the arrows are two-sided, then the

addressee and the addresser of such a causal relationship are equal in this causal relationship).

- Stage 1. Analysis of the current situation in society by actors before communication. Both actors, analyzing the situation in society at time t0, are assessing their current subjective expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions in relation to the future communication, taking into account current (at time t0) resource, technological, institutional and other constraints present at time t0 for each Actor. The current values of the components of the triad: expectations preferences anticipated intentions for each Actor are the keys to a correct understanding of the semantics of the Stage 1's mechanisms.
- 3. Expectations of the Actor. Here we are talking about a set of current (at time t0) expectations of each Actor, which represent after the Actor's analysis (using the Actor's SIP) of the current situation regarding the future communication of the Actor 1 and Actor 2 the Actor's current subjective understanding of alternative possibilities for the future development of communication as the results of a variety of endogenous and exogenous current impacts on this communication (including on the part of the Actor 1 and Actor 2 themselves).
- 4. *Actor's preferences*. Here we are talking about the current preferences of each Actor, which represent after analyzing by the Actor (using the Actor's SIP and taking into account the revealed expectations of the Actor) of the current situation regarding the future communicationa set of alternative subjective current views of the Actor on the desired (for the Actor) directions of the future development of communication.
- 5. Anticipated intentions of the Actor. The term 'actor's anticipated intentions' was introduced here in order to show that at Stage 1 of preparing actors for communication, each Actor situationally and contextually (using the Actor's SIP and taking into account the revealed subjective current expectations and preferences of the Actor) forms his current 'pre-intentions' (anticipated, not yet definitively formed intentions) within the framework of their anticipated orientation towards future communication. The adjective 'anticipated' includes a wide range of semantics of the category 'intentionality' in its semantic load.

It would be logical to arrange the characteristics of Stage 1 in this order: Expectations of Actor Preferences of Actor → Anticipated intentions of Actor. But this is a logic of linear determinism inherent in mechanistic systems. In social systems, in which there are thinking elements of the system, i.e. Actors (a man is a non-linear concept, as noted in (Evstigneeva & Evstigneev, 2011), single-valued linear causal relationships are practically not observed: here they give way to nonlinear (including non-single-valued, bifurcational, and inverse)

relationships, which determine the current mechanisms of the social system's development.

That is why, at Stage 1, causal relationships, both direct and inverse, between the selected behavioral characteristics of Stage 1 are indicated as bilateral, in which the addresser and the addressee of the causality can change places in the process of forming the semantics and vector orientation of the behavioral characteristics of Stage 1 (current expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of each Actor).

It should be borne in mind that current expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of each Actor change over time, leading, among other things, to the fact that current mechanisms of the social system's development (communication of actors) also change over time. The following factors contribute to this:

- changes occurring in the external (relative to each Actor) environment: including current changes of an institutional, technological, economical, political, and other nature that affect the semantics and vector orientation of current expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of a single Actor);
- reflexive intersubjective and other processes, taking place in socium, also
 affect the current expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions
 of a single Actor, leading to changes in their semantics and vector
 orientation. The concept of reflexivity in socio-economic processes is
 described in (Ehnts, lvarez, 2013; Kussy, 2015; Soros, 2003);
- changes occurring over time in the resource, institutional and technological base of the Actor's functioning;
- other factors (including socio-economic nature).

Depending on the strength and vector orientation of such impacts, as well as the current capabilities and readiness of the social system in which the Actor 1 and Actor 2 are going to communicate, this social system either accepts these impacts if they fit into the framework of its systemic set of goals and limitations, or seeks resources and mechanisms to confrontation such impacts if these impacts contradict the set of systemic goals and limitations of the social system.

The anthropogenic nature of the current expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of actors, as well as the heterogeneity and heteromorphism of their subsequent impacts on the upcoming communication between Actor 1 and Actor 2 complicate (in general case) an adequate analysis of social and other processes, as well as forecasting of this communication's development from the standpoint of system analysis. It is important to consider current expectations,

preferences and anticipated intentions of a single Actor in dynamics, as well as the related heterogeneity and heteromorphism of the subsequent effects of the Actor on the mechanisms of communication development between the Actor 1 and the Actor 2. Not only is the strength and vector orientation of such effects changing in the course of time, but also the list of current effects. The need for consideration of heterogeneity and heteromorphism in social systems has been discussed in (Heckman, 2001; Morin, 1992; Pennings et al., 2005).

According to the author's concept, Actors are the main generators of the appearance of randomness in social processes, taking into account the heterogeneity and heteromorphism of their current subjective expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, with subsequent effects of actors on the behavioral mechanisms of communication's development between Actor 1 and Actor 2. A consequence of this is uncertainty in the development of communication between actors. Moreover, the actual restrictions imposed on social processes (primarily of resource, institutional, technological and other nature) do not allow randomness to take precedence over determinism in such systems. But this determinism is temporary (context-situational) in nature.

Within the framework of the current constraints' set, each Actor situationally forms his current subjective expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions in relation to the existing state of affairs for the upcoming communication and possible trajectories of its systemic development, which are the most favorable for achieving the goals of each Actor. Based on the formed current subjective expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, Actor within the limits of his actual restrictions is preparing to influence communication, achieving the most favorable situation in communication to achieve his goal.

Taking into account the actors' multiplicity in the social system (in relation to the analyzed communication), these impacts are heterogeneous (not always rational from the point of view of optimizing each Actor's costs of available resources or maximizing the Actor's expected effect) and heteromorphic (sometimes even mutually contradictory) in nature.

It should be noted that the semantics of the concepts 'optimization', 'maximization', 'expected effect' used in the previous paragraph has an anthropogenic 'hint of current': it depends on the context of the current situation and the current mechanisms for filling the meaning of these concepts by a specific Actor using his SIP. The importance of taking into account the current in the study of social communications was noted back in 1945 by A. Sch tz in (Sch tz, 1945).

At the same time, reflexive processes in intersubjective relations between actors have a dynamic iterative and contextual-situational nature, which is an

additional source of generating randomness in such systems. In this case, the current determinism (a set of current regularities of social system development) in the mechanisms of communication development manifests itself as a kind of integral from the current causal chains, formed as a result of dynamic interactions of actors. It is the result of the aggregated effect of causal chains on the communication under study (taking into account the reflexive nature of such processes) that forms a set of current regularities of communication development.

6. Stage 2: Formation of the goals of the Actor 1 (at time $t1 \ge t$). Based on the results of Stage 1 (the current set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions formed by each Actor is concretized at Stage 2), each Actor forms, contextually and situationally, at time $t1 \ge t0$ a behavioral goal (set of goals) of the upcoming communication. At Stage 2, each Actor, depending on the current (at time $t1 \ge t0$) systemic changes in the situation around the upcoming communication, may need to adjust the current set of his expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, which is marked by a dotted arrow of reverse causal relationship. In this case, the causal relationships between Stage 1 and Stage 2 of each Actor can work in a cycle until the goals formed by each Actor are situationally fully consistent with the existing set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of each Actor in the context of the upcoming communication (taking into account the constraints relevant to each Actor).

7. Stage 3: Communication of Actor 1 and Actor 2 (at time $t2 \ge t1 \ge t0$). Since we consider generalized behavioral mechanisms accompanying the preparation of actors for communication, we will not discuss communication itself here. But it is important to understand that at Stage 3, each Actor – depending on the current (at time $t2 \ge t1 \ge t0$) systemic changes in the situation around the upcoming communication – may contextually need to adjust the current set of Actor's expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, as well as the current set of behavioral goals of each Actor, which is marked with dotted arrows of inverse causal relationship. In this case, the causal relationships between Stage 1, Stage 2 and Stage 3 of each Actor can work in a cycle until the behavioral goals formed by each Actor are situationally fully consistent with the current set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions of each Actor in the context of upcoming communication (taking into account the constraints relevant to each Actor).

It would seem that actors carry out current actions (including behavioral and semantic ones) at stages 1 and 2, being outside of society. But all these

actions have an intentional orientation – they are performed before social communication. Moreover, each Actor, who in the process of performing these behavioral actions is enriched by the experience of understanding himself with new semantic nuances of the paradigms existing in his SIP, automatically initiates transformational processes in the SIP of Actor. This, in turn, confirms the stated above hypothesis about possible changes in the actor's SIP over time, and the importance of contextuality and situationality in the study of behavioral processes taking place in society.

At stage 3, each actor's current expectations, preferences, and anticipated intentions are institutionalized (become intersubjective institutions of actors' communication).

Stage 3 is important for analyzing the mechanisms accompanying the preparation of actors for communication, also because at this stage each Actor gets acquainted with the content and vector orientation of the current set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, as well as the current set of behavioral goals of his vis--vis for the future communication. Taking into account the action of the hypothesis put forward earlier about the readiness of each actor's entry into the upcoming communication on a constructive basis, taking into account the possibility of compromises between actors, it is necessary to consider the constructiveness of the actors' intentions as readiness for an interactive and reflexive process in which both actors are immersed and in which the process of the upcoming interaction of actors plays a leading role for each Actor to understand the possible need to come during the process of future interaction to a compromise that takes into account the content and vector orientation of the current set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, as well as the current set of behavioral goals of one's vis--vis for the upcoming communication. Consequently, a constructive social understanding of the current semantics and mechanisms (current regularities) of communication arises as a result of an interaction's dynamic process of a reflexive-iterative nature and coordination of behavioral decisions and actions of two actors related to each other.

At the same time, each actor, anticipating the results of future communication, is ready for the fact that part of his current set of expectations, preferences and anticipated intentions, as well as part of the current set of behavioral goals, will never be fulfilled for the sake of the constructive compromise reached (during communication) between actors. In terms of dynamic systems, this means that actors coordinate with each other — both of their behaviors regulate each other's behavior in order to achieve mutually acceptable communication results.

Intersubjective relations of the most diverse nature, formed between Actor 1 and Actor 2, may be the result of the communication under consideration. This may be, for example, a deal or intentions to make a deal; constructive scientific dispute; a lesson with a lagging student; love affair, etc., in which the interests of the Actor 1 do not contradict the interests of the Actor 2.

But at each stage of preparation for communication, actors use an individual SIP, as well as each actor individually understands the semantics of contextuality and situationality as tools and arguments for making current behavioral decisions and performing current behavioral actions of each stage by each actor.

Discussion and conclusion

The results of the study suggest that Hypothesis 1, which formulates the mandatory binding of the terminology semantics, used in studies of actors' communications only taking into account situational contextuality, is an attribute of such studies for the purpose of increasing the level of their correctness and relevance.

The article briefly describes the mechanism of preparing actors for communication, and notes the essential role in this preparation as tools and arguments for making current behavioral decisions and performing current behavioral actions of such concepts as the 'System of Actor's Individual Paradigms', 'situationality' and 'contextuality'.

The comments to *Figure 1* so far have the character of linear (mechanistic) logic of determinism due to the stated idealization of the problem's formulation of this study: without binding to the semantics of the actors' behavioral characteristics and the semantic load of the communication under consideration. When specifying them, one should expect the possibility of using nonlinear approaches to the study of communication processes in society (with the identification of nonlinear causal relationships generated by actors during communication) when considering specific behavioral mechanisms.

Even idealized (taking into account previously made assumptions-limitations) actors' preparation for communication shows the relevance and correctness of the Hypothesis 2 proposed above, in which SIP is designated as an instrument of the actor's cognition of the world and reflexive interaction with it.

Comments to *Figure 1* allow us to conclude that the application of Hypothesis 3 proposed above, which states that in the research of actors' communication it is mandatory to use only current (actual) semantics of the Actor 1's paradigms from his SIP (in preparation for communication) for their relevant consideration in the research conducted in the article, is correct and relevant.

The conclusions made in the study are addressed primarily to researchers of the problems of social systems and processes, but it seems that most of the results obtained here are applicable to a wide range of applied tasks in which behavioral mechanisms in social processes are studied. Some of the results presented here are debatable and, perhaps, in order to contextualize their semantics and determine the subject area of their application, they will require additional research to verify them.

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The journal *World of Media*. *Journal of Russian Media and Journalism Studies* appears on a quaterly basis (4 times a year).

World of Media represents a collection of original research in the field of media and journalism studies conducted by authors from diverse cities and institutions. The journal is aimed at promoting the development of 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.

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

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- Media sociology
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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 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).

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