

Journal of Print and Media Technology Research

Thematic issue:

Social media and social change

Guest Editor Ilya Kiriya

Scientific contents

Features of internet consumption in
Russian rural settlements

S. Davydov, O. Lagunova, E. Petrova

85

Transmedia storytelling in analysis:
The case of Final punishment

R. R. Gambarto

95

Social media in the professional work of
Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists

J. Appelberg, E. Johansson, G. Nygren, P. Baranowski

107

Blogging nation: Russian riots online

E. Gausman

119

Social media as a tool of political isolation
in the Russian public sphere

I. Kiriya

131



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Thematic issue
Social media and social change

Guest Editor
Ilya Kiriya



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Contents

A word from the Guest Editor <i>Ilya Kiriya</i>	83
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Scientific contributions

Features of internet consumption in Russian rural settlements <i>Sergey Davydov, Olga Lagunova, Eugenia Petrova</i>	85
Transmedia storytelling in analysis: The case of Final punishment <i>Renira R. Gambarato</i>	95
Social media in the professional work of Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists <i>Jonas Appelberg, Elena Johansson, Gunnar Nygren, Pawel Baranowski</i>	107
Blogging nation: Russian race riots online <i>Elizaveta Gaufman</i>	119
Social media as a tool of political isolation in the Russian public sphere <i>Ilya Kiriya</i>	131

Topicalities

Edited by Mladen Lovreček

News & more	141
Bookshelf	145
Events	149



A word from the Guest Editor

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New media are changing the individual communication landscape. Convergence of channels, devices, services and content gives us a wide range of possible patterns to communicate, collaborate and entertain. How this variety of choices is realised through social practices is, and obviously will be, one of the most exciting items on the research agenda. Points of difference between new media practices are not only limited to general social and demographic features but also reside in geographical and especially cultural differences. From this point of view it is important to build up regional or pan-regional agendas for researching this topic. Thus, a three Russian and Swedish universities (National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, and Södertörn University) two years ago launched the academic project "New Media in Baltic Countries". It reflects differences and similarities to be found in new media practices across the region and also between it and other countries.

This thematic issue of the Journal of Print and Media Technology Research puts together the main academic results of this collaboration. More precisely, it reflects the main discussions and topics of an international conference held at the Higher School of Economics in Saint Petersburg in September 2012. We have selected, assembled and elaborated the presentations which were more or less concerned with the social consequences of new media technology worldwide.

New media technologies are penetrating more and more into social life and generating more and more research interest in different scientific disciplines. Actually, we are observing the "social sciences' turn" to study new media technologies. It reorients the research palettes from a purely technological field and functional analysis towards more complex realms.

This thematic issue of the Journal of Print and Media Technology Research regroups research papers of scholars, mostly from social sciences perspectives, that examine ties between so called new media and different aspects of modern societies. It means that this special issue is mostly not about technologies but about their appropriation by society and the messages which such technologies are able to diffuse.

This issue starts with the analysis of inequalities of access to new media (the so-called digital divide) between the city and rural areas studied in one Russian case. Sergey Davydov, Olga Logunova and Evgenia Petrova show us that if new media are finally penetrating the Russian countryside, there is a variety of individual patterns of usage of such devices.

Renira Gombarato is studying how the appearance of such a multiplatform realm changes the nature and mechanism of telling stories and incites people to use different platforms to create new stories and to participate inside it.

Jonas Appelberg, Elena Johansson, Gunnar Nygren and Pawel Baranowski analysed the realm of the production of messages within the interaction of two media environments: traditional journalism and professional journalists' blogs. They show the complexity of functions that such new media play for the professional journalist. This analysis is based on the different journalistic cultures of three studied countries.

Elizaveta Gaufmann is much more preoccupied with the way new media are creating the public discourse and she takes the case of Russian nationalism. She shows how the blog discourse is contributing to the offline protest activities of nationalists.

In the closing article, I criticise the techno-determinist approach of interpreting new media as a tool of democracy and show how the configuration of new media in Russia corresponds to the reproduction of the actual political order.

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Research paper

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Features of internet consumption in Russian rural settlements

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Abstract

Russian media infrastructure is known to be more developed in big cities compared with smaller settlements. Thus, the rural audience is not a popular object of research. It is believed that the development of new media, including the internet, occurs with a certain delay there, and also the commercial potential of these types of customers is quite low.

The authors of this paper aim at answering the question: What are the features of internet development and consumption in rural Russia? The research is based on the results of several quantitative surveys, covering all the Russian population including rural residents, as well as two ethnographic research expeditions to the Kostroma and Rostov regions.

Keywords: internet consumption, rural audiences, Runet, social networks

1. Introduction and background

The internet has been gaining popularity in Russia over the last two decades. The research made by various research institutes shows that more than a half of Russian adults are using online services. According to the data of the Public Opinion Foundation (Fond »Obshchestvennoe Mnenie«, 2013), the monthly reach of the internet among Russians at the age of 18+ in autumn 2013 was 57%, the daily reach being 46%. Russia is the sixth country in the world by the number of WWW users, and one third of these users are mobile internet consumers.

From the very moment the internet became widespread in Russia, it was under the scrutiny of social research-

ers. For instance, several research institutes (Public Opinion Foundation, WCIOM, TNS Russia, GfK-Rus, etc.) are regularly providing quantitative internet audience data. A quite detailed overview of such sources is contained in an article by Frolov (2013). Galitskiy (2008), Skanavi and Kolmogortseva (2007) propose segmentations of Russian internet users based on Public Opinion Foundation and MASMI surveys. Delitsyn (2008, 2010, 2012; Yurina and Delitsyn, 2008) is forecasting parameters of internet development in the country. Doktorov (1999a, 1999b) has been analysing the interaction between the internet and society since 1999, taking into consideration the prospects of the internet from its very inception.

How the Russian internet will develop in terms of economics is also under active consideration. Among recent research results there is a report named »Russia online: the impact of the internet on the Russian economy«, published by the Boston Consulting Group (Banke, Butenko and Kotsur, 2011). An assessment of online markets and an analysis of their trends is presented in the survey "The Economy of the Runet", conducted by the Russian Association of Electronic Communications and the National Research University Higher School of Economics (Davydov and Kiriya, 2012). A publication by Belyaev (2010) is focused on the development of the Russian online advertising market.

In the published scientific and - even more so - industrial research context, the rural part of the Russian internet audience remains practically unexplored. Historically we can see inhabitants of big cities at the forefront of internet consumption. However, recently we are facing a trend of involving rural inhabitants in internet usage. It is the fastest growing segment of the audience. Taking into account that rural residents make up about one fifth of the total population of Russia and that, according to the above cited Public Opinion Foundation survey, penetration of internet in rural areas is about 44%, this group of users should be considered as quite important.

Academic studies in this area started outside Russia much earlier. There is a term 'rural internet' meaning 'the access to the internet from rural areas' (also referred to as "the country" or "countryside") which are settled places outside towns and cities. Inhabitants live in villages, hamlets, on farms and in other isolated houses. Mountains and other terrain can impede rural internet access. The studies of internet consumption in rural areas can boast a long history, particularly in the USA where they date back to the early 1990's. As a rule, a city and a village differ mostly in terms of lifestyle but communications are basically the same - the villages are not so much behind. As a matter of fact, the United States Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service has provided numerous studies and data on the internet in rural America.

2. Methods and regions of the study

The survey is based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodology. The main method is in-depth interviewing of new media users. Also, such methods as observation and questionnaire surveys were used.

During the first expedition to the Kostroma region, usage of the internet was one of the topics in the interview guide. However, in that case only a few of the respondents were online users. In the Rostov region, internet usage was the subject of a separate guide.

One such article from the Agricultural Outlook magazine, "Communications & the Internet in Rural America", summarizes internet uses in rural areas of the United States in 2002. It indicates, that "internet use by rural and urban households has also increased significantly during the 1990's, so significantly that it has one of the fastest rates of adoption for any household service" (Anon., 2002).

Another area for inclusion in the internet is American farming. One study reviewed data from 2003 and found that "56 percent of farm operators used the Internet while 31 percent of rural workers used it at their place of work" (Stenberg and Morehart, 2006). In later years, challenges to economical rural telecommunications remain. People in inner city areas are closer together, so the access network to connect them is shorter and cheaper to build and maintain, while rural areas require more equipment per customer. However, even with this challenge, the demand for services continues to grow.

Some contemporary research in this field has been presented in Stern, Collins and Wellman, eds. (2010). The papers contained in this issue of American Behavioral Scientist address substantive and methodological issues regarding the place of the internet in daily life, in general, with a specific focus on rural places and their unique qualities. Much attention is paid to such topics as geographic isolation, community cohesion, social networks, technological diffusion, and challenges for survey research.

The present article is based on the results of a qualitative survey of rural internet audiences performed by the Media Studies Laboratory of the National Research University Higher School of Economics in the Kostroma and Rostov regions in 2012 and 2013 respectively.

In the Rostov region, the research was conducted in cooperation with the Don State Technical University. The basic method of research was based on detailed interviews with internet users at the age of 14+. In the following section, the regions and the methodology of the survey are discussed in more detail.

Sample size at the first expedition was 43 interviews, with 30 interviews in the second one. The dates of the field work were: 25-28 June 2012 (Kostroma region) and 25-30 June 2013 (Rostov region).

The following topics concerning internet usage were included in the guide:

- Equipment for internet access;
- E-mail and messaging services;
- Search systems, use of internet for educational purposes, online news;

- Blogs and social networks;
- Piracy;
- E-commerce and advertising;
- Online games.

In the Kostroma region, in the north of Russia, the field work was organised in the Manturovskiy area. Five

villages were selected (Ugory, Leontievo, Davydovo, Afanasievo and Medvedevo), all of them situated rather far from urban settlements. The nearest city is Manturovo - 16 699 people - and the rural population of the district is 4 586 people in total. The income level of the majority of the respondents is comparatively low. The main occupation is private farming.



Figure 1: House in Ugory village, Kostroma region (2012)

During the second expedition to the southern part of the country, interviews were collected in the rural settlement Koksovskoe (with an urban settlement status until 2004), its population is 8050 people. The nearest town, Belaya Kalitva, is 15 kilometers away and Rostov-on-Don, the regional centre, is 160 kilometers away. Many of the villagers are employed in industrial production and do not consider private farming as their main source of income.

The two rural areas mentioned above are very different, but they do not represent all the variety of rural settlements in the surveyed country.

However, as we shall see, internet consumers at both sampling points have much in common. Thus, some features of online usage found can be treated as typical at least for a substantial part of the Russian rural audience.



Figure 2: Process of interviewing. Koksovskoe, Rostov region (2013)

3. Results

3.1 Mode of internet access

The characteristics of the technical means used for getting access to online resources are crucial for under-

standing the internet audience behaviour. Indeed, such factors as speed of internet connection, type of device or devices (desktop or mobile? and for desktop - where is it located?), screen size, availability of a keyboard,

etc., are essentially determining the ways that people communicate and access information online.

A resident of a large Russian city has many alternative ways available for getting internet access, and the costs of the services are comparatively low. It is normal for such people to use various online connections in different life situations. However, such opportunities are usually limited in small settlements. Costs of services are higher there and incomes are lower, consequently rural consumers have to be more attentive to the choice of connection method.

For instance, users in the villages of the Kostroma region have only one way of connecting to the internet. This is mobile internet that can be used via mobile telephones and smartphones. Furthermore, this type of connection can be used on other devices with the help of a USB modem. People in Koksovskoe have the opportunity to connect to the internet via telephone line. In this case the price is higher but speed of access is higher. Landlines are not widespread in the rural settlements, and in the context of mobile telephony development people tend to reject the older technology. However, several cases in the study show that people have ordered a landline connection especially to get wired internet access.

Delytsin (2008) argues that "for quite a long time in regions and rural areas mobile connection will be of higher convenience for using the internet". This statement is fully endorsed by our survey. In the vast majority of households there is at least one mobile phone which means that a user does not need any extra devices. The obvious benefits are saving money, mobility and ease of use. At the same time, such a connection is not very fast, the screen of the device is small, and text input is inconvenient.

The age of respondents using mobile phones for internet access is commonly under 35 years old. First, mobile phones are good devices for communications via social networks and many young rural residents are active users of these. Secondly, representatives of the senior age groups of the audience are less apt at mastering work with a small screen. Some people use mobile gadgets as an additional device for internet connection at those times where their main hardware is unavailable. One of the respondents remarked in the interview taken in his garage: *"Now I don't have a computer with me, so I go out on the internet via mobile. At home though (I use) a computer"* (Rostov region, male, 25 years, electrician). This example shows that for some rural users it is valuable to stay online regardless of their location.

A USB modem connected to a desktop computer or a laptop is a more expensive option. Other drawbacks include low quality and connection instability; this problem persists for all operators and tariff plans. It can

also impose some restrictions on the content the users access, as they have to take into account the fixed traffic limits and they therefore avoid videos and some games.

Setting up a wired internet connection using a telephone landline is one of the most expensive and unaffordable solutions. However, subscribers to this service note that they have the best available connection speed, and an opportunity to save on their monthly subscription payments. Those "advanced" users sometimes enjoy up-to-date modems with a built-in WiFi router. Despite the fact that mobility is not a core value for this audience group, respondents do find it comfortable to use a laptop or tablet with wireless connection at home.

Thus, the means of internet access used are diverse, but limited to the existing market offers. And people do move to new access technologies when these become available. However, the device used to access the internet and the quality of the connection are practically not connected with the informational interests of consumers. The latter are discussed in the subsequent parts of our article.

3.2 Search of information. News. Use of e-mail

Russian internet audience researchers agree that the interests and preferences of urban and rural users are different. As is noted in a report by Yandex (2013), "while internet search and social networks are used in all settlements by 90% of the population, news websites in small towns and villages are of interest for only 50% of internet users compared to 80% in Moscow".

Information search is one of the basic features for internet users. This topic came up in all the interviews with the internet users. The following features of information search by the respondents were revealed.

- Search settings are defined spontaneously. Respondents do not realise while connecting to the internet how long the session will last, what topics and resources will become objects of attention, etc.
- Search of information is usually not a regular task for the majority of users.
- Respondents tend to use the internet as an additional source of information, while getting data from some other sources.

While searching the internet, respondents demonstrate a lack of critical attitude and frequently even attention to sources of information. They do not try to verify obtained data and do not recognize different sorts of manipulation. As we'll show later, the same behavior is observed in cases of online advertising and e-commerce

services. For Russian rural residents, the level of trust in the internet is still high. More deep analysis shows, however, that people do understand their weakness as online users and are afraid of the internet as a source of potential threats and dangers.

A typical starting point for all sorts of information requests is a web search engine. Yandex is the leading search engine among Russian "villagers", followed by Google, Mail.ru and Rambler.

One of the obvious and unique advantages of the internet as a medium is that it is capable of providing news in real time, benefiting the audience with an opportunity to be among the first to know. However, this feature is not in use by the villagers who participated in the survey. They do not enjoy the variety of views available either and do not often use the web for making their own judgments or for their personal analysis. The majority of respondents do not suffer from "informational hunger". They are fine with quite similar news reports on traditional media (mainly the top three Russian TV channels - First Channel, Rossia-1 and NTV).

Approximately half of the respondents have their own e-mail address. The main reason for opening an e-mail account is its necessity for registration in different electronic devices (e.g., tablets), and online games. The initial function of e-mail, i.e., interpersonal exchange of letters, files, etc., is used quite rarely. Indeed, in small settlements face-to-face contacts are still of high importance. And for contacting relatives and friends in other regions of the country rural residents prefer to use the phone. A narrow layer of e-mail users consists of specialists exchanging messages on professional topics with colleagues from other locations.

Mail.ru is the most popular free e-mail service in the rural settlements. According to various surveys, it has many more registered users than Yandex, but in the cities the situation is the reverse (Yandex, 2011). This is largely due to the fact that Mail.ru offers a social network, "Moi Mir", that is actively used by rural audiences and is not popular among Russian urban users.

3.3 Social media and online games

In general, social media are popular among Russian users in rural as well as in urban settlements, and their popularity is growing steadily. According to WCIOM (2013), 82% of internet users had at least one social network account in 2012 compared with 53% in 2010. Interest in social media is not going down, and their influence is growing in Russian regions. This trend is confirmed by our study. The observed activity in social networks of the respondents is quite high. About 70% of the survey participants are registered users and visit social media web sites regularly. However, some of the

survey participants never even opened their social media account, and some stopped using it for some reason. The basic argument not to use social networks is that such activity is associated with idleness, indulgence and vain pastimes. Some informants said that they deleted their social media profile because they had *"played with that for a long time"*. Most often, people are registered in one social network, and that is enough for them. Only one third of the sample are registered in two social networks or more.

The difference in social network consumption between urban and rural populations is quite noticeable. In settlements of 100 000 and more people the Russian services "VKontakte", "Odnoklassniki" and "Moi Mir" are rather popular. These sites are used by 43% of internet users in small cities and villages, compared to 23% in Moscow. They are in the Top 5 among the most used sites (Yandex, 2013). The survey affirms that the most popular online resource is "Odnoklassniki", which is an undoubted leader. The next positions belong to "VKontakte", "Facebook" and "Moi Mir".

The reasons for selecting a particular social network are diverse. "Odnoklassniki" is popular because its interface is user-friendly and easy. Also, many villagers and relatives use it as well. Great importance is given to the stylistic design of the website, colour solutions, various additional and available functions, such as gift sending, online music listening, forming communities, and the presence of a "black list". As for the "VKontakte" interface, some respondents do not like it, whereas others are attracted by it. It is mostly popular among the younger users. "Facebook" is used mainly by older people whose work is not connected with the country. They are rooted professionally in an urban way of life, and this social network provides them with an opportunity to communicate with their regular circle of people. They represent urban professional groups: doctors, photographers, businessmen, etc.

The average number of "friends" is around 50-70. However, there is a group of active users who have managed to collect 500-600 "friends". The structures of the "friends" groups are very diverse. Basically, they are villagers, relatives, classmates, fellow students from colleges and universities, work colleagues, and sometimes online game friends. Interviewees often pointed out that they are connected with people that they know both in person and offline.

The main purpose of social network use is communication. One of the respondents, a 14-year old school-girl, formulated this quite well: *"...yeah, to sit, talk, chat, discuss with somebody"*. The most popular pastime on the net is to exchange messages among a selected group of friends, relatives and new acquaintances. The older generation uses social networks for communication with

their children and other relatives, sometimes very numerous, that are studying in the city, serving in the army or have moved to other regions of the country. Social networks are frequently used to find lost childhood friends and countrymen, classmates, former co-workers and colleagues. All new users pass this stage of forming his or her circle of online acquaintances, including new and/or regenerated contacts.

Other popular types of social network use are playing online games and communication in groups on hobbies and interests. The respondents use the latter feature rather effectively. In this case users are able to discuss problems connected with fishing, crafts, farming, gardening, sewing, etc.

It seems quite obvious that internet consumption by rural audiences is changing from season to season. The main factor is the pressure of work in the fields. In summer, social networks are more actively consumed during the religious holidays and during days of bad weather when it is not possible to work outdoors. Consumption time is growing in the late autumn and winter. We can conclude that, in general, there is a high level of social network use in the areas covered by the survey. Social networks are a part of the everyday practices of the villagers, they are gaining popularity among people of different age, professional and educational groups.

3.4 Use of e-commerce services.

Attitude towards advertising

The online economy is developing rapidly in modern Russia and online advertising is an important part of the advertising market. The internet advertising market in 2012 was estimated by the Association of Russian Communication Agencies at 56.3 billion RUR (about 1.8 billion USD), or 18.9% of the Russian total ATL advertising segment (AKAR, 2013).

According to the survey, rural users are suspicious of the internet as an environment for commercial activities. The respondents recognize well the opportunities that the internet provides as a source of information, however, few of them are able to understand its commercial potential. This is caused by the lack of knowledge and experience in using web content in villages as well as by personal fears and stereotypes. It is a matter of habit for villagers to treat life as full of threats, dangerous adventures and mysticism. So for many respondents, the World Wide Web is a high-risk environment with unclear algorithms. At the same time, for some of the survey participants taking part in some of the online activities, it is of high importance. These users consider the internet as an advanced tool and to ignore it means to miss something significant and to fall out of the mainstream.

There are basically several core ways for rural residents to use e-commerce: online shopping, financial transactions (paying bills, mobile phone top-ups, paying for goods online, etc.) and using the web for professional purposes. While searching for commercial information, the respondents act quite erratically, focusing on the search results inconsistently. This is combined with a lack of expertise in distinguishing manipulative advertisements from ordinary information.

According to the Yandex (2013) report, "online shops attract up to 50% of the audience in small settlements and more than 70% in Moscow". A basic incentive for using unconventional online shopping is ordering something one cannot readily buy offline. The respondents say they order an item which seems to be unusual in their environment and this goes together with the unusual way of ordering it. A low price as a number one incentive to buy online was rarely mentioned throughout the survey. The convenience of online shopping was not mentioned at all. On the one hand, there are very few special trade proposals and a poorly developed infrastructure for working with this target group of online consumers. On the other hand, these people are not experienced web users, therefore the task of involving them in the processes of e-commerce is associated with the development of media literacy.

The interviews demonstrate that rural inhabitants rely on the opinion of those around them to a high extent. They do not like to stand out from the crowd and to make unconventional choices. This feature affects their e-commerce and online advertisement consumption. The respondents using online shopping on a consistent basis say they have web shoppers among their acquaintances. Quite often the survey participants refer to the online shopping experience of their family members (brother, father, husband, wife, etc.). Those who avoid buying goods on the web say they do not use the facilities which are unpopular in their social environment and about which they lack enough information. They are more likely to mention the negative experiences they have heard about, but not the positive references. The people surveyed see a lack of trust in e-commerce as the main reason for their limited usage of the facilities mentioned.

"It's like buying a cat in a bag. You won't get what you have seen in a picture anyway", says a housewife, aged 38. At the same time, the respondents are willing to use the internet to choose an item to buy. They mostly refer to a search engine first. They find some information about a product, read the users' feedback and perform price comparisons for the later offline purchase.

For the majority of respondents it is unacceptable to entrust their finances to the net. For many of the survey participants the web is mostly a source of entertain-

ment. That is why they can hardly imagine that it can also be a place for financial transactions. However, proper understanding of the significant commercial potential of the web and its importance was demonstrated by the entrepreneurs among the respondents. They mentioned the convenience of looking for new business partners online, quite often they revealed their plans for making money using online resources. But there are few entrepreneurs who have gained any real experience in doing that. They say the web made their accounting much easier and helped with their business partner search.

In general, it can be concluded that e-commerce and online advertisement services consumption is at the very early stage of its development in rural parts of Russia. There is no variety in this sphere in terms of the services used at the moment. Here we can also witness the impact of scepticism towards innovations. Some small particular groups of villagers (entrepreneurs, qualified specialists) demonstrate a high degree of interest in business-oriented services and facilities. Rural residents are mostly involved in e-commerce and online advertisement consumption by chance or by being influenced by an opinion leader (who usually happens to be a family member).

To some extent this can be the explanation for how the villagers use e-commerce and online advertisement tools: the content is not analyzed, there are no skills in recognizing its basic types, the resources are chosen randomly, strong reliance on others' opinions can dominate, and the risks of the online environment are highly exaggerated. Herein we should emphasize a significant potential growth rate of e-commerce and web advertisement. The positive scenario mentioned can be promoted by better network infrastructure in rural areas as well as through some features of the rural social environment, if they are considered and interpreted properly in practice.

3.5 Attitude towards piracy

One more aspect considered within the study in the Rostov region is linked with intellectual piracy. A theoretical framework and a detailed analysis of this, including its manifestations in Russia, are presented by Bahi, et al. (2011). We have concentrated on the attitude of the Russian rural new media audience toward this phenomenon. It is important to mention that the fieldwork was conducted in the conditions of the adoption of a new "anti-piracy" law, No. 187-FZ from July 2, 2013, which came into force on August 1, 2013. The results help to reveal some features of the rural comprehension of piracy and anti-piracy issues formed spontaneously in recent years. In general, the awareness of piracy among the settlement inhabitants is quite high, there were only few who had never dealt with it before.

The villagers mostly associate intellectual piracy with bootlegging and the production of counterfeit goods. For this group it is a matter of the quality of content in the first place, the intellectual property issues being set aside. Within this group there are two sub-groups according to their awareness in consuming the pirated goods. The first sub-group representatives are generally negative toward piracy but they refer to anti-piracy issues when they experience some technical and other difficulties in using illegal content they had access to before. Using pirated intellectual property is consistently implemented in their everyday experience.

Those from the second sub-group demonstrate a better awareness of piracy: the survey participants realize that they use unlicensed products and are more likely to understand their responsibility for doing that to some extent - they know something about the scale of piracy in Russia. They can also assess the concept of piracy negatively but confess that there are no ways for them to avoid using pirated discs due to high prices and low availability of legal content. "I know it's bad to listen to pirated music and to watch unlicensed films. But unfortunately legal discs are quite hard to find and even if I manage to do that I can hardly afford them" (a psychologist, aged 27).

This unity in understanding and assessing piracy is probably a product of a long-term anti-piracy propaganda. Among its efficient tools were TV programmes and news reports covering illegal content production and distribution problems. As a result, piracy is strongly associated with counterfeit goods production and its generally negative evaluation, despite a high degree of illegal content usage by the society.

It is evident that full comprehension of online piracy is possessed by those who have a targeted interest in this issue. Once a user faces legal restrictions on using online content (illegal audio and video files being removed from a website) he becomes curious as to why it has happened. The majority of respondents has a very unclear understanding of internet piracy, they connect it with other illegal activities such as hacker attacks and fraud. It can be easily supposed that it is also caused by the mass media providing us with the coverage of crime and fraud in cyberspace. Consequently, immature internet users become afraid of cyberspace, and online piracy is a part of it.

It should be mentioned that almost none of the users is familiar with file sharing. As a result, they have no idea about their responsibilities when using torrent trackers and illegal online content.

Some of the surveyed say that the intellectual property rights protection issues are connected with the mentality we have and they are quite sceptical about the

fight against piracy in the ex-USSR space. They actively refer to the stereotypes of the Soviet past, the Perestroika era and the 90's in particular. According to these beliefs, there are no private property institutes and no rule of law. These respondents think that their compatriots suffer from a low level of culture and do not expect legislative measures in fighting piracy to be very productive.

Internet users have become used to treating the web as a free content zone. Some of them are willing to pay for something when there are no free alternatives. After many years of free access to online content we now face value deflation on this market. The users do not treat online content as something valuable. They are likely to stop using many services if they have to pay for them someday. Thus, they treat this market as a consumer's market.

As for internet consumption, the respondents do not have any strong preferences for using a single source for films. This applies both to downloading and to watching online. Some of the surveyed show awareness and experience in using torrent trackers for downloading movies, and they also use the VKontakte social network for watching films online. However, we can hardly say that there are clear priorities in choosing a service for video content consumption. A search bar of a web browser is most commonly used to find any content that a user is interested in. Music internet piracy is a competitor for legal music, in terms of logistics in the first place. As opposed to films, songs are mostly downloaded, not played online. Firstly, audio is meant to be

played many times (as opposed to video). Audio files are uploaded to portable media for playing when one is on the go, in a car or on a PC. Secondly, with a low internet connection speed, downloading an mp3 file is more economical than playing it online, which will actually require downloading it again and again. It is typical for audio content online users (in contrast to video consumers) to be loyal to certain online resources, to social networks in particular. In many cases, the pirated mp3 files are what attracts a person to using a social network.

The users are inclined to replace listening to music on CDs by playing the music they download. This is largely attributed to the growing availability of flash memory and mp3 players. However, there are other reasons why licensed CDs cannot compete with online listening and downloading. Firstly, the limited selection of music production available as well as the low content capacity of a single CD must be taken into consideration. Secondly, when a user does not have any particular preferences in music, the internet provides him with inexpensive and convenient search tools. One does not need to buy a CD with a variety of unknown singers on it. Finally, the convenience of storage and utilization of digital goods is also crucial.

All the facts mentioned emphasize that the competition between legal and pirated digital goods is all about the features of online consumption. Thus, we can suppose that services such as iTunes could compete with unlicensed mp3s for a part of the target audience considering the high content quality they provide.

4. Conclusions

Taking into account the insufficient development of the internet access infrastructure, we conclude, based on two case studies, that the Russian rural population is actively assimilating internet, especially in the younger age groups. At the same time, the level of media literacy and the ability to critically perceive information is very low among this part of the audience. The last claim is supported, in particular, by a weak understanding of the problem of audio-visual piracy, which is actively discussed by the Russian media.

The internet is perceived primarily as a source of entertainment, the main directions of its use are social networking and search of information for different casual purposes. The attitude towards e-commerce and online advertising is cautious, and the experience of using the internet for financial operations is very limited.

"Rural internet users reported using books and other printed materials at a higher level than their urban and suburban counterparts. At the same time, they reported using the internet at a lower rate than their urban and suburban counterparts" (Hennington, 2011). This conclusion is based on the survey of US audiences by Pew Research Center's American Life Project in conjunction with the California Healthcare Foundation. In his article "Community Cohesion and Canadian Rural E-Mail Behavior" (in Stern, Collins and Wellman, eds., 2010) Derek Wilkinson argues that in rural Canada e-mail use could be increased by developing greater computer skills. Both statements can be totally applied to Russia. The results of our survey corroborate that rural internet consumption in Russia is developed within the framework of global trends, having some features that are observed above.

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Transmedia storytelling in analysis: The case of Final punishment

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Abstract

Transmedia storytelling refers to both fictional and non-fictional narratives that are expanded across different media platforms, inviting the audience to engage and migrate from one medium to another in order to undergo an enriched experience. As a relatively new and elusive subject, it does not have its own specific methods and methodology of analysis. This was my main motivation in proposing a transmedia project design analytical model, aimed at outlining relevant aspects that could contribute to understanding the process of the development of transmedia projects. First, this article succinctly presents the original analytical model to approach cases of transmedia projects and later applies it to *Final Punishment*, an award-winning multiplatform series produced in Brazil in 2009 by the Portuguese company BeActive - one of the pioneering transmedia production companies. The transmedia project focuses on eight women imprisoned in a fictitious high-security prison in Rio de Janeiro. It was possible to conclude that *Final Punishment* contributed to the development and dissemination of transmedia storytelling in Brazil, because in 2009 the country was just crawling in terms of multiplatform media production. *Final Punishment* gained notoriety not because of its rather limited range in terms of audience reach (a million viewers per episode and 11 5000 alternate reality game (ARG) players is not a great amount in such a large country as Brazil), but for its integrated and well-designed content which unfolded across multiple media platforms in a mixture of portmanteau and franchise transmedia type. The inconsistencies generated by the courageous initiative to produce a mockumentary in a country accustomed to mostly trusting everything that appears in the media, did not reduce the impact of *Final Punishment*.

Keywords: transmedia analysis, transmedia project design, analytical model, multiplatform production

1. Prelude

Transmedia storytelling (TS), a term first coined by Henry Jenkins (2003), refers to both fictional and non-fictional narratives that are expanded across different media platforms, inviting the audience to engage and migrate from one medium to another in order to undergo an enriched experience. Since each medium should do what it does best and add a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole storyworld (Jenkins, 2006), multiple media platforms would contribute to the enhancement of the overall audience experience by offering extended development and opportunities for interaction and participation within the story. It is not a matter of repurposing the same content in several media outlets, but the opposite: The offer of new and relevant content throughout an increased number of media channels.

In 2009, Jenkins issued Seven Core Concepts of Transmedia Storytelling (Jenkins, 2009; 2009a), describing the specifics of the concept, which differentiates itself from

other correlated terms, such as cross-media, intermedia, multimedia, among others.

The central principles Jenkins mentions are:

- a) spreadability vs.¹ drillability: Spreadability refers to the extent to which the content is shareable and drillability is the possibility of exploring the content in-depth;
- b) continuity vs. multiplicity: Continuity contributes to building the coherence and plausibility of the storyworld among all extensions whereas multiplicity, on the other hand, allows fans to have access to alternate versions of characters or parallel universe versions of the story (Caddell, 2009);
- c) immersion vs. extractability: Immersion relates to the ability of consumers to enter into the fictional worlds (e.g., theme parks), while extractability refers to the possibility fans may have to take away

with them aspects of the story, incorporating it into their everyday lives (e.g., memorabilia);

- d) worldbuilding: A transmedia story is indeed a storyworld capable of supporting multiple characters and multiple narratives across multiple media (Jenkins, 2009a);
- e) seriality: TS breaks up a narrative arc into multiple distinctive parts spread out across multiple media;
- f) subjectivity: Transmedia extensions often rely on secondary characters or third parties, offering a diversity of points of view from which the story can be told; and
- g) performance: The ability of TS to stimulate fans to produce their own performances that can become part of the transmedia narrative itself.

Although the transmedia phenomenon is allegedly old (Prior, 2013) as a concept, as a discipline, TS is still fresh. Consequently, it remains fairly open and both inconsistency and a lack of consensus permeate its realm.

2. Transmedia project design analytical model

Theoretical and analytical implications of TS are still evolving and remain widely open. The following analytical model aims to outline essential features of the design process behind transmedia projects. The proposed considerations intend to approach not the transmedia phenomena in all its possibly vast scope, but rather to concentrate on the transmedia project occurrence in order to facilitate practitioners in the better understanding and organization of complex transmedia experiences. The analytical perspective is objective but not restrictive. It

In this context, the main questions that have been driving my recent researches (Gambarato, 2012; 2013) are basically: How to methodologically analyse transmedia stories? How to understand the complexity of this kind of media production? As a relatively new and elusive subject, TS does not have its own specific methods and methodology of analysis. This was my main motivation in proposing a transmedia project design analytical model aimed at outlining relevant aspects that could contribute to understanding the process of the development of transmedia projects. The significance of the application of this analytical model is to address essential features of the design process behind transmedia projects and to contribute to the support of the analytic needs of transmedia designers/producers and the applied research within the media industry.

Thus, first this article succinctly presents the above referred original analytical model to approach cases of transmedia projects and later applies it to *Final Punishment*, an award-winning multiplatform series produced in Brazil by the Portuguese company BeActive - one of the pioneering transmedia production companies.

includes 10 specific topics guided by a series of practicable questions to which others can eventually be added.

The work of Strickler (2012), Jenkins (2010) and Long (2007) is directly implicated in the analytical model. Qualitative and quantitative methods can be used accordingly as regards the nature of the question and the availability of data (Gambarato, 2013). In order to apply the model to the concrete example of *Final Punishment*, a brief description of it is provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Concise description of the transmedia project design analytical model

Nr.	Topic	Practicable questions
1	Premise and purpose State clearly what it is about and the reason why the project exists.	What is the project about? Is it a fiction, a non-fiction or a mixed project? What is its fundamental purpose? Is it to entertain, to teach or to inform? Is it to market a product?
2	Narrative The structure storyworlds evoke in the transmedia milieu.	What are the narrative elements of the project? What would be the summary of its storyline? What is the time-frame of the story? What are the strategies for expanding the narrative? Are negative capability ² and migratory cues ³ included? Is it possible to identify intermedial texts in the story?
3	Worldbuilding A storyworld or story universe should be robust enough to support expansions, going above and beyond a single story.	When does the story occur? Which is the central world where the project is set? Is it a fictional world, the real world or a mixture of both? How it is presented geographically? Is the storyworld big enough to support expansions?
4	Characters The features of the characters and the way they appear across all the platforms should be in unison.	Who are the primary and secondary characters of the story? Does the project have any spin-offs ⁴ ? Can the storyworld be considered a primary character of its own? Can the audience be considered a character as well?

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Nr.	Topic	Practicable questions
5	Extensions Transmedia storytelling involves multiple media in which the storyworld will be unfolded and experienced.	How many extensions does the project have? Are the extensions adaptations or expansions of the narrative through various media? Is each extension canonical ⁵ ? Does it enrich the story? Do the extensions have the ability to spread the content and also to provide the possibility to explore the narrative in-depth?
6	Media platforms and genres A transmedia project necessarily involves more than one medium and can also embrace more than one genre (science fiction, action, comedy, etc.).	What kind of media platforms (film, book, comics, games, and so forth) are involved in the project? Which devices (computer, game console, tablet, mobile phone, etc.) are required by the project? How does each platform participate and contribute to the whole project? What are their functions in the project? Is each medium really relevant to the project? What is the roll-out strategy to release the platforms? Which genres (action, adventure, detective, science fiction, fantasy, and so forth) are present in the project?
7	Audience and market Scoping the audience is fundamental to more appropriately deliver the transmedia experience. TS involves some level of audience engagement.	What is the target audience of the project? What kind of "viewers" (real-time, reflective, and navigational ⁶) does the project attract? Do other projects like this exist? Do they succeed in achieving their purpose? What is the project's business model? Revenue-wise, was the project successful? Why?
8	Engagement All the dimensions of a transmedia project, at a lower or higher level, are implicated in the experience people will have when engaging with the story.	Through what point of view (PoV) does the audience experience this world: First-person, second-person, third-person, or a mixture of them? What role does the audience play in this project? What are the mechanisms of interaction in this project? Is there also participation involved in the project? Does the project work as cultural attractor/activator? ⁷ Is there there user-generated content (UGC) related to the story (parodies, recaps, mash-ups, fan communities, etc.)? Does the project offer the audience the possibility of immersion into the storyworld? Does the project offer the audience the possibility to take away elements of the story and incorporate them into the everyday life? Is there a system of rewards and penalties?
9	Structure The organisation of a transmedia project, the arrangement of its constituent elements and how they interrelate to each other can offer concrete elements to be analysed.	When did the transmediation begin? Is it a pro-active or retroactive project? Is this project closer to a transmedia franchise, a portmanteau transmedia story, or a complex transmedia experience? Can each extension work as an independent entry point to the story? What are/were possible endpoints of the project? How is the project structured?
10	Aesthetics Visual and audio elements of a transmedia project should also contribute to the overall atmosphere and enhance the experience spread throughout multiple media platforms.	What kinds of visuals are being used (animation, video, graphics, a mix) in the project? Is the overall look realistic or a fantasy environment? Is it possible to identify specific design styles in the project? How does audio work in this project? Is there ambient sound (rain, wind, traffic noises, etc.), sound effects, music, and so forth?

3. The case of Final Punishment

3.1 The starting point

In 2009, BeActive launched a multiplatform thriller series in Brazil, produced in partnership with Oi Telecom, one of the major telecommunication companies in the country. Entitled Final Punishment (the original title in Portuguese is *Castigo Final*), the transmedia project focuses on eight women imprisoned in a fictitious high-security prison in Rio de Janeiro. The detention

centre is controlled by a computer system and, after the surveillance connection was lost, an executioner started killing the convicts in the same way that they committed their crimes. It invites the audience to search for clues that would enable them to figure out a password that could save the inmates. However, week after week, one of the women dies, maintaining the suspense and audience engagement (Gambarato and Alzamora, 2012, p. 58).



Figure 1: *Final Punishment* logo designed by Rui Soares. Source: <http://cargocollective.com/rui Soares/Final-Punishment>

3.2 Premise and purpose

Oi Telecom commissioned this transmedia project aiming at showcasing its own services: mobile, digital TV and internet portal. The corporation was expanding beyond its well-known mobile operation, adding internet services and a digital TV channel. According to Nuno Bernardo (2010), BeActive CEO, the briefing that he received was to create a three-window concept (mobile, TV and internet) integrating Oi services. The company wanted something edgy that would cause a buzz and potentially attract the demographic they were interested in: 18-35 year-olds.

Interestingly, BeActive already had a script dealing with women being mysteriously murdered in a prison, but they pitched the project before and tried to produce it in Europe and no sponsors wanted to be associated with such violent story. However, the concept of *Final Punishment* could be a good match in this case, considering that the original idea would perfectly serve to showcase all the media platforms Oi Telecom was interested in. Nevertheless, a narrative about inmates being killed in a prison would not necessarily be exciting in Brazil, supposing that this kind of occurrence would be neither rare nor emotive in a country used to a higher level of criminality than in Europe, for instance. Consequently, the questions which arose were: How to make Brazilians interested in the story? How to make them care about other people who committed serious crimes? Bernardo (2010) highlights that the solution was: a) to make it personal; b) to provide back-stories about who the characters were in order to make

the audience feel somehow connected to them; and c) to give the audience the task of saving them.

The project was then built blurring the boundaries between what was fictional and what was not in this particular storyworld. *Final Punishment* is presented as a four-part mockumentary series accompanied by an alternate reality game (ARG⁸), gathering together a number of extensions in different media platforms according to the interests of the sponsor. As a mockumentary, the project mimics the reality showing fictional events in a documentary style. The main purpose of the project is to promote Oi Telecom services by means of entertainment.

3.3 Narrative

One prison, eight women, eight stories, eight crimes. The narrative starts with fake news stories published in the main Brazilian newspapers and on websites, such as *O Globo* and *Jornal do Brasil*, reporting the opening of a new high-security women's prison called Ivo de Kermartin⁹ in Rio de Janeiro. The facility is equipped with the latest surveillance technology, preventing inmates from escaping. Shortly afterwards, breaking news about a group of hackers called Black Lords was reported, saying that they had broken into the prison's sophisticated computer system, compromising its security. Moreover, the hackers released surveillance camera footage, showing eight women trapped in one corridor inside the prison. The story starts to be even more disturbing, when the footage reveals dead bodies among the inmates. It seems that every night one woman dies. Tension is generated.

The fabricated news works as negative capability, raising curiosity and a desire to understand what is going on in the new prison, and directing the audience to the prison's fake website (www.ivokermartin.com). The site is the clear migratory clue to guide the audience to the entry point of the alternate reality game (ARG). When the audience accesses it, the webpage seems to disintegrate because it was hacked by the Black Lords. Automatically, the hacked website shows the footage of the surveillance cameras and the instructions to find the password that would open the prison's door and save the women from death. The online hunt for information starts from here. The logic of the game is: The longer the audience take, the more people die.

As strategies to amplify the narrative, *Final Punishment* blends the ARG, television, mobile, internet and traditional media content. The audience has to investigate the life of the characters and search for the clues to discover the password by means of websites, blogs, social media profiles, text messages, e-mails, and more. Offline events such as concerts served as meeting points for people to collaborate and solve the puzzles together.

The experience culminated in the broadcast of the four-part TV series that wrapped-up the story and finally revealed what really happened inside the prison.

As a mockumentary hosted and directed by the character of an investigative journalist, Ana Lima, the TV series shows the story inside the prison and also what happened before the characters got there and the motivations for the series of crimes. In the last episode, three inmates got the final digit to open the door and escape the prison. Just one survived: Carmen, the actual killer of the other women. The last scene, however, reveals that the journalist Ana Lima was the one who masterminded all the murders, claiming justice in honour of her dead father.

In the first episode of the series, the opening scene quotes the following Bible passage: "And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life" (The Bible, Matthew 25:46). The title *Final Punishment* is a clear reference to this emblematic New Testament chapter and verse about the Final Judgement, in which the ones who are good will have eternal life, and the ones who are not will receive eternal punishment.

More than just the name of the project, the story itself discusses the ideal (or the pursuit) of justice, in this case at any cost. The divine justice, in the narrative, is deprecated by the human sense of justice closer to the archaic eye-for-an-eye punishment (Law of Moses) with each inmate dying in the same way that they killed. Brazil is the biggest catholic country in the world; therefore all the biblical references of the project seem pertinent in this context. The audience could easily relate to it.

This transmedia project is in dialogue with other inter-medial texts, probably borrowing elements from the major American TV series dedicated to solving crimes, such as *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (2000) and *Criminal Minds* (2005), for instance, and also TV series staged inside prisons, such as *Oz* (1997) and *Prison Break* (2005). It mimics the graphic design of official websites of the Brazilian government, which enriches the plausibility of the prison's webpage, helping make people believe that the new detention center really existed. The main references implicated in the storyworld, however, could be the film *The Game* (1997) and the TV series *Dexter* (2006). In *The Game*, starring Michael Douglas and Sean Penn, a wealthy businessman receives a strange birthday gift that ended up being a live-action game that consumes his life. That is pretty much what occurs in *Final Punishment* in the sense that, at the end, the remaining characters mention that they feel as they are in the middle of a game. A very dangerous one though. *Dexter*, the serial killer who is actually a forensics expert during the day, kills guilty criminals at night to satisfy his obsession with justice. This is exactly the motivation of the unsuspected character Ana Lima, who is the mastermind behind the ultimate punishment in the prison.

3.4 Worldbuilding

Final Punishment takes place in Rio de Janeiro, in 2009. The fictional location is the prison Ivo de Kermartin in the city's central area. The story was shot in the real prison complex called *Frei Caneca* in the *Estácio* neighbourhood surrounded by few *favelas* (or slums). The main building dated from 1850 and it was the detention center in the period of the Emperor Pedro II. Over 150 years, the prison transformed itself into a complex consisting of eight concrete buildings, which were demolished in March 2010. The prison had already been decommissioned in 2006. Therefore it was possible to shoot in this real location, benefiting from the authenticity of the space.

Certainly the dilapidated conditions of the real building where the series was shot contributed to the realistic atmosphere, which also encouraged people to believe in its veracity. The fact that the physical storyworld is basically limited to the premises of the prison does not imply a restrictive single narrative. The story universe of the nine main characters (including their backstories) is robust enough to be expanded across multiple media platforms and support an entire transmedia experience.

3.5 Characters

The main characters are the eight convicted women and the journalist who documents their story. As would be expected from a project situated in Brazil, all the characters names and surnames are fairly typical (Table 2).

Table 2: Final Punishment primary characters

Character	Name	Age	Crime
Inmate 1	Katia dos Santos	29	Drug dealing. She was responsible for the killing of 23 youngsters to whom she sold adulterated drugs.
Inmate 2	Dalva Regina Moraes	30	Murder (strangulation). She killed her baby son due to mental illness.
Inmate 3	Selma Pires	18	Murder (poisoning). She killed her father, who sexually molested her from childhood.
Inmate 4	Tania Ribeiro	43	Violence and abuse of power. She was a policewoman and beat a drug dealer, who was responsible for her daughter's arrest. While in jail, the girl committed suicide.
Inmate 5	Carmen Lucia Barros	35	Murder (stabbing). She killed the policeman, who murdered her son by mistake.
Inmate 6	Roseane de Freitas	47	Murder (gunshot). She killed her husband who systematically beat her.
Inmate 7	Elizabeth dos Anjos	38	Murder (strangulation). She killed her husband who enslaved her.
Inmate 8	Marcia Lopes	32	Murder (electrocution). She killed her husband and his lover, who was her best friend.
Journalist	Ana Lima	Around 30	Directed the documentary about the prison. When she was 9-years-old, she saw her father being brutally killed at home. He was part of a secret society dedicated to taking justice into their own hands.

After her father's death when she was a child, Ana Lima was introduced to the same secret society in which her dad was involved. The group was composed of influential people and they were able to arrange for Carmen to be sent to this particular prison where the crimes could be carried out in the name of justice. Ana - incognito - reveals to Carmen that she actually did not kill the policeman she believed was responsible for her son's death. In fact, Tania was the policewoman who accidentally killed the boy and then murdered the colleague, who was going to speak up about her. When Carmen got to the scene, she stabbed him without noticing he was already dead. Thus Ana convinced Carmen to finally take justice into her own hands.

It could be argued that the nine women are equal protagonists of the story with all of them having their own storylines, backstories and relevance to the narrative. After all, it could be considered that, among the nine, there are three with crucial roles: Carmen, the inmates' killer; Ana, the mastermind behind the prison executions; and Tania, the main motivation for Carmen to kill. Moreover, the prison itself and the audience could also be considered as fundamental characters in this storyworld: The first one, with its physical characteristics, was determinant in creating the ambience for Final Punishment; and the second one, had the supreme task of saving the inmates from this Dante's Inferno.

3.6 Extensions

The tent-pole of the project is a four-part TV mockumentary broadcasted on Oi TV, one of the divisions of Oi Telecom. All the episodes are available on the internet as well, both on the project's YouTube channel and

on the Brazilian IG video channel (www.ig.com.br), which is the sponsor's Internet portal. The complete list of extensions involves:

- a) 4 x 22' TV mockumentary series;
- b) 1 x 80' feature length digital film premiered at the *Festival do Rio* (Rio International Film Festival);
- c) 1 x 8' TV series making-of;
- d) 1 x 90' DVD feature film with extra material;
- e) 8 x 2' confessional webisodes;
- f) 8 x 5' lost tape webisodes;
- g) 8 x 38s character presentation mobisodes;
- h) two mobile (Java) puzzles;
- i) two social media applications (Facebook and Orkut);
- j) three Twitter channels and three Facebook pages;
- k) three Flickr channels with 100 photos;
- l) eight Blogspot blogs; and
- m) an ARG including websites, news items, text messages, e-mails, voice messages, social network profiles, and more.

Final Punishment featured a range of supplemental content for mobile phones because of Oi Telecom interests. Besides the mobisodes, the audience could have access to IVR service (Interactive Voice Response); SMS (Short Message Service); WAP¹⁰ site; and Java puzzles. Throughout the Facebook application, the audience could register their phone number and then be able to call the prison. The director would call back (IVR) and say that he knew the person was investigating the murders and would warn the audience to stop doing it. In order to advertise the project, BeActive produced two

TV ads, two TV teasers and 45 different banners. Oi customers received alerts and text messages, encouraging them to seek more information.

The project experience is a detective based game for the audience to find out more about the characters and solve the puzzle. Throughout dozens of fake news items, fabricated social media pages, fake blogs and a series of clues to collect, the audience would be able to decode the message and get the password that would allow them to save the prisoners' lives. Besides Facebook and Twitter, the producers included also Orkut in the range of social media outlets because it was extremely popular in Brazil at the time the project was running.

The extensions are definitely canonical, respecting the coherence and plausibility of the storyworld. Most of them worked to expand (spreadability) the story and provide the chance to explore the narrative in-depth (drillability), especially the blogs and webisodes. However, the feature film and DVD simply put together the four episodes of the TV series with few additional valuable contributions to the content. The feature film exhibited at the Rio International Film Festival to a selected group of top bloggers and opinion makers in Brazil works much more as a strategic promotional outlet than a genuine extension of the transmedia storyworld. The social media presence was fundamental in making all the large amount of information about the characters available to the audience, being a key outlet to make the ARG viable.

The project also offered offline live events allowing the audience to immerse themselves. The ARG was launched at the Rio International Film Festival, shaping the mysterious atmosphere and generating buzz and anticipation around the series. Oi Novo Som (Oi New Sound), the sponsor's music channel, promoted concerts and facilitated the gathering of the audience to share information and collaborate to find the clues towards the password, the ultimate goal of the game.

3.7 Media platforms and genres

Transmedia projects, by definition, presuppose the involvement of more than one medium. Final Punishment embraces the following media platforms: Television, film, internet, print media, mobile phone, and radio. The devices that could be used to access the content are: mobile phone, tablet (not yet popular in 2009), computer, TV set, radio set, and DVD player. The multiplatform content could be designated as a suspense thriller with hints of horror stories. The overall Final Punishment experience is a detective fictional storyworld.

"The Final Punishment experience began with fake headlines and articles in the major Brazilian print media reporting that a high security women's prison had been opened. Mobile phone and online content drew

participants into an eight-week long alternate reality game which became a race against time to save inmates from a mysterious murderer who had accessed the prison. A four-part mockumentary television series followed, revealing the truth about events and providing the final information needed to complete the game." (Lavan, 2010)

The roll-out strategy started earlier than the release of the transmedia project in October 2009. For instance, the audience was invited to take part in a competition held to find the scariest screams (people recorded and submitted them to the sponsor's internet portal) and the best ones featured in the TV series. The audience also voted via Oi New Sound to choose the theme song of the series.

According to Bernardo (2010), Final Punishment premiered on October 1, 2009, as a digital feature film at the Rio International Film Festival. The festival was sponsored by Oi Telecom. On October 3, 2009, the first fake news about the prison was released, serving as an entry point to the ARG. BeActive started a fake social campaign, actually a marketing campaign, to save the female prisoners both offline and online on October 15, 2009. The offline campaign was displayed inside offices' lifts in Rio de Janeiro and in São Paulo. Large corporate buildings in these cities have TV sets inside the elevators, showing mainly news and advertisements. The online campaign was launched on social networks. In mid-November, the first players decoded the password; the prison's door was open and the entire web content shut-down. The audience did not know what was going on. This strategy motivated the audience (after losing connection with the story) to want to know more.

The first TV episode was aired on November 20, 2009, and each episode was then broadcast once a week every Friday on Oi TV. Finally in December, the last episode of the TV series was aired and then audience could know what really happened. On December 18, 2009, the making-of was also broadcast, closing the Final Punishment experience.

The ARG was made available eight weeks prior to the airing of the TV series and counted 115000 registered players (Bernardo, 2010). The ARG puppetmaster was the group of hackers, Black Lords. They were responsible for updating the audience that got into the game late, explaining what had happened so far, what they had missed, the clues that were already solved and what was coming next. How to deal with the audience joining the story at different moments is one of the most difficult challenges of nonlinear and interactive narratives.

The emphasis of Final Punishment was in three major media platforms: mobile, internet and television, mainly because of the sponsor's interest. The other platforms (print media, film, and radio) just supported the main

ones. It does not mean, however, that the secondary media channels are not relevant to the story. The release of the movie at the Rio International Film Festival kicked off the project, mobilising the press and the audience. The role of newspapers in publishing fake news, although small in comparison to other platforms, was crucial to serve both as negative capability and a migratory cue to guide the audience to enter the storyworld. The radio was important in spreading the word about the contests involved in the project, even prior to its official launch in late 2009. This was the path to build a community around *Final Punishment* from the very beginning. Nevertheless, the core content was available through Internet, television and mobile phones.

3.8 Audience and market

Final Punishment firstly intended to engage 16 to 30 year-olds as a transmedia production unfolded across mobile phones, digital television and the internet. Later, when the project content was already available, the producers noticed that most of the ARG players were 18 to 35 year-olds. Office workers within this age group were the core audience (Lavan, 2010). Office workers theoretically have easy internet access both via computer and mobile phones. The marketing campaign in the elevators proved effective. Bernardo (2010) explains that BeActive was running the ads on the lifts' television sets from 08:45 to 09:45 (the time people start to arrive at the offices) and could see the peak of traffic on the project's website exactly during this period of time. The ads directed the audience to access the website by quickly calling them to save the women in the prison.

Final Punishment attracted investigative minds and appealed to their altruism by incorporating the personal stories of eight supposedly convicted women. Thus, the project - by its suspense and detective nature - would probably work well for navigational and a more reflective long-term audience. According to Murray's classification (Murray, 1997, p. 257), navigational viewers appreciate the connections between different parts of the story and the reflective long-term viewers search for coherence within the narrative and the diversified arrangements of the content.

By 2009, BeActive had already succeeded in developing original and relatively popular transmedia projects, such as *Sofia's Diary* (2003) and *Flatmates* (2008). *Sofia's Diary* is a teen story about a 17-year-old girl who faces all the challenges of adolescence and asks for the audience's help to solve her universal dilemmas. The multiplatform series was produced in Portugal, UK, USA, China, Germany, Turkey, Chile and Vietnam. *Flatmates* is a comedy about the adventures of three university students who share an apartment. The audience is invited to step into their apartment and be part of their daily lives. The transmedia series was produced in Portugal, Romania and Greece.

A recent example of multiplatform stories being linked to strong brands is the trilogy developed by Intel and Toshiba: *Inside Experience* (2011), *The Beauty Inside* (2012), and *The Power Inside* (2013). In this case, the projects are episodic webisodes aimed at connecting the brands with their consumers and promoting Intel and Toshiba laptops. The three initiatives are labeled as social films both because they are available on social media networks and because of audience participation. Millions of viewers have been engaged in the stories.

The business model of *Final Punishment* could be considered freemium in the sense that it offers free and premium possibilities of access to the intellectual property. For instance, the audience could easily access the YouTube channel of the project with all the webisodes. A week after the end of the broadcast on TV, the four episodes of the TV series were also available on the internet for free. The audience could navigate through several websites, blogs, and social media networks without having to pay as well. However, the mobile content was available for Oi Telecom clients only. The eight webisodes, for example, could be downloaded for free. The two mobile games (puzzles) could be downloaded by paying R\$ 0.99 (equivalent to approximately US\$ 0.45). The access to the portal WAP was for free. In this case, the Oi client had to send a SMS with the word *castigo* to the number 3131. The direct monetisation of content was not the focus of *Final Punishment*.

Oi TV, which broadcast the series, is a paid channel. Although the four-part TV series was also accessible online for free (a posteriori), if the audience wanted to watch it on television, they had to subscribe. As mentioned before (see section 3.1), the main goal of the project was to promote the brand and its services. Did the project succeed in this sense? Each TV episode got a million viewers (Bernardo, 2010). The overall views on YouTube totalled 1 392 892 by May 2014 and more than 100 000 people had played the ARG. In the context of the huge Brazilian telecommunication market with over 154 600 million mobile users in 2009 (De Nicola, 2009), *Final Punishment* numbers are not impressive.

Another aspect of the business model is that BeActive developed the project as a format to be sold and localised in other countries. Russia and Canada had already bought it. Bernardo (2010) clarifies that the company's goal is to create multiplatform properties distributed on a global basis but focused on developing formats that can be localised partially with local producers in order to be able to offer content more appealing to local audiences. Revenue-wise, selling formats can be financially advantageous.

3.9 Engagement

Final Punishment, it could be argued, is mainly interactive, although hints of participation are integrated in the

project. Bernardo claimed that "the players had a direct influence on the story. We shot various endings and the result displayed is directly related to the outcome of the game" (Bernardo, 2014). However, this is not clear to the public. The script was well crafted, connecting the dots and concluding the puzzle and it would not have been an easy task to develop "various endings." Nonetheless, there are more evident mechanisms for the audience to participate. For instance, some months prior to the project's official start in October 2009, the contest *O Grito* (The Scream) was launched seeking terrifying screams to be part of an Oi TV production without revealing at that time that it would be Final Punishment. The audience was invited to record a short video of the scream with their mobile phones and upload it to the internet portal of the sponsor. The most viewed videos would win an iPhone and would be shown in the upcoming production. It really happened and four winning screams produced and selected by the audience were included in the final credits at the end of each episode of the TV series, characterising a small participation. Another contest involved the selection of the theme song of the series. In total, 30 artists uploaded their songs to the Oi New Sound channel. The ones that got the largest number of fans were judged by a committee of musicians and the song called *Veneno* (Poison) by Geraldo Cortês won the contest.

The ARG was the leading element of interaction. It was a detective-style game, teasing players with some clues and requiring them to find others themselves. Tasks were designed to encourage players to understand the women and their motives; one included collecting photos from online albums and blogs, personal content which created a backstory for each character and put their crimes into context (Lavan, 2010). The eight female prisoners had profiles on social networks and interacted online in chats and exchanges with the audience. Both the live events, such as Oi New Sound concerts and the independent meetings arranged by audience members, allowed them to interact with each other and build a fan community. In this sense, Final Punishment works as cultural attractor, gathering people with similar interests, and cultural activator, giving them something to do. The ARG winners were rewarded with iPods. The first player who decoded the password was Michele Diglio. She heard about the project on the radio, watched the videos, accessed Twitter, Orkut and YouTube and collaborated with two more players over a whole month before being able to work out the code.

The transmedia storyworld was experienced both in first-person and third-person perspectives. The first-person PoV creates intimacy with the characters, for example, in their confession webisodes. The third-person PoV gives more flexibility to explore different aspects of the story, for instance, as it is presented in the mockumentary.

3.10 Structure

Final Punishment is a pro-active transmedia project that was planned from the start to involve, in a coherent way, multiple media platforms and audience engagement. The project is a complex transmedia experience, comprising elements of a transmedia franchise (multiple media platforms contributing to a group of independent experiences) and a portmanteau transmedia story (like a jigsaw puzzle, multiple media platforms contributing to a single experience). The portmanteau characteristic of the project is the ARG itself, which invites the audience to visit several websites and social media profiles related to the characters, aiming to search for clues that would enable them to figure out a password that could save the prisoners. Thus, not all extensions work as independent entry points to the narrative. The major components of the ARG are interdependent.

The endpoint of the ARG was the discovery of the prison's password and the endpoint of the whole experience was the broadcast of the last episode of the TV series followed by the making-of in December 2009.

3.11 Aesthetics

The four-part mockumentary series was directed by Cassiano Scarambone, from the Brazilian production company Millagro, and produced by Nuno Bernardo, from the Portuguese company BeActive. Due to the fact that the series was a fake documentary, the design, the lighting, the costumes, etc. had to incorporate the darkness of a prison and its unpleasant realistic aura. Therefore several shades of grey mixed with dirtiness and shadows set the tone of the production. Time and date on screen reinforced the documentary spirit of the series. Flashbacks of the guilty minds of the characters were a relevant part of the story. In order to highlight its oneiric atmosphere, black and white footage combined with blown-out colors were preferred in these scenes. The footage from the supposed surveillance cameras was presented in low quality black and white images, clearly demonstrating its origin. In contrast, the contemporary graphic design of the whole project was extremely clean, taking advantage of its simplicity and balancing the heavyweight scenario.

Special attention was dedicated to the soundtrack of the project. The contest to select the theme song of the project was very effective. Although the winner, Geraldo Cortês, is not a popular musician, his rock song *Poison*, besides its high quality, is a perfect match to the theme and the ambience of Final Punishment. The soundtrack also brings together a collection of first class Brazilian artists, such as Gabriel O Pensador and Marcelo D2, and memorable bands, such as Pato Fu and Legião Urbana. As in every suspense story, the soundtrack and sound effects were fundamental in drawing in the audience and

contributing to the feelings and reactions that people could have along with the experience. Very loud and intense sound effects together with frenetic image editing were used to increase the tension in specific situations, but also silent moments or heartbeat sounds combined

with slow motion were preferred in emotional scenes. The quality of *Final Punishment* relies much more on the intricate story flow than, for example, on the casting. Overall, the actresses' work is not notably impressive.

4. Does crime pay off?

Final Punishment was the first Portuguese production to be nominated for the Digital Emmy Awards (2010). Another nomination was for the Rose d'Or (2010). The project won the C21 Media and Frapa International Format Award (2010) in the category Best International Multi-platform Format and the TeleViva Móvel Award (2010) for Best Interactive Drama. BeActive nailed the choice to offer an ARG to a public eager for new smart entertainment possibilities. The ARG was the bright solution to put together all media platforms the client was interested in promoting.

Bernardo (2010) highlights that what BeActive did especially well in the case of *Final Punishment* was: a) the premiere at the Rio International Film Festival; b) the marketing campaign in the elevators; and c) ARG's clues based on photos. In the Film Festival sponsored by Oi Telecom, the digital feature film had private screenings for invited top bloggers and opinion makers in Brazil. They had access to exclusive content previews. As an invitation, BeActive sent the influential guests a nice package with handcuffs and other mysterious elements to attract their attention. The strategy worked as free publicity, through all the blog posts generated afterwards. The marketing campaign created as a fake social campaign proved itself efficient in driving the audience to the ARG. Elevator slots running the ads corresponded to the peak of traffic to the project's website. The 30 clues leading to the discovery of the password were based on photos, allowing the audience to collect and share them throughout social media. The collectable aspect of it encouraged the audience to maintain the search and facilitated keeping track. The possibility to easily share it worked as publicity for the project as well. All in all, Bernardo concluded that videos got more attention than other components, and the project offered plenty of them.

Final Punishment intentionally blurred the line between reality and fiction. The strongest criticism of the transmedia project is, perhaps, that it actually crossed the line, making people believe both that the story was real and that they could save the victimised female prisoners. Although the call for action was deliberately *save them*, the

audience could not necessarily do it. Bernardo argues that the ARG "player does what the Americans call 'suspension of disbelief'. The game becomes more interesting if you really believe it is really happening and that our actions can even save people" (Bernardo, 2014). Nevertheless, ethical issues around transmedia projects are not rare, particularly regarding mock stories, as could be seen in the Swedish project *The Truth About Marika* (2007). In this case, also combining an ARG and a TV series, the audience was invited to search for a lost young woman as if it was a true missing person case. It was heavily criticised because people believed it was, in fact, a true story and a prime-time TV series was considered inappropriate because it used up time broadcasting a pretend case of a missing person instead of telling the true stories of several people reported lost in Sweden. A huge difference between *The Truth About Marika* and *Final Punishment* is in terms of penetration: The Swedish production, in a country with 10 million inhabitants, was aired on the national public TV broadcaster (Sveriges Television) and the Brazilian story, in a country with more than 200 million residents, was broadcast on a small private channel (Oi TV). What would have happened if *Final Punishment* had been aired by Globo, the second largest commercial TV network (Thomas, 2010) in annual revenue worldwide? Probably it would have generated a vivid polemic.

Bernardo (2010) felt that certain aspects of the whole experience did not function particularly well. He highlighted that the partnership with two video game websites in order to advertise the project was a mistake because the users of these sites wanted first-person shooter games, 3D games; they were not interested in the ARG (puzzle, detective game). The lack of public relations is mentioned by the producer as one of the reasons why the project did not attract more audience.

A million viewers per TV episode is certainly not an impressive number in Brazil. In addition, the project was born as a format to be sold internationally and localised. The emphasis on biblical references worked perfectly in Brazil, but could represent a drawback in countries with other religious beliefs.

5. Postlude

The driving questions of this article are how to methodologically analyse transmedia projects and how to ap-

ply my original analytical model to the specific case of *Final Punishment*. The complexity and breadth of trans-

media storyworlds turn the task of deconstructing them in order to understand their structure into an arduous challenge. In this scenario, the proposed model definitely facilitated approaching the Final Punishment experience in a more organised and objective manner.

Besides the transmedia initiatives of large Brazilian television networks, such as Globo and Record, independent transmedia production companies, such as BeActive (Portugal/Brazil/UK) and The Alchemists (Brazil/USA/UK) are developing much more sophisticated transmedia stories for the Brazilian market (Gambarato and Alzamora, 2012, p.56). Final Punishment is one of them.

After scrutinising the 10 topics displayed in the model and applying them to Final Punishment, it is possible to conclude that the project, genuinely a trans-media experience, contributed to the development and dissemination of TS in the country because in 2009 Brazil was

just crawling in terms of multiplatform media production (Gambarato and Alzamora, 2012, p.60).

The project gained notoriety not because of its rather limited breadth in terms of audience reach (a million viewers per episode and 115 000 ARG players is not a great amount in such a large country as Brazil), but for its integrated and well-designed content unfolded across multiple media platforms in a mixture of portmanteau and franchise transmedia types.

The strategy to make the story personal and give the audience the task of saving the inmates amplified the impression that the mockumentary was real. The inconsistencies generated by the courageous initiative to produce a mockumentary in a country accustomed to mostly trusting everything that appears in the media, did not reduce the impact of Final Punishment. Brazil and Portugal united efforts and made a (small) difference in the transmedia realm.

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¹ Jenkins uses the preposition *versus* to indicate contrast - opposite sides of the same issue - but it does not mean that in the context of TS it is either spreadability or drillability, either continuity or multiplicity, and either immersion or extractability. All these features characterise transmedia stories.

² In the context of storytelling, negative capability means the ability to build strategic gaps into a narrative to provoke a sense of uncertainty and mystery in the audience (Long, 2007, pp. 53-59).

³ Associated to negative capability, migratory cues represent the ability for these gaps to function as directional pointers for intertextual connections within the storyworld (Long, 2007, pp. 139-166).

⁴ Spin-offs are media outlets, such as TV series, comic books, and video games, derived from already existing storylines. The specific characteristic of a spin-off is the shift to a new protagonist that originally appeared in the main storyline as a minor or supporting character. A secondary character in a medium becomes the protagonist in the spin-off, adding a new perspective to the storyworld.

⁵ Jenkins (2006, p. 281) defines canon as the group of texts that the fan community accepts as legitimately part of the storyworld.

⁶ Murray argues that stories will have to work for two or three kinds of viewers in parallel: The actively engaged real-time viewer, who enjoys each single episode; the more reflective long-term audience, who looks for coherence in the story as a whole; and the navigational viewer, who appreciates the connections between different parts of the story and the multiple arrangements of the same material (Murray, 1997, p. 257; Jenkins, 2006, p. 119).

⁷ Cultural attractors are projects that attract people of similar interests and, consequently, they can begin to pool knowledge together. Cultural activators are projects that give the audience something to do, some meaningful form of participation (Jenkins, 2006, p. 95, p. 283).

⁸ Alternate reality games are interactive and collaborative narratives that are normally experienced partially online and offline. The players usually work together to solve a mystery or a problem. The game runner is called the puppetmaster, who is the responsible for controlling the experience.

⁹ This is a reference to the French saint Yves de Kermartin (1253-1303), who graduated in civil law in Paris. He is referred as the "advocate of the poor" and is the patron of lawyers and abandoned children.

¹⁰ A WAP site is just like a website, but designed for mobile phones. Because bandwidth is much less on a mobile phone and its screen size is only a fraction of a computer one, WAP sites are much smaller than websites.

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Social media in the professional work of Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists

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Abstract

Professional journalistic culture is a complex mix of journalistic values, practices, norms and media products. On the one hand it tends to be unified across the globe, but on the other hand it varies according to cultural diversities. Technological development leads to a media convergence, which increases interactivity and offers many opportunities for individualisation of media content. This, in turn, influences the demands of the audience and challenges the traditional routines of journalists' work - as well as affecting professional practices and even undermining the traditional role of a journalist in society.

Nowadays, the audience is more interested in participating in, rather than just consuming, media content. Social media creates new conditions for both actors: readers/viewers/listeners and for media professionals who use it as a tool for media work. Journalists in different countries, however, do not use social media for professional purposes equally. This paper discusses differences and similarities in the patterns of social media use by Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists. The research is based on a survey of 500 journalists in each country.

Keywords: professional journalistic culture, social media platforms, user generated content, media, gatekeeping, participatory culture

1. Introduction

The important point of departure in this study is the concept of professional journalistic culture, also known as news culture, newspaper culture or the culture of news production. The term journalistic culture usually includes the cultural diversity of journalistic values, practices and media products.

One can generally speak of culture as a set of ideas (values, attitudes, and beliefs), practices (of cultural production), and artefacts (cultural products, texts). Journalism culture becomes manifest in the way journalists think and act; it can be defined as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others.

Hanitzsch, 2007

On the one hand, similarities of journalistic work in the globalised world can make journalistic practices, ideas and values similar across the globe. On the other hand some substantial differences between national journalistic cultures always persist. Hanitzsch (2007) proposes a conceptualisation model of journalism culture that consists of three basic elements: institutional roles, epistemologies, and ethical ideologies (Figure 1) and further divided into seven principal dimensions: interventionism, power distance, market orientation, objectivism, empiricism, relativism, and idealism.

Hanitzsch et al. (2011) develop this approach by cross-national research in 18 countries. According to their conclusions, several similar and different patterns across journalistic cultures emerged from a comparative study.

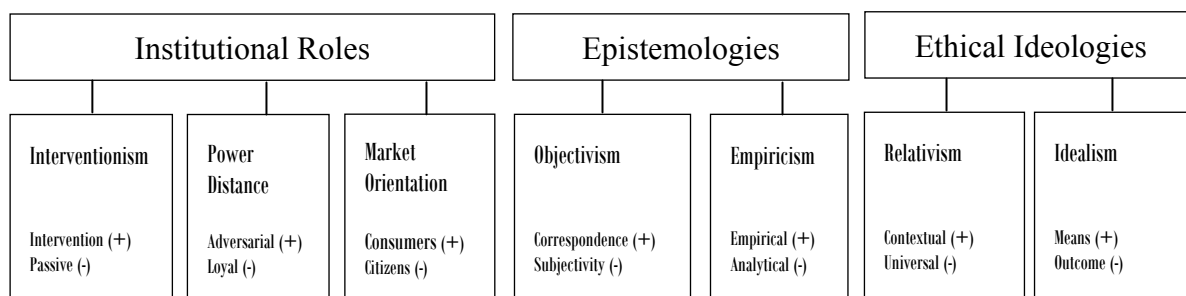


Figure 1: The constituents and principal dimensions of journalism culture. Source: Hanitzsch (2007)

The similarities in the shared values and beliefs tell us about a universal professional journalistic identity. However, some aspects much less universally supported by the journalists can highlight the existence of different patterns in the journalistic cultures which are not classifiable along cultural and political dimensions. The main clusters of countries in this research can be referred to as "western journalism cultures", "peripheral western" similar to the first one and a third group of developing countries, transitional democracies which tend to be rather non-democratic.

Journalistic cultures seem to be more alike when observed in a cultural context than was shown by previous research. There are still differences between westernised democratic countries and more totalitarian systems but more often than not it is enough to compare countries in the same systems to find these differences.

Technological changes in the media and communication sphere, caused by digitalisation, have affected media in all countries in one way or another. Liberalisation and deregulation in the media sector finally has led to the reconfiguration of media markets. Since the 1980's, media has become an industry - more exactly a global industry; new market rules have challenged media companies and have drastically changed media profes-

nals' working routines. Being faced by a declining interest toward traditional media and a flourishing of new media, journalists have been constrained to accommodate the new reality. Journalistic professions became much affected by media convergence, defined as a multilateral process and characterised by implementation of digital communication technologies and also by the effects on technological, business organisation, editorial and professional aspects of the media. Media convergence stimulated the integration of previously separated tools, working methods and languages that enable journalists to effectively produce content that fits different distributive platforms (Infotendencias Group, 2012).

As a result of media convergence, the traditional logic of daily media production has lost ground, while the merging of editorial teams, multi-skilling and multi-publishing - resulting in less time and pressed deadlines - have become features of modern media work. Professional convergence tends not only to focus on the changes in the traditional organisational structures of media companies and new requirements of content production and distribution, but also on professional practices and norms. The latter are also significantly influenced by new audience demands, an audience that now has extensive opportunities for interactivity and personification (customisation) of media content.

2. Changed professional journalistic culture

Since the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, the traditional or "old" and "new" or online media have faced a competitor: social media, often defined as "a big group of internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan and Haenlein, 2010). Blogs and social networking platforms have penetrated into media work and are now a helpful and even irreplaceable tool in the production of journalism, both on an organisational level (media outlets represented in social media) and on the level of the individual journalists.

Media institutions and news organisations use social media first of all to extend and enhance their reporting,

the distribution of content, building brand loyalty, and so on (Hermida, 2012). The degree of incorporation of social media into editorial policies, however, can vary between media institutions depending on the *convergent media model*. García-Avilés, Kaltenbrunner and Meier (2014) identify three *convergent media models*, based on five essential areas: market situation; newsroom organisation, workflows and content; change management; skills and training and, finally, audience participation in decreasing order: the *Full integration model*, the *Cross-media model* and the *Coordination model*. Audience participation becomes one of the key strategic questions in the analysis of all these models. The authors examine media through one lens: the use of social media platforms for professional purposes.

The authors assert that more convergent media organisations hold a stronger and more organised strategy toward the use of social media by their staff. They develop guidelines for the handling of social media in the newsrooms; encourage individual journalists to use social media in a professional context to spread his/her stories and discussions among the audience and so on. On the contrary, in the less integrated (convergent) media organisations, journalists are not encouraged to use social media and usually do it on an individual basis.

Individual journalists can use social media with different intensity. Hedman and Djerf-Pierre (2013) identify three groups of journalists that use social media: "the sceptical shunners", who avoid having anything to do with social media, "the pragmatic conformists", who regularly use social media, being forced by industry trends and professional requirements but who are selective and judicious in their usage and "the enthusiastic activists", usually younger journalists who lead a life online, being almost permanently connected, tweeting or blogging regularly.

The ways of using social media and online social networking platforms for professional journalistic needs can be different. First of all, it might be everything that is linked with information: searching (e.g., new topics), gathering and propagating news, checking facts (Pew Research Center, 2011), conveying stories - as "a reporting tool" (Reed, 2011). Secondly, social media is an important means of communication: for feedback and dialogue with readers/viewers and sources, (Hermida, 2010) for professional discussions with colleagues, etc. Some journalists use social media and especially their own individual blogs as a compensatory means for overcoming editorial restrictions such as the format of the media or the editorial policy which can be a display of censorship/self-censorship (Johansson, 2013).

Having a connective and collaborative nature, social media make a strong impact on the evolution of new practices of journalism. They affect professional journalistic culture, first of all in terms of the professional role and the actual functions of journalism in society. Traditionally, journalists were in some way chosen gatekeepers with a clear mission of acting as "a fourth estate" but also as leading observers and reporters of society as a whole (Singer, 2010; Lewis, 2012). Their job has been to "gather, filter, edit and publish the news" (Hermida 2011). Today, everyone with a computer has the same possibilities as the journalist and the way of retaining control demands some sort of cooperation with the participating audience.

Traditional media in the old model of interaction had a top down monopoly on what information got spread to the public. Today's model presupposes that social media platforms gather people and allow them to promote

their opinions and updates of what is going on in their world even without professional journalists (Sveningsson, 2013). Participatory journalism as a way of collaboration and interaction arises from the phenomenon of *participatory culture*. Jenkins (2006) describes a *participatory culture* as an effect of a converged media system where the public have gone from consumers of media content to contributors and producers, as the technological possibilities for this have emerged:

The term, participatory culture, contrasts with older notions of passive media spectatorship. Rather than talking about media producers and consumers as occupying separate roles, we might now see them as participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules that none of us fully understand.

Jenkins, 2006

Extending his definition, Jenkins et al. (2009) assert that the development of new media technologies enables ordinary people "to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content in powerful new ways".

As regards changes in old journalistic practices - from the days when producing media content was mostly a one-way process, controlled by an editorial board - there are now two major approaches toward the *participatory culture* phenomenon currently in existence. Hermida (2011) identifies two groups of modern journalists: the defenders of traditional journalistic methods and the "Web 2.0 evangelists". The first group tends to be reserved concerning user participation and less interested in letting the audience be a part of the journalistic process. The second group is more positive, willing to let the user generated content complement the professional content. There are many factors that determine why a journalist falls into either one of these categories, but age, way of publication and different national cultures are some of the key factors.

Along with a *participatory culture* comes an enormous amount of content from these participatory agents (users of social media, first of all Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Wikipedia, etc.); this content is largely defined as *user generated content*, or *UGC* (Singer and Ashman 2009). *UGC* has helped establish the term *citizen journalism*. How to deal with this content and with the users who create this is one of the biggest questions the journalist online today has to deal with, regarding her/his own profession.

The users producing content that could have journalistic value, or is read as traditional journalistic material, become *citizen* journalists when they are being read by their own unique audience (readers of their blog or Twitter followers, etc.) or when their content gets picked up by professional journalists (Allan and Thorssen 2009).

Due to the digital technologies and media convergence, audience interaction becomes embedded and even interwoven with the traditional media content and the role of social media cannot be overestimated.

García de Torres et al. (2011) suggest the following scheme of modern relationships between journalists and audience/citizens, which they call "symbiotic" (Figure 2):

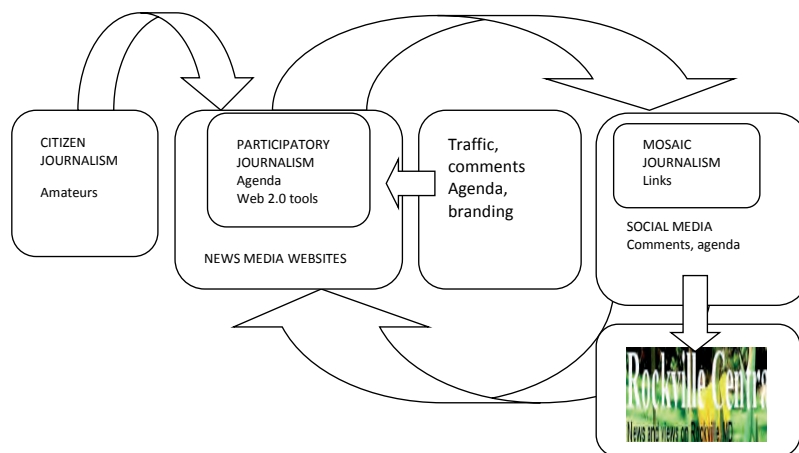


Figure 2: New model of interaction between journalists and citizens. Source: García de Torres et al. (2011)

Thus, being challenged by the effects of *participatory culture*, journalists find themselves at a crossroads, puzzled how to invite the audience into the process of media content production without losing control (Lewis, 2012). In the social media era, they try to keep their gatekeeping role but more resources are put into the filtering part of the process. Journalists are becoming managers of conversations, highlighting what is seen as good information instead of trying to edit out what is seen as bad (Hermida, 2010).

Singer (2005), in her analysis of journalists' blogging, found that most journalists maintained their gatekeeping role, not inviting the audience to any larger extent than they had in an offline media culture, preserving the traditional work process, and that the linking made in the blogs mainly led the reader back to the j-bloggers' (journalists that write blogs) original news

site, also a way of "normalising" behaviour, going from one medium to the other, not really changing the work process or audience interaction.

Lasorsa, Lewis and Holton (2011) made the first comprehensive data analysis on journalists' use of Twitter. They found that journalists tended to move over quite easily to this, at the time, new platform, "normalising" it to fit the traditional norms and practices of journalism, just like Singer (2005) observed looking at journalists' blogging back in 2005. In other words, nothing really shifted in the journalists' work process, only the location where the actual work took place. They also found that the journalists in their sample adapted to the medium and its norms and practices, such as being more frequent in expressing opinions (Lasorsa, Lewis and Holton, 2011) but not to the extent that one could speak of a completely new behaviour.

3. Research questions

From this background, this article will show and discuss the implementation of social media in the journalistic work process in three different countries (media systems) regarding the following research questions:

RQ1:

To what purposes do Polish, Russian and Swedish journalists incorporate social media in the work process?

RQ2:

How are differences in professional journalistic cultures affecting the use of social media in the work process?

RQ3:

What similarities or differences are there in attitudes towards social media and audience interaction between the three countries?

The answers to these questions will provide valid ground for a discussion on the causes of possible differences and what these might say about professional ideals in the three different countries.

4. Sampling and methodology

This article focuses on the use of social media platforms by journalists in the work process in three countries - Poland, Russia and Sweden. The data is collected from the research project "Journalism in change - professional journalistic cultures in Poland, Russia and Sweden"¹.

The countries selected build on what Hanitzsch et al. (2011) found concerning differences and similarities between journalistic cultures. In this project, a sample of 18 countries were analysed and one of the conclusions was that traditional cultural and political distinctions did not suffice in making any clear definitions on particular systems. What the authors could see was that the

countries clustered together under three different headings, namely the "broadly understood 'western journalism culture'", the "peripheral western" journalism cultures and a group consisting of developing countries and transitional democracies.

Sweden could be found in the first group with strong democratic traditions and clear western journalistic values, Poland in the second as a country similar to but not quite as clear in its values and democratic system as the western group and, finally, Russia in the third group as a transitional democracy with, for example, limited freedom of the press. A more detailed description is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Description of media systems and journalism in Poland, Russia and Sweden

Country/ Cluster	Poland Western periphery	Russia Developing/non-democratic	Sweden Western
Heritage	Literature-centric roots, Soviet past: the freest journalism in the Soviet bloc, commercialised and liberal broadcast media (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012).	A long historical tradition of journalism as service to the state (Trakhtenberg, 2007). Strong links with literature (Mirsky, 1999). Soviet past: journalists as propagandists (Pasti, 2005) and "missionaries" (Roudakova, 2009).	Freedom of information has been in the Swedish constitution since 1766 (Hultén 2004). Ranks frequently at the top of the press freedom index ² . Has had a strong autonomous Public Service since the 1950's (Hultén, 2004).
Media model	The Polish media model is placed near the middle of the axis that separates polarised pluralist and liberal models (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012).	Eurasian hybrid system or a Statist Commercial model: adopted elements from Western market economy are combined along with non-market goals defined by political elites (Vartanova, 2012).	Democratic corporatist model; strong development of mass media, political parallelism, professionalism of journalists, state intervention but with protection for press freedom (Hallin and Macini, 2004).
State of the media	The attributes of modern Polish media system: strong commercialisation and tabloidisation, partial control of political elites (mainly public service media), no party press, but public media are controlled by politically affiliated bodies (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2013a; 2011).	In the traditional paternal character of the media - state relationship the media still "...play the role of an innocent and obedient child" (Vartanova, 2012). Three types of state supervision of media: direct control - state media property (TV), indirect control over state-owned companies and indirect control through pressure on the owners, often based on personal relationships between government officials and media owners (Kiriya and Degtereva, 2010).	The autonomous Public Service is challenged by the competition stemming from the effects of commercialisation and new media platforms (Nord and Grusell, 2012). The newspaper market struggles with owner concentrations and smaller income from advertisements resulting in a higher dependence on subsidies from the state in order to survive (Wadbring, 2012).
State of journalism	"The economic account, profit and loss, became the most important for media owners instead of contacts with politicians..." (Dobek-Ostrowska et al., 2013b); journalists are more market-oriented and economic pressure became the dominant factor. "The major part of respondents claims, that they are the most responsible before the audience, and their opinion is very important" (Glowacki, 2013). As a consequence of market-orientation, Polish journalists find audience opinion a key to increasing economic indicators.	Lack of press freedom ³ and double pressure: both political and commercial (Nygren and Degtereva, 2012) "...the most favourable attitude towards providing analysis..."; journalists perceive themselves more in a cooperative and supportive role in their relationship to the government and official policy (Hanitzsch et al., 2011); revived function of journalism as a mission (Vartanova and Azhgikhina, 2011).	Journalist unions have lost members the last 10-15 years and there are tendencies to a de-professionalisation of journalism that could be traced to higher commercial pressure and audience demands (Nygren and Degtereva, 2012).

The main part of the study circles around a survey conducted during the spring and summer of 2012⁴. The survey was distributed via mail and e-mail to journalists in the three countries with the goal of receiving 500 answers from journalists within a similar sample and types of media in each country.

The similarities were based on the kind of medium used - its range and accessibility, such as: television, radio, newspapers, online media, local and national range. Each survey consisted of questions regarding interactivity and use of social media in their daily working routine. The surveyed journalists were divided into three age groups, corresponding to three generations of journalists. When the total number of 1 500 answers was achieved, the sample was regarded as filled.

There are significant distinctions between the generations of journalists. Pasti (2007) claims, that the journalistic profession is divided between two main generations: 'Soviet generation' and 'Post-soviet generation'. They have different perspectives on the journalistic profession, different education and different processes of socialisation. The Soviet-generation perceive the journalistic profession as "a natural collaboration with power" while the younger generation appears to be more market-oriented and treat their work as "a type of PR, working for the interests of influential groups and persons in politics and business".

In terms of social media use in their daily routine, it is necessary to distinguish three age groups since the so-

cial media phenomenon is relatively new. The respondents were split-up as follows: up to 35 years old (the youngest generation, born in the age of dynamic technological development), 36-51 years old (a transition generation, which may still remember Soviet times) and from 51 years old up (the Soviet generation). The partition of journalists with respect to their Soviet experience is obviously relevant only in Poland and Russia, although we may observe similar differences in social media use in Sweden as well. The process of adaptation to the new technological environment is universal in every country.

The main goal of the project "Journalism in change - professional journalistic cultures in Poland, Russia and Sweden" was to observe and diagnose changes in the journalistic profession. Adapting to increased interactivity due to technological changes was one of them.

Twitter and Facebook were selected for this case study because these services are considered as the main and the most important and often used platforms by, e.g., journalists "because of their potential for conversation, attributed impact on news reporting ... and presence in all the markets being studied" (García de Torres et al., 2011).

The importance of journalists' blogging was also taken into account because of the specifics of the Russian public sphere which is split into the "official" and "alternative" (Gorny, 2007) or "main" and "parallel" (Kiriya, 2012).

5. Findings

Starting with an overview on the social media market, in Poland - with a population of about 38 million people - Facebook was much more popular than Twitter in the beginning of 2013. In the same year in Sweden - with a population of 9 million people - the popularity of Facebook was higher than that of Twitter (Figure 3). The population of Russia is 140 million people; the most popular social networking platform in Russia is the local-language VKontakte (vk.com).

When we take into consideration the percentage of users in each country, the data shows that Sweden is the most active country in social media with more than 50 per cent of Facebook users. Poland is the second country where Facebook popularity dominates over other social media services, with a value of 36 per cent. The Russian phenomenon of local social media services shall be briefly described later on.

Sweden does not have any popular Swedish-language social networking sites, while in Poland local-language social media are at the top. For example, profile-driven

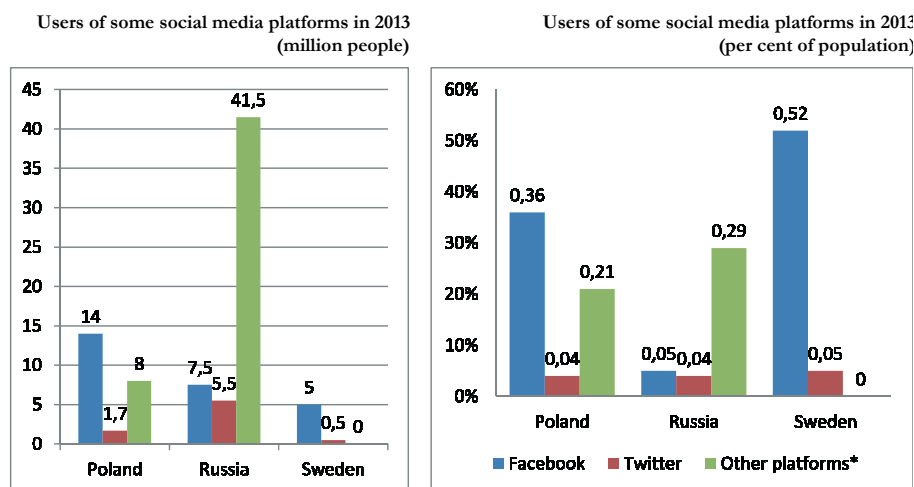
social networking site nk.pl is still among the most popular services in Poland.

Founded in Poland by students from the University of Wrocław, the profile-driven social networking site *na-sza-klasa.pl* (now *nk.pl*) has been, since its launch, the most visited Polish social media platform (Dobek-Ostrowska et al., 2013a). In 2010, it was clearly visible that Facebook would eventually overcome *nk.pl*, and this finally happened in late 2011. The biggest world-wide social networking service is constantly consolidating its leading position in Poland, but *nk.pl* is still at the top of the ranks. Another Polish-founded social network service is *blip.pl*, which is the "national answer" to Twitter. This Polish micro-blogging platform has got around 0.13 million actual users⁵ but the number is decreasing, leaving *nk.pl* as the only Polish social networking service which could be considered as successful.

Russia is quite similar to Poland in this case. However, Russian-language social networking services, such as *vk.ru* (45 million users) and *odnoklassniki.ru* (around 30

million users)⁶ have seized the market, leaving Facebook and Twitter behind. Such high usage of local social media can be explained by strong cultural roots, the numerous features they offer or by the fact that they give their users the opportunity to share multimedia content without risking the consequences of any copy-

right violations⁷. Hazeeva (2012) points out that the tendency of local-language social networking sites to flourish is usual for Post-Soviet (and some Islamic) countries. Without any doubt, local language platforms are the leaders of the Russian social media market with no equivalents in Poland or Sweden.



* Other platforms: local-language nk.pl in Poland and vk.com in Russia

Sources:

<http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artykul/facebook-z-rekordem-i-przed-youtube-onet-wp%20-i-o2%20-w-dol-2013-05-30>
<http://antyweb.pl/dlaczego-gg-nk-i-polskie-portale-przegraly-z-facebookiem/2013-10-03>
<http://www.digitalintheround.com/social-media-russia-facebook-vkontakte/2013-08-16>
<http://www.tns-global.ru/rus/index.wbp-05-2013>
<http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-overview-statistics/2013-05-23>
<http://twittercensus.se/twittercensus2013-2013-05-23>
<http://www.ewdn.com/2012/02/22/vkontakte-ru-too-passive-with-copyright-infringement-says-arbitration-court/2013-09-20>

Figure 3: Social media users in Poland, Russia and Sweden in 2013

New and old ways of contacting the audience

We can see clear differences in intensity and choice of channels through which audience contact is made - both between the three countries and between different age groups.

The surveyed journalists still prefer traditional ways of contacting the audience: in all cases the leading tool is e-mail and telephone is the second most popular (Table 2). Websites of media outlets where people can leave comments and social media platforms are less popular ways of interaction.

Table 2: How do you communicate with your readers/viewers/listeners?
(Per cent in the countries using the form of communication each day or many times a day)

Country	Poland			Russia			Sweden		
Age groups	-35	36-50	51+	-35	36-50	51+	-35	36-50	51+
Telephone	28	34	43	25	22	25	20	21	35
Total telephone users	33			24			26		
Direct meetings	16	15	13	12	11	14	7	5	11
Total meetings users	15			12			8		
E-Mail	31	42	49	34	31	25	27	26	38
Total e-mail users	39			32			31		
Comments on the web	21	28	20	25	21	8	12	7	4
Total web users	24			23			7		
Social media	28	30	21	30	22	22	17	13	8
Total social media users	28			27			12		
Number of answers	435-448			499-500			445-462		

Source: Project data <http://www.journalismchange.com/>

Direct meetings are the least popular - with the exception of the Polish, middle-aged generation of journalists who still are positive towards meeting people. Swedish journalists appear to be the most uncommunicative in the entire sample. Generally, they have a lower level of contact with the audience, looking at all different methods.

When looking at generations, we can observe a downward trend in all countries when it comes to computer-mediated methods, such as social media and comments on the web. The older age group prefers the telephone but even the younger group has more contact through telephone than through e-mail and social media.

To summarise the results, a majority of journalists in all three countries use social media to interact with their audience. Russia is in the slight lead, as a result of the large group of young journalists which is also more fre-

quent users than the young journalists in the two other countries.

Journalists of all ages use social media, but the usage is slightly higher among the younger generation - "the enthusiastic activists" (Hedman and Djerf-Pierre, 2013). The only group that is not using social media at all is the small group of older Russian journalists.

What social media platforms do the journalists prefer?

At the outset, the basic question for journalists was: do they use social media for professional purposes? In the case of Poland, a positive answer was given by 68% of the sample, in Russia 76% and 67% in Sweden. Further analysis also shows that there is no correlation between the type of media that you work in and the use of social media. Facebook turned out to be absolute leader in terms of daily usage in all analysed countries (Table 3).

*Table 3: Frequency of social media use for professional work
(Per cent of the journalists using social media for professional purposes)*

Country	Poland			Russia			Sweden		
Age groups	-35	36-50	51+	-35	36-50	51+	-35	36-50	51+
Read blogs daily	30	35	31	61	52	57	40	25	21
Total read blogs	33			59			29		
Write personal blog at least weekly	12	13	10	44	27	36	11	12	8
Total write blogs	12			40			11		
Use Facebook daily	84	62	60	75	61	72	75	61	46
Total use Facebook	72			72			61		
Use Twitter daily	18	26	5	35	17	7	45	35	17
Total use Twitter	19			30			33		
Use other kinds of communities	33	29	34	35	15	21	21	12	7
Total use other communities	32			30			14		
Number of answers	266-319			376-383			285-314		

Source: Project data <http://www.journalisminchance.com/>

Twitter is less popular, especially in Poland. If compared with data on the social media market in Poland, it seems quite coherent: the local-language competitor micro-blogging platform blip.pl is among the favourite social media platforms used in Poland.

Blogs are extremely popular among Russian journalists, especially for writing. Such a high popularity of blogging can be explained first of all by the specifics of the Russian public sphere, where internet plays a role as a substitute (Gorny, 2004). According to the conclusions of a research study by the Berkman Center, the core of public discourse in Russia exists in the blogosphere and, first of all, on the LiveJournal blog platform (Etling et al., 2010).

Secondly, Russian journalism is traditionally literature-centric (Mirsky, 1999; Vartanova, 2012), thus Russian journalists are used to writing long texts suitable for an online diary format. This is also why new genres, like writing on the media company blog, are also the most

popular in Russia. According to the survey, 18% of Russian journalists do blog, in comparison to 8% of Polish and 9% of Swedish journalists.

When we take a closer look at using other kinds of communities in the journalistic work process, we can observe a domination of this factor in Poland and Russia. As is mentioned above, it can be explained by the existence of local-founded and local-language social networking services which are still highly popular in Poland and Russia.

No correlations are found between age and social media platforms. It is remarkable that the eldest generation of Russian journalists (51+) use Facebook and blogs more often than their younger colleagues in the middle age group. A similar difference, putting under question the statement of "more technologically advanced youth", can be observed in Poland: the middle generation of Polish journalists uses Twitter more often than the youngest one.

For what purposes do journalists use social media platforms?

The surveyed journalists use social media for professional purposes mostly of their own free will. Only about one third of the respondents in Russia stated that an editor motivates them. For other countries, this value is even lower.

The purpose of using social media in the journalistic workflow varies with social media platform and country where it is used. However, a certain general trend presents itself: the most important goals are to get ideas, to search information (including research and investigation), to have a dialogue with the audience and to keep in contact with colleagues (Table 4).

Table 4: Purpose of social media use (in per cent of the users of each type of social media)

Media platform	Facebook			Twitter			Blogs		
Country	Pol	Rus	Swe	Pol	Rus	Swe	Pol	Rus	Swe
Purposes									
To get ideas	52	81	61	34	60	73	64	73	86
In research/investigation (to find information)	63	71	45	70	66	52	62	78	60
To have a dialogue with audience	68	76	56	28	53	55	15	41	18
To keep in contact with colleagues	84	82	83	22	48	54	5	33	12
To publish content besides my regular work	18	63	27	8	40	23	21	51	17
To get more readers/viewers, self-promotion	49	69	49	24	51	58	14	40	22
To strengthen the trademark of my media company	51	60	42	22	45	52	13	25	17
For professional discussions	46	64	36	32	32	50	23	37	14
For making money by advertisement or PR	11	21	2	1	14	0	9	15	1
To discuss social and political questions in general	41	68	37	28	40	36	20	40	16
Number of answers	309	367	292	99	248	202	189	344	242

Source: Project data <http://www.journalismchange.com/>

Thus we can see clear patterns in using social media and these patterns are unique for each country. This is true for a majority of the journalists in the sample and for all the chosen social media services. None of the platforms are used to any significant extent to make money by advertisement or public relations.

There are specifics in utilising Facebook, Twitter and blogs. Generally blogs and Facebook are more applicable for informational components of the professional work (searching of facts, investigation etc.). Facebook also adds a communicative component. This is an valuable tool for keeping a dialogue with the audience and for keeping in contact with colleagues.

Blogs are also useful for journalistic investigation, mainly for Russian and Swedish journalists, who are using them mainly for that purpose. Facebook is undisputedly the leader as a platform for maintaining a dialogue with the audience and for self-promotion. This also ties in with discussing social and political questions in general - these discussions can be conducted on Facebook in a convenient way.

6. Conclusions and discussion

The survey shows that a clear majority of journalists in all three countries use social media platforms for professional purposes, from 67% in Sweden to 76% in Russia. The most common platform in all three countries is Facebook, but there are clear differences when it comes to other kinds of platforms:

When comparing the countries, we can see that Russian journalists use every platform more frequently but especially to maintain different kinds of discussions: professional and socio-political. This is not surprising because of the previously mentioned Russian public sphere that is split into "main" and "parallel" (Kiriya, 2012), and social media plays a crucial role in the development of different forms of discourse.

The surveyed journalists show high activity in publishing content outside their regular work. Because Russian media are directly or indirectly under state supervision (Kiriya and Degtereva, 2010) it could be explained by the lack of press freedom that results in, among other things, the flourishing of censorship and self-censorship.

In comparison to Russian journalists, Swedes and Poles rarely hold any discussions on any social media platform. Swedish and Polish journalists are close to each other in patterns - blogs are mostly used to get ideas and for research as a part of the ordinary work process.

- ♦ In Russia, blogs are very important for journalists, both to read and to write themselves. About 40% of all Russian journalists using social media are writing in a personal blog at least weekly.
- ♦ In Sweden and Russia, Twitter is used by one third of the journalists using social media. The figure in

Poland is much lower; instead Polish journalists use national based platforms.

This shows that practices of social media use are rather more a nationally (and culturally) determined matter than a result of the technological development. The use of blogs among Russian journalists fits very well into their literature-centric journalism with a strong emphasis on opinions. With strong political pressure and a decreasing level of press freedom, the blogosphere becomes an important public space for discussions and for the publishing of journalistic content. This is not the case in Sweden and Poland that do not have the same political pressure and where blogs instead play a minor role for journalists.

The age of the journalists plays some role in the frequency of using social media for professional work, but this role is not crucial. In some cases in Russia, the older generation is more active in using some social media platforms than the middle generation (35-50 years old). The differences due to age are generally low in Poland and Russia, but much clearer in Sweden where the use of social media is much more common among young journalists. This also shows that the use of social media generally is more culturally determined than by age.

The survey shows that the use of social media among journalists to a large extent is "normalised" into the old journalistic processes. Social media is used for getting ideas and to make research, to reach new audiences and to strengthen the trademark of the media. These functions fit very well into the professional culture of journalists and make social media new tools for carrying out traditional tasks. Dialogue is also important, but the highest figures are for maintaining contact with colleagues in the profession. Over 80% of the Facebook users among journalists use it to keep in contact with colleagues. The number that also has a dialogue with the

audience on Facebook is large too, about 60-70%. But generally old means like telephone and e-mail are more important for keeping in contact with the audience.

What does this mean for the theories about participatory culture and journalism? Probably one conclusion can be that the professional culture of journalists is sluggish; the use of social media is largely incorporated in the different professional cultures in the three countries but it is not mainly used to spur a better dialogue, in the classical meaning of communication, with the audience. However, a dialogue in participatory cultures does not need to be direct. Our research shows that some of the main purposes why journalists use social media are to get ideas and to do research. In other words, these platforms are in a way monitored for the purpose of following ongoing discussions and for trend spotting. What the users talk about and spread to one another is more visible online and has therefore a greater chance to impact, in this case, journalists. This is completely in line with the theory of a participatory culture, challenging the traditional role of the journalists when the audience bypasses them leaving them to monitor rather than to serve as gatekeepers in the societal discussion (Hermida, 2010).

The technological development is the same in all three countries, and access to the social media platforms is the same. But the results show clear differences when this new technology meets the old professional cultures. The diffusion of social media use is not a simple process.

It can only be understood in relation to the professional cultures and how these differ in different countries. This confirms earlier results in research on journalistic professional cultures (Hanitzsch et al., 2011). A question still remaining to be answered is whether these new technologies will bring the professional cultures in different countries closer to each other or not.

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¹ Project official website: <http://www.journalisminchange.com/>

² Reporters without borders: <http://en.rsfo.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>

³ See http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page_16

⁴ Survey: <http://www.journalisminchange.com/Files/content/Survey-2012.pdf>

⁵ <http://www.wirtualnemedi.pl/artikul/gg-network-zamyka-blip-pl-jest-niszowy-wymaga-inwestycji-i-ma-silna-konkurencje> 2013-10-23

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Blogging nation: Russian race riots online

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Abstract

New media sources provide a rich pool of data for political scientists. This is especially true within the field of securitisation theory, where tracing the audience's reaction to discourses is paramount. The blogosphere's quintessentially interactive environment serves as a fertile ground for observing reactions of 'netizens' within their 'habitat' without the caveats of the artificiality of lab experiments or the inherent bias of questionnaires. This paper focuses on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of blog commentaries to entries in the Russian-speaking segment of LiveJournal.com, which pertain to the Manezhnaia riots of December 2010. I argue that an analysis of the blogosphere can complete the methodological gaps within the field of securitisation theory.

Keywords: blogs, social media, social networks, nationalism, Russia, riot

1. Introduction

Even before the enthusiasm for Twitter revolutions faded away, several authors warned against the dangers of the misuse of the internet by authoritarian states (Morozov, 2011; Kalathil and Boas, 2003; Chadwick and Howard, 2009). Though the benign quality of the internet has often been overestimated, it definitely provided an extra field for social scientists to work with. The internet has also become an extra habitat for people in most developed and developing countries and the offline power/knowledge nexus has moved online as well. This is especially the case with the Russian blogosphere. A number of authors have observed that the Russian blogosphere is the only forum for 'real' political debate, where oppositional voices and even fringe members have a chance to voice their opinion, while the government with its massive apparatus is trying to steer public opinion its way (Etling et al., 2010; von Eggert, 2011; Karimova, 2012). In this paper, I argue that the Russian blogosphere represents an extremely useful window to study Russia's 'netizens'. I take as an example the repercussions of the Manezhnaia race riots on the blogosphere, which took place in Moscow in December 2010. I show that offline discourses were picked up in the blogosphere and I analyse how online commentators dealt with the topics of race, security and migration.

Nation-building in the Post-Soviet era in Russia had a significant nationalist side effect (Verkhovsky, 2009; Rutland, 2010). Xenophobic outbursts in Russia are not

only directed at international migrants, but also at Russian citizens from the North Caucasus or, to state it plainly, at citizens that do not look 'Slavic enough' (Sevortian, 2009, p. 19). Soviet-era vernacular referred to these kind of clashes as 'inter-ethnic strife' ('mezhnatsionalnaia rozn') (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011, p. 7), but it reflects a general tendency that the understanding of what constitutes a 'Russian' is often reduced to a phenotype.

There is an already established discourse that is applied to migrants and is usually promulgated by Russian TV channels. As TV channels are largely under governmental control, this discourse can be considered as the government's official mouthpiece. Current research on identity construction on Russian television by Hutchings and Tolz (2011) identified several patterns that are common to all major TV channels and conform to the binary process of 'othering' that has been identified by most discourse scholars (Milliken, 1999; Hansen, 2006; Burnham et al., 2008).

One of the most common ways of referring to migrants is 'litsa neslavyanskoy vneshnosti' (non-Slavic looking persons), which already presents the migrants as an out-group, by defining the in-group as 'Slavic' and adding a negation 'ne' and draws a line between in-group and out-group based on appearance. This reference, however, is usually thought of as a politically correct way of identification (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011). Another way

of referring to migrants is based on their origins, even if they are Russian. In this case, the emphasis is on the territorial link: 'lica kavkazskoy nacionalnosti' (persons of Caucasian ethnicity) - a nonsensical term that transforms territory into a non-existent ethnicity. It is worth mentioning that the word 'Caucasian' in Russian (kavkazskiy) has only one meaning, i.e., a person from the Caucasus and does not possess the corresponding meaning in the English language.

On a more sinister note, the killing of Sviridov, a fan of the football club Spartak, led to violent riots in the centre of Moscow with crowds chanting 'Russia for Russians' and other racist slogans (The Economist, 2010). Moreover, ethnic clashes in Sagra in July 2011 were portrayed as a 'War in Sagra' by the local news agency with a definitive us-versus-them juxtaposition of 'Russians' who had to 'resort to weapons' to protect the village from invading 'blacks' (Vyugin, 2011). Thus, migrants, even internal ones, are viewed essentially as a threat to 'Russians'. This threat requires extraordinary measures to deal with it - a perfect fit for a securitisation framework.

The Copenhagen School that developed the concept of securitisation moved beyond the traditional understanding of security in terms of military capabilities and expanded this notion to sectors, usually not taken into consideration in security studies, such as the environment, society or economics. Securitisation means that a particular phenomenon is represented through a discursive process as bearing an existential threat to a referent object, i.e., "as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure" (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998, pp. 23-24). The existential nature of the threat legitimises the use of extraordinary measures to deal with it (Buzan and Wæver, 2003, p. 491).

Crucial components in the securitisation framework are the securitising actor(s), the referent object, the construct-

ed threat and the audience that accept the threat as such. However, several scholars identified the lack of study of the audience in the securitisation process (Salter, 2008; Balzacq, 2011, p. 8), which is attributed to the different securitisation frames which were studied at the expense of proving if the actual securitisation took place (Bourbeau, 2011). The 'voice' of the audience in the securitisation process has been largely neglected and the acceptance of the securitising move has so far been presumed to be based on the authority of the security speaker.

It is thus crucial to analyse whether the audience accepts a phenomenon as a security threat. One of the ways to operationalise the role of the audience is to use commentaries in the blogosphere, because it provides an interactive environment and forum where even marginalised voices in traditional mass media nationalist discourses are heavily represented.

There is virtually no research on securitisation and the internet, even though the internet and social networks played a prominent role in resource mobilisation and framing during the Arab Spring (Parvaz, 2011). Nonetheless, some scholars did attempt to analyse the effect of blogging in Russia (Dyakova, 2004; Zassoursky, 2009; Schmidt and Teubener, 2006; Etling et al., 2010) and identity construction (Eliás and Lemish, 2009; Rydin and Sjöberg, 2008; Georgiou, 2006).

Following Salter (in Balzacq, 2011, p. 118) who argues that the 'process of securitisation must be taken as dispersed, iterative and interactive', I will show in this paper that the *audience's acceptance of a securitisation move can be shown as a re-articulation of certain discursive constructions.*

Hence, the audience participates in the securitising process as securitising actors as well, because their articulations contribute to the overall construction of a discourse and ultimately can lead to their potential partaking in the legitimisation of certain policies.

2. Methods

Several scholars have emphasised the importance of analysing mass media's role in the securitisation process (Vultee, 2011; Hansen, 2011) and as Vultee notes 'securitisation works as ... an effect *in* media... or an effect *of* media. These effects are created in a multisided, often recursive interaction among political actors, the media, and the public' (Vultee, 2011, p. 78, original emphasis). Hansen (2011) also stressed the necessity of analysing new media in the analysis of securitisation because new technologies facilitate proliferation of information and expand the audience. The most common way to investigate society's responses are public opinion polls, but according to recent behaviourist studies (Harrison, List and Towe, 2007; Levitt and List, 2009), most people are

unlikely to behave or to answer the questions true to themselves, due to the inadvertent psychological pressure of the investigator.

However, when it comes to the internet, the anonymity (Nie and Erbring, 2000) enhances the likelihood of participation in the debate, and discussions themselves tend to be more frank (Albrecht, 2006, p. 27; Putnam, 2000, pp. 172-173; Gauntlett and Horsley, 2004). Thus, the internet provides a useful platform to observe human reaction in its natural 'habitat'.

The habitat that I selected for this case study is Live Journal.com, as it was the platform where the first re-

ports of the riots were published and where the most active discussion on the riots took place. LiveJournal (LJ) is a blog platform registered in the US that allows its users to have their own online-diary (blog), to comment on other people's blogs, add other users as 'friends' and follow their posts. This platform is considered particularly influential in the Russian media landscape and *inter alia* in political debates (Dyakova, 2004; Pasti, 2010; Litovskaia and Shaburova, 2010; Beumers, Hutchins and Rulyova, 2009; Zassoursky, 2009; Etling et al., 2010). The Russian-speaking segment has increasingly been gaining popularity ever since the platform's creation and its monthly reach is more than 14 million people, according to TNS Web Index (TNS, 2013). Moreover, LJ works as a social network, especially given that it is interconnected with Facebook, Twitter, Vkontakte (a Russian clone of Facebook) and Google+.

Some of the oppositional blogs were even under cyber attack (DDoS-attack) in the spring of 2011 (Blagoveschensky, 2011), which was allegedly initiated by the Kremlin's youth movement (Karimova, 2012). Moreover, the recent disclosure of governmental youth agency activities through a hacking scandal, shows that a significant portion of governmental financing was spent on creating fake accounts supporting governmental positions, and on the organisation of online provocations against oppositional bloggers (Karimova, 2012, Nikolsky, Dorokhov and Boletskaya, 2012). 'Kremlingate' shows that even the government acknowledges LJ's influence. The Russian search engine Yandex identifies the most popular blogs in Russia by subscriptions - i.e., how many LJ users see the posts daily in their friend-feed; but most posts are accessible to non-LJ users as well, which can amount to more than 9 million unique visitors per month, i.e., non-subscribed, non-LJ users with a unique IP-address (von Eggert, 2011). Hence, though, the number of subscriptions to the most popular blogs can be relatively few (30 000 to 60 000) in comparison to the size of the Russian population (142 million), the messages posted by bloggers can reach a sig-

nificant audience when including the opportunities afforded by the proliferation of social networks. This enables posts to be recommended, reposted and experienced by so-called second hand viewing - when individuals receive the information from relatives, friends or acquaintances who have read the posts. This leads to a so-called 'Facebook-effect', where the reach of posts is magnified via recommendations and 'likes'. Although it is very challenging to estimate the exact size of the platform audience, most experts (von Eggert, 2011; Beumers, Hutchings and Rulyova, 2009; Dyakova, 2004; Etling et al., 2010) agree that it is a significant proportion of the population.

The blogs with most subscriptions can, in this case, be just as influential as newspapers with the highest circulation, i.e., represent a mass medium with an option of commentary where one can analyse commentaries to entries and trace acceptance (or not) of a particular discourse by the audience. Major events are largely discussed in blogs and often get the print media's attention. In this framework, new media work as securitising actors: 'to move an audience's attention toward an event or a development construed as dangerous, the words of the securitising actor need to resonate with the context within which his/her actions are allocated' (Balzacq, 2005, p. 182).

In order to track the audience's response I selected the most popular blogs based on subscriptions and number of comments, then scraped the riot-related blog posts that garnered the most comments. After that the raw data was processed through a word-frequency and visualisation software www.wordle.net that excludes so-called stop-words (e.g., prepositions) and presented a visualisation of the comments to each entry. Then the most frequently mentioned words were analysed in their context to assess if the articulation was positive or negative. Finally, I analysed if the narratives used during the Manezhnaia riots were re-articulated in some form online and if they had the same securitising agenda.

3. Results

3.1 Riots and antedecents

On December 6, 2010, a group of Muscovites, including two fans of Spartak, one of Russia's famous football clubs, got into a row with another group of people, later identified as 'Caucasians'. The circumstances of the events are still unclear, but the verbal exchange of invectives led to a physical confrontation that left Yegor Sviridov, a prominent member of the fan community of Spartak, shot dead and four of his friends wounded.

The police shortly thereafter arrested a group of six young people, including Aslan Cherkosov, who were identified by five witnesses as participants in the fight, with

Cherkosov carrying the gun Sviridov was shot with. Shortly afterwards, the police, allegedly under the influence of the 'Caucasian diaspora' released five of Cherkosov's co-accused (Nizamov, 2010). These actions immediately created an outcry among Spartak's fan community, which published an online statement saying that their 'brother' was killed by 'eight Caucasian bandits' (Petrov, 2010).

On December 7, 2010, a group of Spartak fans protested in front of the police station that set free Cherkosov's companions. According to the footage of the march, the crowd was chanting 'Russkie vpered!' (Russians, forward!), 'Za eto ubiistvo otvetyat vashi deti'

(Your children will answer for that murder), 'Rossiya dlya russkikh, Moskva dlya Moskvichei' (Russia for Russians, Moscow for Muscovites) (Shmaraeva, 2010). The mainstream media did not at first react to this event, but as the perpetrators were let go and the fan community was quick to organise, the demonstration forced the TV channels to respond to the situation. For instance, the coverage by Vesti, a state-owned channel, did not mention the racist slogans of the crowd used on December 7, 2010, and provided footage showing the crowd chanting 'Russians, forward!', a usual football match chant. In general, the racist undertones were censored, but it was after this demonstration that the police force issued arrest warrants notices for Cherkosov's acquaintances who also participated in the fight but were released.

Several commemorations followed, including the one organised by the Spartak football club on the morning of December 11, 2010, on the street where Sviridov was killed, which proceeded peacefully (Egorov, 2010). However, on the same day, violence erupted in the centre of Moscow, near the Kremlin, in Manezhnaia Square, when several 'non-Slavic looking' adolescents were lynched by a mob. When the police intervened and refused to hand over the young people to the crowd, the mob clashed with the police, leaving 29 wounded, most of them members of the police force.

Later, the head of the Moscow police force, V. Kolkoltsev, came to Manezhnaia to ask the mob to leave, during which time one of the protesters asked him to 'solve the Caucasian question'. After a while, the mob dispersed and went into an underground station where members beat up presumably non-ethnically Russian people. Several victims of racially motivated violence refused to be taped by the state TV and remained anonymous. The police arrested 65 offenders, but most of them were let go and none of the actual lynchings was put on trial (Sokovnin, 2011).

Among the slogans that the mob used were a number of obscenities with offensive sexual connotations (such as 'Yeb...t Kavkaz Yeb...t' [F...k the Caucasus], 'Slava Rusi, Kavkaz sosi!' [Glory to Russia, suck it, Caucasus]), but they bear a meaning that goes beyond common insults by using taboo vernacular (Kon, 2011). According to numerous studies (Dreizin and Priestley, 1982; Zhel'vis, 1997; Gachev, 1994; Kon, 2011), Russian taboo vernacular has a very potent gender aspect that refers to master/slave relations. Thus, by putting the recipient in the 'female' position the agent legitimises a higher hierarchical position (Kon, 2011, p. 30), which implies a loss of virility of the targeted group (Mikhailin, 2000). Given that 'Caucasians' are mostly represented as all-male groups the insult is deemed even more portentous. Moreover, by trying to sexually abuse the opponent in the slogans the enunciators usually feel threatened by the targeted group that needs to be turned submissive through the proclaimed sexual action (Kon, 2011; Zhel'vis, 1997).

Another group of slogans, such as 'Rossia dlya russkikh' (Russia for Russians) and 'Rossiya dlya russkikh, Moskva dlya Moskvichei' (Russia for Russians, Moscow for Muscovites) establishes the circle of an in-group (in this case, ethnic Russians and Muscovites). The slogans also differentiate between indigenous people ('korennoe naselenie') and migrants, often described as guests (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011). In these slogans the othering process is evident: it is based on territoriality as it was grounded by the Soviet system of bond between the territory and ethnicity. Another disturbing message was carried by the slogan 'Smert chernozhopym' (Kill the Wogs [literally: death to black asses]). Apart from the pronounced call for violence, the recipient is distinguished as an out-group phenotypically, i.e., 'black' as opposed to 'white Russians'. This slogan in particular echoes the conventional pseudo-politically correct form used in the Russian mass media - 'non-Slavic looking people' (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011). Thus, by identifying the out-group as not being fair-haired and blue eyed, Russian official discourse legitimised a basis for a more derogatory othering process by using the same category - physical appearance.

State TV channels did provide some coverage of the riots, but none of the offensive slogans and racist chants made it to the screen (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011). Instead, a 'friendship of the peoples' discourse was promoted though a story of how 'Slavic-looking' boys took a beating for their Caucasian friends from the mob. TV channels blamed 'radical youth' for inciting the riots, as well as President D. Medvedev and Prime Minister Putin; the latter also blamed 'destructive elements' who were acting in 'lucrative, political interests', in order 'to shake the country' - almost the exact same phrasing as President Medvedev used in his speech.

3.2 Riots online

Even though traditional media did not provide substantive coverage of the riots at first, the blogging community circulated photographs from Manezhnaia Square within hours of the riots, taken by an independent journalist Ilya Varlamov, also known as Zyalt (Varlamov, 2010), capturing the mob clashing with the police force, with hands in a Nazi salute and the bloodied faces of 'non-Slavic' passers-by. Zyalt's blog counts around 44 000 readers but on the day of publication it garnered an extraordinary 7 452 comments and a range of reposts by more popular bloggers like drugoi and navalny:

<<http://zyalt.livejournal.com/330396.html?style=mine>>.

Varlamov's commentators evolved around the following key terms:

Russkikh, Russkie, russkii (Russians) Rossii, Rossiya, (Russia), lyudi, lyudei (people), chelovek (person), kavkazcev, kavkazcy (Caucasians), protiv (against), vlasti, vlast (authorities).

The word 'Russians' was used typically in commentaries that had a reference to ethnic criminality discourse: comments like 'Russians are killed at home'; 'the authorities have troubles concealing the murders of Russians committed by those black asses'; 'they rob our boys, rape our girls' also indicate the absence of a rule of law and commentators' belief in the complicity of authorities in the crimes - a conflation with conspiracy theories.

A very common reference to 'Caucasians' as guests - a stereotypical depiction of 'migrants as 'up-rooted' people who have become morally corrupt because they have lost their link to their native soil' (Hutchings and Tolz, 2011, p. 6) - is frequently echoed in comments like 'Caucasians forgot that they were guests and now they denigrate us'.

Another important thread of discussion was related to the Chechen Republic and the fact that Russians were 'squeezed out of Chechnya', 'forced to leave their homes' and now the ones who made the ethnic Russians leave 'invade' Moscow and 'install their ways' - a definitive reference to culture conflict discourse. This topic quickly spread from denouncing the population of the North Caucasian republics to dwelling on the hardships endured by ethnic Russians in Central Asian countries, so the xenophobic backlash against migrants (both internal and external) is seen by these commentators as justified for the offences committed in their home republics.

Due to the sheer volume of commentaries (more than 2500 Word pages) some of the discussion threads were not statistically significant. However, a notable characteristic of the discussion was the fact that commentators who were trying to criticise the actions of the mob in Manezhnaya or to argue that racist remarks were unacceptable were being lambasted and accused of being 'Caucasian whores' (female commentators) or of being homosexually involved with 'Caucasians' (male commentators), otherwise those commentators were asked about their ethnicity. It was also common to start with the comment with 'I am myself an ethnic Russian...'

Thus, unless one stated one's identity as being an ethnic Russian, the opinion did not count and non-racist remarks usually provoked suspicion.

Entries in other blogs received less attention, but still attracted a fair amount of response as they also contained photographs of the riots, e.g., in Drugoi's blog on December 11, 2010

<<http://drugoi.livejournal.com/3438260.html>>.

The words most frequently used are 'fanaty' (fans), 'sebya' (self), *russskikh*, *russkie* (Russians), *kavkazcev*, *kavkazcy* (Caucasians), *naroda* (people), *vlasti*, *vlast* (authorities), *bydlo* (a derogatory analogue of *hoi polloi*).

If one looks at the context of those words the following picture emerges. 'Fans' was most commonly used to denote the only organised group that was able to protest against the injustice perpetrated by the police (who let 'Caucasians' go) and by the 'Caucasians' themselves. One of the most poignant commentaries said that '...it is only the fans that are able to stand against the police'. Also, fans were described as the most nationalistic segment of the population.

The words 'Russian' (Russians) and 'Caucasians' were used in a much more charged context and were often employed in the same commentaries. Usually 'Russian boys' was juxtaposed in the same sentence with 'chernomazye ubiicy' (black murderers), 'Caucasian bandits' and references to other ethnicities. Moreover, the commentators who referred to ethnicities were more likely to be more racist in their commentaries, confirming the study of Meeus et al. (2010) that self-identification on the basis of ethnicity correlates with the increased likelihood of discrimination of the out-group. Moreover, this kind of usage resonates with the discourse of ethnic criminality identified by Hutchings and Tolz (2011) and culture conflict with references to 'Caucasians' dancing *lezghinka*, a traditional Caucasian dance, at Red Square.

The word 'people' was either employed in the context of a juxtaposition with 'authorities', alluding to a possible conspiracy of power: 'Vova [i.e., Putin] just wants to come back as a pacifier of the nationalists like he did with Chechnya in 1999...' Another context identified people as an 'awakening nation' that protested against the injustice or people as a 'mob', depending on the attitude of the commentator - with the former approving of the riots and the latter disapproving thereof. However, later the same day the key words were already painting a different picture from the original photo report <<http://drugoi.livejournal.com/3438476.html>>.

The most popular terms here included 'churki' (a derogatory term for people with darker skin and hair, wogs), 'protiv' (against), 'Rossii' (Russia), 'russskie' or 'russskih' (Russians), 'sebya' (self), 'ubiicy' (murderers), 'svoikh' (ours), 'mentov' (policemen); terms like 'kavkazcy' (Caucasians), 'bydlo' (a derogatory analogue of *hoi polloi*), 'fanaty' (fans) shifted to the background, but still remained statistically significant.

Here the audience's opinion already shifted to more derogatory terms: 'wogs' is never used by the mass media, while 'Caucasians' is often employed on the official level and in the print media. As expected, the discussion did not revolve around the topic of football fans anymore, but concentrated on the problem of 'nationalism' and 'fascism' (also frequently used terms). A typical commentary where the term 'wogs' was used was 'after the riots those wogs will calm down for a couple of days, but then they will start dancing *lezghinka* on the

streets again' - a typical example of the culture conflict discourse.

The word 'fascism' was also used mostly by the commentators who were appalled that a country that defeated fascism¹ had a demonstration, where people used its paraphernalia, but there were also a limited number of commentators who 'did not see anything wrong with fascism' if it could protect Russia from 'uncontrolled Caucasian crime'. It is worth mentioning that, in the Russian context, the word 'fascism' has a very strong existential threat connotation due to WWII and its framing as a Great Patriotic War. Referring to people from the Caucasus as fascists reinforces the securitising narrative.

The word 'against' was used in rather similar contexts: the commentators were against the policemen ('menty') who are not doing their duty; against the authorities who endorse Caucasians; against 'Caucasians' who behave like they are at home and violating the law. Thus, the conflation of the culture conflict and ethnic criminality discourses is clearly visible. 'Mob' was used primarily by commentators who condemned the riots, referring to the mob in such a way - and the fact that this word is so statistically significant - gives an understanding of how many people were actually disapproving of the riots.

The opinion changed once more in the same blog to a different entry that contained the collection of photo reports from Manezhnaia

<<http://drugoi.livejournal.com/3438712.html>>.

This time the centrepiece was occupied by 'Russkih', 'russkie', 'russki' (Russians), Россия (Russia), 'kavkazcy' (Caucasians), 'natsionalizm' (nationalism), 'strane' (country), 'omon' (abbreviation for a 'special mobile police squad'), 'vlast' (power, authorities).

The most frequently used terms were often used in the same contexts and sentences. For instance, a lot of comments alluded to the discrimination of Russians vis-à-vis 'Caucasians' who are 'allowed to carry weapons' and 'get enrolled at universities at the expense of Russians', while Russians 'don't have any rights in the Caucasus' and 'had been driven away'. Another recurrent pairing was with 'Caucasians'/Russians and authorities: 'Russians should be able to have a normal life in the Caucasus', but the 'authorities justify all violence directed against Russians'; 'authorities are to blame ... we and Caucasians are just cannon fodder for the authorities'.

Thus, conspiracy theories are combined here with a discourse pertaining to ethnic criminality, which gives rise to plain bigoted remarks such as 'Caucasians are Muslim - that means it is aggression squared'; 'Caucasians know how to behave here ... they just challenge us because they want to behave like at home'.

Apart from racist and negative comments there were also opinions like 'it is insane to think that Caucasians kill Russians and only Russians ... it is like accusing red-heads of all crimes'; or sarcastic comments like 'of course the 'Caucasians' are guilty of there being no rule of law' - that also shows that reference to the established vernacular and differentiation can be negative. As for the official 'friendship of the people's discourse it only came out in a limited number of remarks, where 'Caucasians' ended up being the scapegoats anyway: 'It was the Caucasians who provoked the violence, they were just wearing masks' (i.e., Caucasians provoked the violence in order to accuse ethnic Russians after it erupted).

The same theme, that the authorities were on the 'Caucasian' side, was also visible in the contexts related to the police: '[we] were trying to send the wogs back to their villages but the police interfered' 'I have never seen police members beaten up! respect!'; 'too bad the police did not let [us] hunt'; 'if the police are against Russian guys, they are for Caucasian criminals and murderers'; 'the police should better fight the ethnic criminality than be at war with citizens'. Even though there was a range of laudatory comments for police members who tried to protect the boys from being lynched by the crowd, the majority of the commentators accused the police of being on the same side as 'Caucasians' and endorsing ethnic criminality. Thus, when it came to the police force, it was almost unanimously identified as one of the 'protectors' of ethnic criminality. Consequently, this ethnic criminality discourse seems to be very closely linked to the discussion of the rule of law in Russia: according to most blog commentators, the police do not fulfil their primary responsibility catering instead to criminal interests. This attitude is often heightened, as in the case of Sviridov's murder, by the fact that the police let go of Cherkosov's possible accomplices, supposedly as a result of pressure from the 'diaspora'. Moreover, in the earlier case of the murder of another Spartak fan, Volkov's killer was released until the Spartak community expressed its indignation (Kommersant, 2011). Actions like this and many other examples of corruption in the police force (Mendelson and Gerber, 2008) certainly fall into a pattern of behaviour and justify the lack of trust most Russian citizens have in the police.

Another key word - nationalism - was surprisingly employed not in relation to the protesters in Manezhnaia, but to 'Caucasians': 'ethnic Russians don't have nationalism, it is Caucasians who are ready to kill you if you are from a different village'; 'it was an anti-Nazi demonstration against Caucasian fascists'; 'people went out to protest against Caucasian nationalism and fascism'. Moreover, the riots were described as 'healthy nationalism' and 'people who call those in Manezhnaia nationalists or fascists are hypocrites'. Moreover, the violence in Manezhnaia was described as 'an act of patriotism' (!) - a conflation of terms that was also visible in the vernacular used by some governmental officials (e.g., Rogozin, 2012).

It is necessary to make a side note on the general context surrounding the word 'fascism' in Russia. Apart from fringe nationalist commentators who consider themselves racially pure, the discourse related to the Great Patriotic War has several particularities. Firstly, the memory of the War is still very much present in Russia, through a range of monuments in practically every city with the motto 'Nikto ne zabyt, nicta ne zabyto' (Nobody is forgotten, nothing is forgotten) (Bellamy, 2008, p. 15; Forest and Johnson 2002). In particular, the revival of military parades for commemoration of the victory contributes to an ongoing association of the Great Patriotic War as a part of the national identity (Pääbo, 2011). Secondly, World War II narratives in Russia have always had a particular sense of urgency, linked to the threat of physical annihilation by Nazi troops that was averted by the heroism of the Soviet people (Fedorov, 2007; Putin, 2006). Thus, the usage of this context is in most cases related to existential threats to all inhabitants of Russia (Soviet Union). However, when the word 'fascism' is used in the context with 'Caucasian', it has a slightly different reference that was also noticeable in other blogs. In this way people from the North Caucasus are portrayed as being on a quest similar to Hitler's, i.e., presenting a danger of physical annihilation of ethnic Russians.

Obviously, there were also negative remarks on nationalism. Comments like 'Russian ethno-nationalism has become very popular' or 'your nationalism stinks' were also present; some also acknowledged that the problem lies 'in corruption and not in ethnicity'. Surprisingly, both racist and unprejudiced commentators seemed to share the distrust in authorities and especially in the police force. No matter if the police were taking the 'Caucasian' side or not, the police were generally viewed as vile and corrupt and the fact that some of the police officers protected the boys from lynching was largely met with surprise rather than admiration.

Russia's moderate nationalist Alexey Navalny, also known as navalny, also posted photographs relating to the riots in two separate entries on December 11 and 12. His journal was also under a cyber attack that resulted in several hundreds of identical comments insulting the owner of the blog

<<http://navalny.livejournal.com/535267.html>>.

The most frequent terms were 'strashno' (frightening), 'fanaty' (fans), russkih, (Russians), 'problemy' (problems), 'lyudi', 'lyudei' (people).

The word 'frightening' was used in opposite contexts: seemingly liberal commentators emphasised that the situation with the violent xenophobia was scary, whereas racist commentators insisted that it was scary to walk around Moscow and 'be shot by some Caucasians', but the people who were critical of racism were immediately called 'tolerasty' (a derogatory conflation of 'pede-

rast' and 'tolerant'). Moreover, those people who tried to disapprove of the Manezhnaia actions were immediately asked what their ethnicity was and were insulted.

Nonsensical terms like 'Caucasian ethno-fascism' or 'Caucasian nationalism' were also quite common and represent variations on culture conflict discourse: they refer to discriminatory attitudes of 'Caucasians' towards ethnic Russians. However, this discourse bears a more urgent overtone than regular criminal references as in these cases the supposed aim of 'Caucasians' is either physical extermination or severe discrimination of ethnic Russians. There were a range of comments that did not employ this terminology but had the same message like 'wait until you have a mullah calling for prayers from St. Basil's Cathedral' - a threat of cultural extermination is implicit.

'People' was used mostly in a neutral form to describe the protesters in Manezhnaia ('they are regular people who are tired of the abuse of power') or that 'all Russians are people' without ethnic divisions - thus, it was an indication of 'friendship of the peoples' discourse.

The second entry featured a video of Russia's Interior Minister making a statement about the Manezhnaia riots, that is why the key terms were slightly different from the ones used in drugoi's and zyal't's blogs

<<http://navalny.livejournal.com/535320.html>>.

The key terms in this word cloud are 'MVD' (Abbreviation of Russian Internal Ministry), 'Nurgaliev', 'Nurgaliva' (the surname of Russia's Interior Minister), 'Rossii' (Russia), 'vlast', 'vlasti' (authorities), 'russkih' (Russians), 'strane' (country), 'chelovek' (person), 'lyudei' (people).

The discussion around this entry was slightly different from the previous entries in other blogs and concentrated on criticisms of the Ministry of Interior (MVD) and its head (R. Nurgaliev). However, most commentators were very pessimistic, talking about 'authorities' bringing 'Russia' to its end. Moreover, the commentators were less likely to discuss the 'Caucasian' problem (the word remained much less statistically significant in comparison to previous entries), but were more concerned with the ordinary 'people' subjected to violence and the disregard of the law by the police force - a theme recurrent in visual representations of the riots. In general, the comments to this entry were a sliver of light among the others as the proportion of racially biased commentators was either much lower or the outrage committed by the police forces had overshadowed the ever-present 'Caucasian threat'.

It is logical that the commentators in all blogs did not accept the official version, because they have access to other sources of information than just state-owned. It is also possible that other segments of the Russian population accepted the official version that blamed left-ra-

dical youth for the riots. However, those who have access to the internet represent a significant fraction of the population (Zassoursky, 2009) and, most importantly, the economically active population that would be the backbone of the electorate in a democratic regime (von Eggert, 2011).

All in all, the reaction in blogs demonstrates that at least a fraction of the population, already imbued with anti-migratory discourses established in the mainstream mass media, re-articulated the narratives used by the Manezhnaia mob. Derogatory terms based on existing pseudo politically correct mass media terms abounded, all possible prejudices about Muslims, people with darker skin or with origins from the North Caucasus were exploited to their core. Moreover, the commentators did not 'buy' the official 'friendship of the people's interpretation

of the events in Manezhnaia that included the 'harmonious multi-ethnic society' disrupted by a marginal nationalist grouping, indicating a growing distrust of government, with a proportion of the population going as far as accusing the government of arranging the disturbances (conspiracy of power discourse) and a significant part of the population actually supporting the actions of the mob. Not surprisingly, the racist commentators were taking the otherness of people from the North Caucasus to the extreme, not only invoking cultural difference, but actually, picturing 'Caucasians' as nationalists and fascists implying in such a way the context of existential threat posed to the Soviet Union by the Nazi troops. These commentators represent the evolution of the securitisation process in its complete form: if less racist commentators complained about alien traditions and criminality, the former ones invoked a more urgent existential threat.

4. Conclusions

New media represent a valuable methodology 'upgrade' in political science and especially in securitisation theory. The 'voice' of the audience in the securitisation process has been ultimately heard, thus mending the methodological gaps in securitisation theory. As in securitisation theory it is necessary to trace the re-articulation of particular discourses, the blogosphere provides a perfect interactive environment for research and represents a way to observe reactions of people in their 'habitat' without the pressure of lab experiments or questionnaires.

The Manezhnaia riots in Moscow represent a milestone in Russian inter-ethnic relations and a yardstick that is used to assess other incidents of racial violence, including the recent events in the Biryulyovo suburb in Moscow. In this article I have shown that the blogosphere provides a useful insight into the reaction of the audience. Offline clashes become online swearing and denigration and reflect that violence can be translated into online forms as well. According to my findings, the blogosphere gives an opportunity to assess the audience's reaction in real-time and provide the material inaccessible to conventional public opinion polls, as discursive articulations that were used offline can be traced online, thus showing if a particular construction had been accepted by the public or not.

In the case of the Manezhnaia riots, despite the official stance of the government and government-owned mass media, the online public - in the majority - expressed solidarity with the mob in the square, using similar vernacular and explanations for the violence. With leading bloggers drawing attention to the event, it was possible to monitor the initial reaction of the people exposed to the Manezhnaia mob narratives. I conducted a quantitative analysis of the comments in order to identify the key, most frequently used, words and then analysed the context they were used in.

The results of the analysis are quite unsettling. Even though the reification of internal migrants from the North Caucasus as dangerous stems in part from the fact that most terrorist attacks were carried out by natives of this region (Verkhovsky, 2009), the current discourses at work - such as ethnic criminality and culture conflict - are purely racist and are often encouraged by the mass media and by the corruption of Russian police force.

The discourse online was predictably not monolithic: even though the xenophobic rhetoric was more statistically significant than the liberal voices, it can be symptomatic of the fact that nationalist commentators are more active 'netizens'.

According to my findings, a significant fraction of the commentators employed derogatory terms to describe people from the North Caucasus. They mostly used the same category of difference as the Russian mass media - phenotype. Even though each blog has different crowds of subscribers, it is obvious that the key words and even contexts were astonishingly alike: words like 'Caucasians' with negative connotations surfaced in every analysis. As a counterpart to 'Caucasians' the word 'Russians' in an ethnic sense was used and in most comments the two 'ethnicities' were juxtaposed. This usage indicates that ethnicity remains associated with a specific territory, resulting in disparaging attitudes towards people that are 'not from here'.

If one considers the othering process as embryonic securitisation, a significant proportion of the commentators actually employed discourses that were matured securitisation: the fact that some of the commentators even used terms such as 'Caucasian fascism' shows how deeply embedded the association is with security, drawing from cultural differences a threat of physical annihilation.

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¹ The word 'fascism' in Russia is used in reference to German National Socialism due to the fact that during the Soviet times, and especially during the war, state propaganda was reluctant to use the word 'socialism' in relation to Hitler's regime in order to avoid confusion. Hence, the term 'fascism' is not used in the Russian language to describe Mussolini's dictatorship.



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Social media as a tool of political isolation in the Russian public sphere

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Abstract

The main objective of this article is to show how the configuration of new media, and its ties with the traditional media system in Russia, is contributing to the isolation of the opposition and to social control favourable to the ruling power coalition. From our point of view the media system does not push the opposition parties to elaborate a clear political strategy, which marginalises them and extremely polarises them against the acting political forces. It does not allow the opposition to participate within normal political life through the creation of blocks, coalitions and associations with other parties. All that, in turn, increases the threat to the ruling power coalition's security blanket, which pushes it to preserve the power at any price.

Such a conclusion is counter to the idea that "new media" is the catalyst of social changes and protest movements (for example in Arab countries). Direct interaction, flexibility and an absence of hierarchy in social media allowed some scholars to highlight the peculiar model of such communication channels, supposedly completely free of manipulation and control. Critiques of such "absence of power relations" within so-called egalitarian networks have been made using theories examining power within networks. This article studies Russian social media within the context of the parallel public spheres and examines the political conditions of inclusion/exclusion of oppositional forces into/from public debates.

Keywords: new media, public sphere, parallel media, political debates, social media, isolation, oppositional media

1. Introduction

Over the last 15 years, scholars from a wide range of disciplines have been arguing that new interactive media technology is able to change a society. The rise of the internet generated a lot of optimistic views, even in the scientific community, about the role of such communication in a society. For example, the French philosopher Pierre Levy talks about the "collective mind" which is represented by the internet (Levy, 1994). This medium facilitates interpersonal interaction which at the same time became mass communication. This represents an ideal model of the public sphere, where each individual is involved in the collective decision-making process. Some dramatic changes in Arab countries during 2009-2011 encouraged some scholars to say that such revolutions were caused by this interactive communication, digitally enabled by social networking media like Twitter, Facebook, etc. (Khamis, 2011; Pintak, 2010).

Influenced by public opinion discourse, some foreign political analysts interpreted the protest movement and the series of anti-government rallies between the 2011 legislative and 2012 presidential elections in Russia as

the "beginning of the anti-Putin revolution", in comparison to the "Arab Spring"¹. But such social moods, seemingly, did not considerably influence the electoral preferences of the majority of the population. Despite the opposition's call for "truthful elections" and the "retirement of the prime minister", Putin was elected by more than 60% of votes and the ruling party obtained 49%.

Why has new media ultimately been unable to considerably influence public opinion? The reasons for this phenomenon are to be found within a deep split between different social groups and, consequently, between two public spheres with very different media usage patterns. It means that, according to our hypothesis, the main public sphere is organised around traditional media whereas the parallel public sphere is organised around new media. Such different public spheres are generating completely different political debates. To ensure self-reproduction, the ruling coalition acts like a filter - keeping both public spheres from each other. New media here acts like a tool of such isolation and

not like a catalyst of political change. To demonstrate this concept we will proceed in three stages: firstly, we will propose the concept of parallel public spheres. Se-

2. Methodology

2.1 Theory review

The concept of public spheres is very popular in the academic realm (for example, see the recent book by Bernard Miège (Miège, 2010)), but remains, however, poorly argued in terms of ties between public spheres and their influence on political life. Habermas (1991) does not provide a clarification for us because it is deficient in showing links between tools of communicative mediation, like the press, and the political life of democratic society. Consequently Habermas does not answer the question about changes in the political behaviour of people under the influence of media. Why should the public sphere be considered an element accompanying "democratic changes" and what kind of mechanisms within political life in the 20th century leads to its degradation?

The base model for Habermas was English society of the 19th century. In this realm, bourgeois civil society used the vehicles of clubs, political saloons and the mass press, to protect its interests from elected public authorities. Such mediation allowed the maintenance of permanent connections between voters and their representatives (Habermas, 1991). At the same time Habermas is criticising French and German public spheres for "restricted participation". This allows us to say that the concept of the public sphere is not perfect, so it does not exist in its ideal state. Hence Miège makes a conclusion that some elements of the public sphere could exist even in non-democratic or semi-democratic regimes (Miège, 2010, p.36) which makes it possible to use the concept of the public sphere to analyse the situation in Russia.

If we try to interpret the Habermasian model through political analysis, we will find out that even the "ideal society" of Great Britain in the 19th century was not perfect in terms of political rights and consequently shrank the borders of the public sphere. For Robert Dahl there are two main dimensions of political regimes. The first one is a degree of political contestation, which characterises the right to propose alternative political ideas and create alternative political forces. The second one is a degree of political participation describing the right to participate in political life through elections (Dahl, 1971). From this point of view the Great Britain in the 19th century could be characterised as a state with a relatively high degree of political contestation, but quite a low degree of political participation. Thus, the same diagnostic of English society was made

condly, we will consider each public sphere as a network of social ties. Then we will apply such concepts to show how the mechanism of such isolation works.

by North, Wallis and Weingast (2009). According to them, The Reform Act in 1832 created the rules only for elite groups.

Hence we can observe some paradox between the Habermas theory and political theory. The enlargement of political participation at the end of the 19th century (Dahl, 1971) has been accompanied by the degradation of the political sphere through the commercialisation of media and its submission to private interests (Habermas, 1991). Such transformation could be explained by the movement from the narrow debates of elites towards wide-ranging mass debates less dominated by consensus. Another distinction between two such views concerns the borders between political factions. According to Habermas (1991), Negt (2007), and some Marxist theorists, such borders are strongly connected with class interests and conflicts about possessing means of production. Hall has been a pioneer of this direction in the field of media usage (Hall, 1973). Political theory, however, argues that no one political crisis in history was based on such a Marxian schism between classes, but more likely - on disaccords between ethnical and cultural groups (Dahl, 1971).

However that may be, the history of the public sphere in the 20th century gives us a lot of examples where within one society a few public spheres coexisted. Due to political splits, one of the political factions monopolised the power. Then it restricted the other political groups' access to the institutionalised official political sphere. Exactly such a situation has been applicable to the public sphere in the USSR. Being a state with a high level of political participation where citizens participated in elections at different levels, it initially maintained a very restrictive level of political contestation. Thus the opposition was quasi-isolated from any political life. But exclusion of political factions from the official political realm could not provoke the exclusion of oppositional ideas from the public sphere. On the contrary, it contributed to the creation of a new public sphere where such ideas spun-off from the official public sphere. Thus, Tristan Mattelart, who studied practices of dissemination and consumption of western media content in Soviet regimes, makes a conclusion about the coexistence of two public spheres. The first one was official and has been represented by channels of mass-media controlled by the Party. The second one was a parallel public sphere where alternative debates have been nourished by a whole system of parallel non-institutionalised channels of communication: illegal listening to

foreign radio, self-publishing (*samizdat*), reproduction of foreign music recorded from foreign radio stations or TV (Mattelart, 1995).

Now let us turn toward a criticism of the modernisation role of new media in social change. Gimmmler is distinguishing two social roles which the internet plays in liberal democracy. Firstly it is ensuring non-restricted access to information and secondly it contributes to social interaction (Gimmmler, 2001). On this basis a wide range of "virtual democracy" theories were spreading out (Dahlberg, 2001). However, more realistic concepts propose a completely different argumentation from the point of view of social theory. It criticises the concept of networking equality and, consequently, the "emancipating character" of social media.

Thus Manuel Castells proposes the concept of four forms of power within networks and shows how power relations, or the ability to exercise legitimated violence, could exist in a networked world without any formal hierarchy. He is distinguishing four types of power. The first one is the "networking power" which is described by the ability of agents included in networks to exercise power over those who are excluded from them. The second is the "network power" based on the ability to impose rules into networks. The third one is the "networked power" realised through forms of domination within networks. And, finally, the "network-making power" is realised through the ability to program networks

by organising interests of integrated hosts and to switch such networks (Castells, 2009).

2.2 Methodological approach

"Public spheres" assembled around political antagonists could be analysed as different "networks". In this case, we could study the isolation of opposition within internet social networks by analysing communicative resources associated with political factions.

Each parallel public sphere could be thus represented as a social network with its inherent aims and rules. Thus, by studying links between networks of media we could see how it was oriented toward either consensus, i.e., the convergence between different public spheres of different political forces, or their isolation, one from another, in case of divergence. Precisely such links are interesting us in this paper.

Methodically, our analysis will be performed in two stages: firstly, we will examine the historical transformations of the public sphere in Russia. This history has its own implanted peculiarities which contributes to the inability of political forces to reach consensus and finally leads to the isolation of opposition forces. Secondly, we intend to describe the networked power within the main and oppositional public spheres in terms of different agendas imposed by the State and the control over the capital of traditional and "networked" media.

3. Analysis

3.1 Historical forms of the Russian public sphere

Two figures seem to be most significant to best describe the public sphere in Russia in the 19th century. The first one - the proportion of the active population deprived of any political rights. Before the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, it was 90% of the population. The second one - the proportion of non-literate people, which before World War I was 62% of the population (Mironov, 2003). Thus we could say that the mediated public sphere in the 19th century in Russia was very narrow, just like the media audience and the politically active population, endowed with political rights. The absence of political rights in the majority of the population made the press a politically weak institution. Its role never corresponded to the role of the press in the mass public sphere as was the case in most European countries. Such narrowness of the Russian public sphere is reflected in the topical specifics of the Russian periodical press of the period. It was almost entirely literary-oriented, and big Russian writers (Pushkin, Gertsen, Nekrasov, Dostoyevsky) were publicists and publishers of journals and newspapers. Such periodicals, thus, discussed mainly literary topics. The central topic of this period was

the representation in literature of the serf peasant situation (Degtereva and Kiriya, 2010).

Before the Revolution, political opposition forces, i.e., Bolsheviks and other movements of communitarian orientation, had often been isolated from political life and the electoral process. Such isolation had been based mainly on class and not on party identification (Perepechko, ZumBrunnen and Kolossov, 2010). It contributed to the self-organisation of the means of communication available to such isolated political forces (the underground publishing of "Iskra" by Lenin is a good example of this).

In the same manner, is difficult to say that in Soviet society the public sphere was developed. Firstly, because political choice in USSR had been most likely artificial, which is why mediation was not necessary. It provoked the situation when alternative political movements had been isolated and had been deprived of the ability to be institutionalised. At the level of political communication it provoked the creation of alternative communication channels, which mainly diffused ideas that did not conform to Soviet ideology. Such an alternative public

sphere Tristan Mattelart calls the "parallel" and it was coexisting with the "official public sphere" where the official Communist Party's media performed their activities (Mattelart, 1995).

The Russian political system of today is characterised by a few peculiarities. Firstly, there is an institutional weakness of parties. They are created by the administrative apparatus of the State and are then "proposed" to voters (Rose and Munro, 2002). Secondly, there is a primacy of tradition over political institutions (Easter, 2007). Finally, there is the vagueness of electoral behaviour (Golosov, 2006). In such a situation, some political forces, especially the liberal, are almost completely deprived of rights to political contestation. During the last eight years, such political forces have been unable to overcome the barriers to being presented in the federal parliament. Such a situation is strengthening the political split between isolated forces and the remaining political spectrum. This is making political consensus impossible and makes the chances of a hegemonic regime higher. According to Dahl (1971), the higher the risk of a split, the more the ruling party runs a security risk if it loses power. It more strongly induces this party to find ways to maintain their power.

Thus, we can see that the split of the public sphere and, consequently, the communicative isolation of political groups is a historically inherited factor. This has accompanied the institutional development of the political sphere in Russia. Now let us analyse how it has affected the configuration of social networks and their relationships with the public debates.

3.2 Power within networks

Notions of network-making power and network power are most suitable to describe the mechanisms of the political activists' isolation within the networks of real politics. The first one is acting through either switching different networks between them or programming them for specific aims. The second one through a strong mechanism of message choice (function of agenda setting) which Shoemaker calls gatekeeping (Shoemaker, 1991). From our point of view, by maintaining control over media the state bureaucracy of Russia is programming different networks. This contributes to the disconnect-

tion of such networks and, particularly, to the marginalisation of the opposition networks. Finally, so called "new media" and social networks represent the field which is separated from the official political life. Such a conclusion is valid in spite of the optimism of the idea of a "participative digital democracy".

The contemporary public sphere in Russia could be divided in two: the main public sphere and the parallel one. This last one is created as a response to pushing out some opposition forces from the agendas of official media. The editorial mechanism of such "pushing out" is well described by Olessia Koltsova (Koltsova, 2006) and acts through self-censorship and lists of prohibited persons which should not be mentioned in news stories. Exclusion of such political forces from the main public sphere isolates them within a very narrow set of discourses disseminated by quite a limited number of media. In Russia, such media are called "liberal": it is represented by the radio station "Echo Moskvyy", the newspaper "Novaya Gazeta", the television channels "Ren-TV" and "Dozhd", and quite a broad range of online media. These media are focusing "opposition debates" on quite a limited audience, which gives us a reason to call such media "information ghettos" (Degtereva and Kiriya, 2010; Kiriya, 2012). From this point of view, state-owned media are exercising network-making power and acting as a switcher (in the terms of Castells) by restricting overlap between the agendas of the parallel public sphere and the main public sphere, dominated by television. It is important to say that the bureaucratic apparatus is much more interested in control over the content of general audience media than in the content of internet media. The audience within the internet is much more fragmented and represents not quite as diverse social groups (Gorny, 2009).

We also find it important to introduce the criterion of institutionalisation of the public sphere. Thus, online and offline news media form the "institutionalised public sphere" where messages are produced by professional collectives within particular systems of labour division and according to a particular business model. In contrast to this, social networks and blogs represent the "non-institutionalised public sphere", where users produce and share content within a regulated technological platform. These concepts are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Official and parallel public spheres (Kiriya, 2012)

Official public sphere	Parallel public sphere	
Federal television channels, mass press focused on political issues	Institutionalised	Non-institutionalised
	A narrow set of »liberal« traditional media and online media	Blogs and social networks

Thus, the mechanism of "networked power" is operating through control over the flow of messages circulating between each public sphere, and "gatekeeping" of

messages at the entry to each of them. "Network-making power" is operating through isolation and the non-intersection between audiences of such spaces. The

result of these processes was described by ex-president Dmitry Medvedev as a "dramatic rupture between the agenda of television and internet".

However, we should take into consideration the reality of social media. Rather than producing messages itself, it actually copies from other sources - in particular from social networks themselves and the online media. Thus, the state owned online media generate a large part of the traffic, messages and audience of news outlets within the Russian internet. They produce a "state transmedia storytelling" (Jenkins, 2006). In parallel to this, social media and blogs create the illusion of free debates about various topics but globally it contributes to the state dominated discourse on television (Panchenko, 2011). So, the parallel public sphere remains isolated from the official one, although free debates on topical issues are possible only due to the mechanism of "network-making power" and "network power" within the non-institutionalised public sphere. Thus, it isolates the agendas of online and offline media and brings them to the different audiences. "Information ghettos" are also placed under the surveillance of big capital, which controls it. In our previous works we have distinguished three types of control over capital: direct control, indirect control

via state owned companies and indirect control via putting pressure on media owners. This indirect control could be based on personal relationships between state administrators and private owners of media or on different types of pressure applied on them (Degtereva and Kiriya, 2010). Now, we will apply our classification to the analysis of the parallel public sphere within the "informational ghettos" in Russia. We can see that more or less all such "information ghettos" are under the control of state power agents. Thus the "opposition" channel Ren-TV belongs to the financial structures of Yuri Kovalchuk, included within the circle of best friends of the president. He is also the owner of blocking stock of the main "state propaganda channel" - "Channel One". The radio station "Echo Moskvy" belongs to the "Gazprom media" group, owned by the state gas monopoly "Gazprom". The newspaper "Kommersant", the radio station "Kommersant FM", weeklies "Kommersant Vlast" and "Kommersant Dengi" included in the media holding group "Kommersant" are controlled by another oligarch close to the power, Alisher Usmanov, who is the CEO of "Gazprominvest Holdings". Usmanov is also known to be the owner of several assets in the field of telecommunications and in the steel industry. In the mid-2000's, he started to invest in the new tech-

Table 2: Intersection of media capital between institutionalised and non-institutionalised public spheres

Financial pole	Managing company (direct owner of stocks)	Media holding	Institutionalised public sphere	Non-institutionalised public sphere
Gazprom	Gazprominvestholding (Alisher Usmanov)	Kommersant	»Kommersant« newspaper, weeklies »Vlast« and »Dengi«, radio station »Kommersant FM«	
		Holdings »You TV«	Television channel »Disney«, »Muz TV« and »You TV«	
Gazprom	Gazprominvestholding (Alisher Usmanov) together with Yuri Milner and Grigory Finger	DST Global and Mail.RU	Portal Mail.ru	Social networks »Odnoklassniki«, »Vkontakte«, Facebook (10%), blog hosting Mail.Ru
	Gazprombank	Gazprom media	Federal television channels NTV, TNV, radio stations »City FM«, »Echo Moskvy«, »Relax FM« etc., magazines »Seven days«, »Itogi«, satellite platforms NTV+ and »Trikolor TV«	Video hosting Ru Tube.ru
	Investment company »Leader«, managing company »Abros«, bank »Rossia« (Yuri Kovalchuk)	National media group	Federal television channels »Channel One«, »Ren-TV«, »% channel«, newspaper »Izvestia«	
		CTC-Media (25 %)	Federal television channels »CTC«, »Domashny«, »Peretz«	
Alexander Mamut	Alexander Mamut (Spar, A&NN etc.)	SUP Media		Blog hosting Livejournal.com
Vladimir Potanin	Interros	Profmedia	Niche television channels »TV 3«, 2x2, Radiostations: NRJ, »Avtoradio«, »Yumor FM«, magazine »Afisha«	Search engine Rambler
Vladimir Prokhorov	Onesim	RBK	Business channel RBK, business information agency RBK	

nology field abroad. Usmanov owns shares in Facebook, LinkedIn, Apple and some other companies in this field. He also holds a 30% share of the London soccer club "Arsenal".

Here it is important to note that for both media empires (Kovalchuk and Usmanov), "Gazprom" represents the financial pole². Thus, the network-making power is realised through media capital ownership over "liberal" media, which maintains the function of supervision within "information ghettos". In other words, these media outlets are designated to "be oppositional" but are placed under certain surveillance within some self-regulating framework.

4. Discussion

The separation of two different public spheres with two contradictory discourses corresponds perfectly to the structure of Russian society. Generally, there are two main attitudes of the Russian population towards television or media in general. The majority of the population is in their social life close to an exterior "locus of control", i.e., they rely on some third party to solve their own problems. They are not able to solve these problems by themselves. That is why they are waiting for some support, firstly, from the State. This is to a large extent a remnant from the Soviet past. For these people, the media represent a kind of State institution that should explain reality to them. These people trust the media - that is why state propaganda prepares for them a constructed image of the world, explaining the reality (Klimov, 2007). These people do not regret the loss of democratic values, which is why they are not ready to struggle for such values (Levada, 2005). The "locus of self-control" is relevant for the second, less numerous group. These people rely on themselves and their own strengths to resolve their problems. They are, in general, much better adapted to the new rhythm of contemporary competitive social life. Their attitude towards media is more pragmatic. Media for them represents a source of information for taking decisions (Klimov, 2007).

Within this social model, the split between different audiences is based on different appropriations of media. It means that the first social group will be less interested in debates, interactivity and participation. But for the second group, these aspects will be a vital part of the usefulness of media. Thus, the alternative dis-

The ownership in the field of the non-institutionalised public sphere is subordinated more and more by the same logic. The main social media, such as Odnoklassniki, Vkontakte, shares in Facebook, Livejournal, blog hosting Mail.ru and search engine Rambler are divided between Alisher Usmanov, Alexander Mamut and Vladimir Potanin (Panchenko, 2011). Table 2 illustrates the intersection of media capital and the institutionalised and non-institutionalised public spheres in Russia.

Thus, we can see that financial poles and media owners use networked and network-making power to ensure isolation of the non-institutionalised public sphere from the institutionalised one.

course within the parallel public sphere exists for the second social group. It isolates these people from others by creating for them an alternative space for debates.

This is well illustrated at the level of analysis of the Russian blogosphere. According to the results of Etling and his research team, political debates within blogs do not assemble around political forces from the real public sphere like in the UK where democrats or trade unionists are assembled around their own platforms within social media. On the contrary, in Russia the political clusters of "nationalists", "liberals", "westernists" intersect between them and are quoting themselves (Etling et al., 2010). From our point of view, it means that political debates within the Russian blogosphere as a whole are isolated from the political forces acting within the official public sphere.

Inside this parallel public sphere, the circulation of messages is subordinated to the general model of message circulation within social media. According to Bastos, Galdini Raimundo and Travitzki (2012), the message diffusion in social media is not subordinated to the hierarchical position of a user inside the network, i.e., users with higher numbers of followers and followees, but depends on his/her activity. Quite free debates are being carried out inside the parallel public sphere. But the "gatekeeping" at the input and exit of the parallel public sphere is realised through network-making and networked power, which isolates debates inside such clusters of political communication groups. It does not allow such free debates to be spread outside an isolated public sphere and penetrate into the official public sphere and vice versa.

5. Conclusions

The division of the Russian public sphere into a few communicative spaces reproduces the split within the whole of Russian society and Russian politics. Using the power of networks over other networks, operating

through inclusion/exclusion, and network-making power, realised through control over media capital, the Russian ruling coalition "preserves" each of the public spheres by gatekeeping or switching, in terms of net-

work power theory, signals between them. By this we mean the "preservation of the border" between the parallel public sphere and the main public sphere, but also between institutionalised and non-institutionalised public spheres. This keeps debates within each political cluster and inside each group of political activists isolated from a wider audience.

The isolation of some political forces contributes to their marginalisation and to the growth of incompatibility between their ideas and the official political sphere. This pushes them to organise rallies and different kinds of protest actions, part of which go outside the traditional political competition, such as non-authorised rallies, assaults on the administration, etc. All such actions in their term are radicalising the political movements more and more. The radicalisation leads to an absence of real political doctrines and programmes among these forces. Finally, their real demands centre on a single point - to overthrow the existing power, associated with a

single person. Thus, the political palette is divided into two oppositional clans and compromise between them is impossible. This absence of compromise multiplies the chances of a hegemonic regime because it pushes the ruling coalition to make maximum efforts to preserve their power.

Such a conclusion partially invalidates the general ideas about similarities between all hegemonic regimes and, consequently, about the role which new media are playing in liberalising them. A few years after the "Arab Spring" we can see that the trajectories of the institutional development of political regimes in all countries involved are quite different: from radicalisation of political groups in Egypt, which is quite similar to the Russian case, to quasi-civil war in Libya.

This means that the configuration of the public sphere and, consequently, the role of new media in such public spheres is completely different in different countries.

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¹ In February 2012, United States senator John McCain wrote in his Twitter message addressed to Russian prime-minister Vladimir Putin: "Dear Vlad, The #ArabSpring is coming to a neighbourhood near you".

² In reality as we could see that all the main television media outlets are concentrated under the umbrella of "Gazprom". Through Kovalchuk (financial company "Abros", insurance company "Sogaz", bank "Rossia"), it owns stocks in television channels "Channel One", "5 television channel", "Ren-TV" (a so-called oppositional channel), newspaper "Izvestia" and the largest television ad seller "Video International". Through "Gazprombank" (directly owned by "Gazprom" media holdings "Gazprom media"), it controls television channels NTV, TNT, a satellite platform NTV+ and the publishing house "Sem dney" (Seven days). Finally, through Usmanov ("Gazprominvestholding") "Gazprom" owns television channels "Disney", "Muz TV", "You TV" and the publishing house "Kommersant".

Topicalities

Edited by Mladen Lovreček

Contents

News & more	141
Bookshelf	145
Events	149

News & more

A new start for WAN-IFRA

WAN-IFRA was created in 2009 by the merger of the Paris-based World Association of Newspapers and IFRA, the newspaper technology and research organization that has been based in Darmstadt since 1966. With subsidiaries in Singapore and India, it is the global organization of the world's newspapers and news publishers, representing more than 18 000 publications, 15 000 online sites and over 3 000 companies in more than 120 countries. Its core mission is to defend and promote press freedom, quality journalism and editorial integrity and the development of prosperous businesses.

The media industry is going through a huge transformation. Therefore, the aim of creating a new focused entity is to develop the division as the Knowledge Centre for the industry, by aggregating, curating and delivering knowledge and expertise needed to assist the industry in this transformation process. WAN-IFRA Services will deliver business and technology related services. The Services division will operate out of Frankfurt, from July, while the press freedom, innovation hub, advocacy and media development will remain located in Paris.

The new entity implements a 'think global, act local' approach through its global services team comprising WAN-IFRA's flagship events, the World Publishing Expo and World Newspaper Congress, as well as Publications, Insights, and Consultancy services. The regional offices, including the new Europe, Middle East and Africa (EMEA) team housed in Frankfurt office, Asia-Pacific based in Singapore and South Asia based in Chennai, will be at the forefront of WAN-IFRA's direct connections with members in those regions. A formal presence will be established in Latin America by end of the year.



After the global organization for the world's newspapers and news publishers has successfully sold its building in Darmstadt it is moving in July to the downtown waterfront area of Frankfurt, thus placing WAN-IFRA in the centre of an important international business hub, providing an opportunity to revitalize the organization, which is dedicated to economic and technological transformation.

The EMEA unit will be headed by *Manfred Werfel*, who also continues to lead WAN-IFRA's all print production initiatives. The unit will manage the events program and awards organized in Europe, the Middle East and Africa, as well as the rollout of a comprehensive training program, Newsplex covering the needs of newsrooms, and Adplex to cater to the new demands of revenue generation in media houses.

Two new departments for Innovation and for Public Affairs have been installed in Paris under the guidance of *Larry Kilman*, who has been named Secretary General. He will overview the activities of the not-for-profit advocacy branch of WAN-IFRA, including Press Freedom, Media Development, News Literacy, Public Affairs, Innovation and Future Technologies as well as the World Editors Forum.

New semi-automated color scanning system

As a solution for press-side color control for smaller format color presses or for primarily process color environments, X-Rite introduced an innovative color scanning system suitable for producing accurate 2, 4, 6 or 8 multiple color jobs.



EasyTrax comes on a measurement board for easy installation and can be adapted to other after-market consoles. It enables achieving or maintaining ISO certification, and the characterization data sets for G7, PSO or Japan Color process control are available.

Available in multiple press sizes the system allows for measurements anywhere on the sheet. The instrument signals the user if the color bar is out of alignment, thus avoiding false readings.



This color scanning system is available in two versions: EasyTrax Density and EasyTrax Spectral.

Faster and more stable

The upgraded version 10.2 of Quark XPress is faster, renders stunning images and enables users to optimize their environment for onscreen image display and performance. It also introduces new collaboration and productivity features. renders rich PDFs, Photoshop and TIFF images at the maximum and most appropriate resolution, with the ability to choose maximum performance over highest display quality.



Quark

New features include Redlining to track changes, a Notes facility to store comments in a project without affecting content, importing and exporting of hyphenation exceptions, and removal of the limit on anchored boxes.

Rapid reading technology

When reading, people spend approximately 80 % of time moving the eyes from one word to another. By eliminating these eye movements, researchers claim the average reading speed can be increased from around 250 words per minute to 600, or even 1000 wpm. According to them, new software and apps will soon become the main source of reading.

The software uses a technique known as Rapid Serial Visual Presentation (RSVP), allowing for the reading of unlimited text in a limited position. It presents words at an adjustable speed one at a time, in exactly the same spot on the screen. This ensures the eye remains fixed as the words are read. The software has the potential to be integrated and used on tiny screens, such as in smart watches, where it is now almost impossible to read longer articles of text without such advanced technology.



Many news publisher consider this possibility as the missing piece of the puzzle in conveying content to users effortlessly. German newspaper Bild already tested the new technology, while many others are expected to follow.

Digital archiving

The key to productivity for high-volume applications in digital archiving is speed and actual throughput. The ScanStation is able to scan three times as many documents as any other scanner to help boosting productivity and cutting costs. Designed to improve large-format document management, the ScanStation gives the best ergonomic conditions. Different height settings and the touch-screen mounted to the left or right are giving the best options for a correct working position.



When creating digital archives ScanStation offers the widest selection of file formats to ensure the right solution for the archives. Standard TIF formats and PDF/A files are available, as well as other formats.

Next drupa will focus on future technologies

After a strategic realignment, the drupa 2016 will be re-launched with a substantially reviewed nomenclature and a new key signifier. With the slogan "touch the future" it will focus on the industry's innovative strength and establish a platform for future technologies. This re-launch was presented to the international professional audience in May 2014 at its own stand at interpack 2014 and during a press conference.

No other trade fair - regional or international, marginal event or special trade show - is of similar relevance for the entire industry. The next drupa trade fair will present innovations and trends, provides hands-on experience of the printing and media industry, makes visions come to life and turns investments into real products. During more than sixty years, the drupa has been tried and tested - and has never failed to impress. And the drupa 2016 will be no different. The secret of this event's success can be summed up in three points: trend spotting, active endorsement and tailored trade show concepts.

At present, the printing industry is undergoing radical structural changes and far-reaching consolidation processes. At the same time, new technologies such as functional printing, printed electronics and 3D printing, which have significantly increased their market share, provide major opportunities and potential for growth. The same applies to applications and solutions in the area of digital printing, package and label printing as well as to the industrial production segment. It is precisely on these areas that the drupa's structural realignment and repositioning measures are focused, highlighting the industry's innovative strength. Together with key partners and global players, a new original concept has been developed for the drupa's re-launch.

The drupa 2016 will stand for "Print & Crossmedia Solutions". All technical processes related to the areas of printing and crossmedia, the entire range of applications and business areas will be presented at the drupa 2016. Solution-oriented technologies and applications as well as innovative business ideas or best-practice examples will be in the spotlight. The drupa's new claim - No. 1 for Print and Crossmedia - says it in a nutshell.

Highlight issues: Package printing, multichannel, green printing

The drupa has defined salient issues with acute market relevance and significant potential which are already playing an important role in the market or will do so in the future. These are: package printing including digital label printing, multichannel publishing and green printing. The implementation of strategic activities such as separate events, event formats and systematically addressing the industry's target groups will define the drupa's strategic re-alignment in these areas.

In addition to this strategic realignment the drupa's corporate design received a complete makeover and a new key signifier which highlights the innovative strength of this industry. It was important to retain tried-and-tested elements such as the pixel logo and the colour red, while conveying a new image which underlines the claim of the new drupa.

Strategic highlight issue: Future Technologies

The slogan "touch the future" puts a spotlight on the industry's innovative strength and future technologies such as printed electronics and 3D printing. The last drupa 2012 launched and prepared the market for pioneering technologies, and they have become increasingly integrated into the trade fair concept. In cooperation with the partners OE-A (Organic Electronics Association) and ESMA (Association in Europe for Specialist Print-

ing Manufacturers of Screen, Digital and Flexo technology), the PEPSO brand - Printed Electronics Products and Solutions - was established. This issue was initially addressed by introducing a special show and roadmap, which has now been developed into a unique concept. Since its premiere in 2012, the PEPSO brand has been systematically advanced and featured at six flagship fairs glasstec, COMPAMED, EuroCIS, K, EuroShop and interpack. This evolution will also become evident at the recent interpack 2014, where international exhibitors will present the latest trends and developments in functional printing and printed electronics.

evolution in print

may 31 - june 10, 2016
düsseldorf, germany



The drupa handles the issue of 3D printing with the same strategic approach, and has introduced the "3D fab + print" brand, which is supported by the VDMA with its affiliated Printing and Paper Technology association. The importance of additive production methods for tooling, component production, medical technology and manufacturers of consumer goods is substantial. Therefore, this subject will take centre stage during the next drupa in 2016.

Nomenclature now with new main groups

The so-called nomenclature - the service profile of the drupa - was revised and updated and is now divided into six main categories (formerly seven):

- ♦ Pre-press/Print
- ♦ Pre-media/Multichannel
- ♦ Post Press/Converting/Package Printing
- ♦ Future Technologies
- ♦ Materials
- ♦ Equipment/Services/Infrastructure

Going digital

Many manufacturers with a traditional portfolio are more and more focused on digital printing, together with work on a water-based inkjet technology for printing on different substrates. Now, newspaper printing and coating technologies are combined with the rebranding of Wifag Maschinenfabrik as Wifag-Polytype Technologies. It is intended to intensive development and the breadth of technologies made available for machines, processes and materials. However, newspaper and book production systems - still under the century-old original name - will continue to be an integral part of the group's portfolio with its international subsidiaries unchanged.

The holding is wholly owned by a charitable foundation whose aims include promoting research into printing technologies.



A pilot version of a new Techma-4 digital press has been shown recently at an open house at the group's headquarters in Fribourg, Switzerland, along with the new digital print advances from the new fluid technologies centre formed from the acquisition of Ilford Imaging research team. The Wifag-Polytype group

added its drying technology and digital printing. Among other innovative projects, the company provides the digital engine for digital off-line varnishing system.

Digital press for special effects

There is more and more demand for special effects in commercial, as well in packaging printing. Digital technology enables almost endless opportunities of producing tangible enhancements for a wide variety of applications; marketing literature, stationery items, book covers, boxes and premium packages, greeting cards, photo albums with VDP capabilities based on a barcode system, and many more.



The Scodix Ultra Digital press offers new features designed to meet the growing requirement for digital enhancement in longer runs, while retaining the highest quality, reliability and perfect registration. With its ability to print on a wide variety of materials from paper to PVC or cartonboard up to 30 points or 700 gsm, this modular digital solution will bring tangible benefits to a wide variety of applications including commercial print, packaging, displays, security marking and braille. It is the most productive in the series and enables commercial PSP's and folding-cartons converters to produce at the highest quality, speed and efficiency.

The press features Twin-Tray media handling system that conveys the sheets under the fixed array of ink heads in a single pass at a rate of over 1 250 B2 size sheets per hour. With two trays operating simultaneously, and with an independent motion system for each tray, the press reaches the ultimate ratio of performance and efficiency. This highly accurate media handling system guarantees high print quality, consistency and reliability.



Scodix's proprietary special clear polymer gives tangible dimension to graphic printed items. The polymer can reach a height of up to 250 microns, 100 times higher than conventional selective varnish. It has the ability to vary the density of the polymer from 1-100 % in a single pass adds tangible depth and texture to images and text. Highest gloss available for printed materials. The smooth, flat layer applied by the Scodix Sense results in a gloss level higher than 99 Gloss Units.

New coating production facility in India

After expansion of its industrial coating site in Songjiang, China, which doubled its annual production capacity in 2014, AkzoNobel has set up a new industrial coating facility in Navi Mumbai.

This new plant for the packaging coatings will have a production capacity of 5000 tones per year, oriented to a range of products including specialized coatings for food packaging. It is also capable of producing various functional and barrier coatings for the flexible packaging industry.



The production facility, which is located in the campus of existing decorative coatings plant in Navi Mumbai, is based on the infrastructure of its plant in Vilafranca. To ensure best practice performance, it will operate in full compliance with all health, safety, environmental, and security standards, using the HSE&S Management System.

New ways to structure context in online journalism

Designers and researchers at the MIT Media Lab developed a new context creation platform for journalists and storytellers called FOLD. It is a platform that is reimagining how online journalism is presented. The site enables both established and emerging writers to structure and craft complex stories to ensure their work is accessible.



It works by offering readers "curated tangents" that provide contextual information from online sources or by re-using other authors' context blocks. Readers can then progress through a story vertically to read the narrative, and side-to-side to access these context blocks that contain explanations and further information to aid or supplement the for more difficult and complex parts.

FOLD ensures the reader can really get into the story without having to break away and head to Google for definitions or explanations. They will be able to better understand a story and can stay engaged throughout.

Eliminating optical brightener distortion

Compensating for the Optical Brightness of the proofing substrate is essential to achieving accurate color matching suitable for the critical and often stressful proofing stage. While the Optical Brightening Agents (OBAs) have been added to improve papers' brightness and the appearance of the printed product, they make color management difficult because they cause color perception differences when prints are viewed under different light sources, and especially when some of these sources contain UV.



After being tested to GRACoL 2013 and M1 specifications, defined by the ISO and CGATS, as established by the Print Properties & Colorimetric Committee and tested by the Printing Applications Laboratory at RIT, the CMA Imaging Proofing System allows color management of Optical Brightening Agents used in substrates to be refined to an unprecedented degree. Contract Proofing System, built for Epson 4900, 7900, and 9900.

The certificate was issued CMA by IDEAlliance Proofing System Certification Program.

Complete printing solution for packaging market

Three leading international manufacturers and providers have agreed to work together to develop a complete digital printing solution for packaging applications. Partners in this project are BDT Media Automation GmbH, a market leader for B2 format feeders in digital printing, FUJIFILM Dimatix, Inc., one of world's leading providers of inkjet printheads for commercial and industrial printing, and Phoseon Technology, a leader in UV LED curing solutions for commercial and industrial applications.



The system will take advantage of the flexibility of the BDT Tornado media handling technology and the versatility of UV printing provided by Fuji-Dimatix and Phoseon. The first demonstration of the solution will be at the Pack Expo International in Chicago, from 2 to 5 November, 2014.



The Tornado-based Product Feeder (TPF) and Print-system will be able to perform off-line processing of standard packaging materials including coated and uncoated cardboard, corrugated board, and paper stock, as well as more exotic packing materials such as metallic foils and plastics. The solution will feed, align, print, cure and stack - all with minimal user intervention and greatly shortened job set up times.



This joint development will bring the best of material handling and UV digital printing to package manufacturers. The synergy of material handling, printing and LED curing together will deliver an optimal industrial solution for both end users and OEM's.

Bookshelf

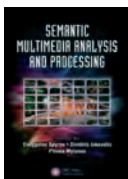
Semantic Multimedia Analysis and Processing

Broad in scope, this book provides a complete overview of techniques, algorithms, and solutions for the design and the implementation of contemporary multimedia systems. Offering a balanced, global look at the latest advances in semantic indexing, retrieval, analysis, and processing of multimedia, the book features the contributions of renowned researchers from around the world. Its 15 chapters cover key topics such as content creation, annotation and modeling for the semantic web, multimedia content understanding, and efficiency and scalability. The structure is based on four fundamental thematic sections:

- information and content retrieval,
- semantic knowledge exploitation paradigms,
- multimedia personalization, and
- human-computer affective multimedia interaction.

Fostering a deeper understanding of a popular area of research, the text describes state-of-the-art schemes and applications, presents novel methods and applications in an informative and reproducible way, contains numerous examples, illustrations, and tables, summarizing results from quantitative studies.

Semantic Multimedia Analysis and Processing is useful for engineers and scientists specializing in the design of multimedia systems, processing technologies, software applications and image analysis, thus guiding researchers and developers in finding innovative solutions to existing problems.



Editors: Evaggelos Spyrou,
Dimitris Iakovidis and Phivos Mylonas
Publisher: CRC Press, Boca Raton, USA, 2014
ISBN: 978-1466575493
555 pages
Hardcover

Designing for Print

This book is a single-source guide to planning, designing and printing successful projects using the ACS 5. Packed with real-world design exercises, this revised edition contains dozens of sidebars and step-by-step descriptions walk readers through the design process in the same order actual projects are implemented.

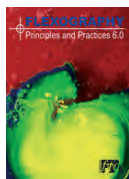
This second edition has been fully updated for applications in the Adobe Creative Suite. It presents software tricks and tips, along with discussions on scanning, output, and other issues related to digital design for print and electronic media. Up-to-date coverage includes useful skills for getting the most out of the latest technologies. Methods and techniques are demonstrated for creating top-quality print media projects. Carefully chosen real-world design exercises and problem-solving projects offer hands-on practice to help readers achieve strong designs.

Author: Charles Conover
Publisher: Wiley; 2nd edition, 2011
ISBN: 978-0470905975
256 pages
Paperback



Flexography: Principles & Practices 6.0

Publisher:
Foundation of
Flexographic Technical
Association, 2014
Kindle edition
Size: 867 pages, 12.5 MB



Principles and Practices 6.0 is a definitive and up-to-date guide to the flexo industry, with information contributed by a number of authors, recognized experts representing some of the most respected companies in the field.

The 6th digital edition of Flexography Principles and Practices is undoubtedly the industry's most comprehensive textbook on flexographic printing processes and operations, featuring 29 chapters, hundreds of full-color illustrations, a detailed glossary of terms and an extensive troubleshooting guide.

Wood Fibres for Papermaking

Publisher:
Smithers-Pira,
Leatherhead, UK, 2014
106 pages
Hard copy



The pulp and paper industry has shown in the last two decades a strong North-South displacement. This is to a large extent due to the favorable climate. Similarly, the paper fibres have gone from being almost exclusively softwoods to fast growing species of short fibres, such as eucalyptus, and willow and poplar hybrids from plantations. These new species, that begin to dominate the paper world, not only differ from classic ones in fibre length, but they present particular characteristics, like different fibrillar angle etc., because trees are used increasingly at younger age.

This leads to question whether the old paradigms concerning the fibres characteristics and pulp properties are still valid or should be reviewed and updated, in which case, the basic fibre parameters, their influence in pulping and refining, and their impact on paper quality should be redefined.

This book analyses the morphological characteristics of the fibres, which are nowadays considered relevant. Relatively recent data were surveyed because of the continuous changes that occur in the species by genetic improvement.

Fabricated: The New World of 3D Printing

This book takes the reader onto a rich and fulfilling journey that explores how 3D printing is poised to impact nearly every part of our lives.

A 3D printer transforms digital information into a physical object by carrying out instructions from an electronic design file, or 'blueprint.' Guided by a design file, a 3D printer lays down layer after layer of a raw material to 'print' out an object. That is not the whole story, however. The magic happens when you plug a 3D printer into today's mind-boggling digital technologies. Add to that the Internet, tiny, low cost electronic circuitry, radical advances in materials science and biotech, and the result is an explosion of technological and social innovation.

3D printers, humble manufacturing machines that are bursting out of the factory and into schools, kitchens, hospitals, even onto the fashion catwalk. The book describes the emerging world of printable products, where people design and 3D print their own creations as easily as they edit an on-line document.

Aimed at people who enjoy books on business strategy, popular science and novel technology, Fabricated will provide readers with practical and imaginative insights to the question 'how will this technology change the life?' Based on hundreds of hours of research and dozens of interviews with experts from a broad range of industries, the book offers readers an informative, engaging and fast-paced introduction to 3D printing now and in the future.

Authors:
Hod Lipson and Melba Kurman
Publisher: Wiley, 2013
ISBN-13: 978-1118350638
280 pages
Paperback



Media Now:

Understanding Media, Culture and Technology

The eighth edition of Media now empowers readers to consider critically the new media and its increasing effects on society and culture by providing a in-depth understanding of how media technologies develop, operate, converge, and affect society. This book prepares you for encounters in the expanding fields of the Internet, interactive media, and traditional media industries through engaging, up-to-date material that covers the essential history, theories, concepts, and necessary technical knowledge one needs to thrive.

Extensively updated in a new eighth edition with 17 chapters, Media Now provides a comprehensive introduction to today's global media environment and ongoing developments in technology, culture, and critical theory that continue to transform this rapidly evolving industry and affect the society and daily lives.



Authors: Joseph Straubhaar, Robert LaRose
and Lucinda Davenport
Publisher: Cengage Learning; 8th edition, 2013
ISBN: 978-1133311362
608 pages, Paperback

Graphic Design Theory: Readings from the Field

Essential book for courses in design history, theory and contemporary issues, *Graphic Design Theory* is intended for readers of all levels. The book is organized in three sections: the first one traces the evolution of graphic design over the course of the early 1900s, including influential avant-garde ideas of futurism, constructivism, and the Bauhaus; the second one covers the mid to late twentieth century and considers the International Style, modernism and postmodernism, while the third section opens at the end of the last century and includes current discussions on legibility, social responsibility, and new media. Striking color images illustrate each of the movements discussed and demonstrate the ongoing relationship between theory and practice. A brief commentary prefaces each text, providing a cultural and historical framework through which the work can be evaluated.

Author & Editor: Helen Armstrong
 Publisher: Princeton Architectural Press
 1st edition, 2012 (Kindle edition)
 File Size: 14.135 MB
 Print Length: 151 pages



Low-Tech Print

Author: Caspar Williamson



Publisher: Laurence King Publishing, October 2013
 ISBN: 978-1780672977
 224 pages, Paperback

This book offers a unique showcase of contemporary handmade printing, and is an exploration of handmade printmaking techniques and how they are used in contemporary design and illustration.

The book shows how practitioners can develop a knowledge of these techniques, explaining the process behind each of them and its historical context. It examines the huge recent resurgence of traditional printmaking, with chapters on screenprinting, letterpress, relief printing, and other printing methods.

Bookshelf

Academic dissertations

Properties of thermochromic printing inks in the temperature region of their colour change

The aim of the research was to analyse the dynamic properties of thermochromic printing inks in the temperature region where the colour change occurs. Stability against light and high temperatures as well as the applicability of the Kubelka-Munk theory in the prediction of thermochromic colour mixtures were also investigated. Various commercial offset and screen printing thermochromic inks were included in the research, along with conventional inks which were used for comparison. Thermochromic printing inks change colour with temperature. They are in their coloured state at low temperatures, but decolour when heated above a certain temperature. The temperature at which a colour change is expected to occur is called activation temperature. Decolouration and recolouration occur at different temperatures, which is a phenomenon known as a colour hysteresis of inks.

A colorimetric analysis was used to evaluate the properties of colour hysteresis of basic thermochromic printing inks, and parameters for its description were defined. A total colour contrast represents the colour difference between a totally coloured and a fully decoloured state. Yellowness is the colour difference between a printing substrate and a fully decoloured sample. The width of the colour hysteresis is also very important. The shape of the loop is represented by the highest decolouration and colouration rates. The results show that the width of the hysteresis does not depend on the thickness of the ink layer, and neither do the highest decolouration and colouration rates in samples with thicker ink layers.

Mixtures of different thermochromic and conventional printing inks in various ratios were prepared. These samples were also evaluated with the colorimetric analysis. The duality of the thermochromic mixture is visible of the activation temperatures of its basic components are sufficiently different.

Doctoral thesis - Summary

Author:
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Speciality field:
Printing inks

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Mojca Friškovec

Doctoral thesis - Summary, continued

Most thermochromic inks lose their dynamic colour even after short-term exposures to light (after six hours). The protective material can extend the stability of the dynamic colour by at least three times. Negative effects occur also at exposures to high temperatures, but only at short-term exposures (up to one hour) to extremely high temperatures (200 °C).

The possibility of using the Kubelka-Munk theory for predicting colour mixtures was examined. First, the spectral dependence of the absorption and scattering coefficients for selected thermochromic inks was determined. The theory has proved to be useful for thermochromic inks for screen and offset printing if the reflectance spectra of ink layers were in a wide enough range of thicknesses. The coloured state is dominated by absorption, and the decoloured state is dominated by scattering. The absorption coefficient in the coloured state is significantly smaller than that of conventional printing inks. On the other hand, the scattering coefficient has more similar values. The spectrum of both coefficients changes continuously between the coloured and decoloured states.

Second, the spectra of absorption and scattering coefficients of printing inks were used in the mixture model. The results gained from this model were used to calculate the colour of the mixture in its totally coloured and fully decoloured states. We found that the method is useful for predicting the color mixtures of thermochromic inks, and that it could be used for the development of mixing system.

Doctoral thesis - Summary

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LED based scattering light measurements of papers for printing applications

High-quality printing requires the control and therefore an accurate prediction of the reflectance spectrum of the printed product. This reflectance is a result of various factors, one of them is the light scattering property of the substrate, which is paper in most cases. Fitting a typical printer model is cost-intensive since it requires to print and measure test patches. This gets even more important for an increasing number of inks because the possible combinations of overprints rise exponentially. So-called first principle models reduce these costs by modeling different effects separately. A typical approach is decoupling optical and physical dot gain. A key element of modeling optical dot gain is the measurement of sub-surface light scattering in the substrate.

This work presents the necessary means to design a setup for the measurement of light scattering in paper or other substrates. One measurement setup is introduced and analyzed, and representative results are shown. The main enhancements of the derived measurement setup are the advanced focusing tools, the investigation of the sources of possible measurement errors, and the angular resolved measurement for detecting anisotropy in light scattering.

A theoretical study on conventional screens showed that optical dot gain can be predicted without printing any patches. Describing light scattering using a point spread function, only the measurement of one parameter is necessary, if ink transmittance and screen frequency are known. A prerequisite for this optical dot gain prediction is an accurate and reliable measurement of that parameter. Thus, this work is a contribution to improve first principle printer models by decoupling optical dot gain and other physical dot gain sources like ink spread.

The Journal of Print and Media Technology Research will publish summaries of high quality academic thesis within the scope of the journal. Short summaries should be submitted to <journal@iarigai.org> by the thesis supervisor. Information on type and field of the thesis, author, supervisor, date and university of defense or presentation, as well as on how the full thesis can be obtained must be provided.

Events

BIBF

The Beijing International Book Fair

Beijing, PR China, 27 to 31 August 2014

Over the past twenty years, the BIBF has been an event of the utmost importance to publishers, and has received major support and participation from domestic and overseas book and publishing industries, gradually confirming BIBF's international brand status, and turning it into a major international publishing event incorporating copyright trade, book trade, cultural events, displays, consultation services and professional networking.



The 21th Beijing International Book Fair will be held at the China International Exhibition Center (New Venue) from 27 to 31 August, 2014. The exhibition area will cover 53600 square meters, and the Republic of Turkey will take part as the Country of Honor. Besides expanding and improving on the General Publishing Zone, 2014 BIBF will continue to run the Digital Publishing Zone and the Children's Book, Cartoons & Animation Zone, Periodical Zone, Publishing on De-

mand Zone, the Rights Center and the Library Acquisition Zone. As the organizer of the BIBF, CNPIEC will continue to adhere to international concepts and professional standards, and to provide quick and efficient information management and fair services to Chinese and overseas publishing cooperation and communication, with the goal of raising the 21th BIBF to new heights of quality.

Advances in Printing and Media Technology

41st International Research conference of **iarigai**

Swansea, Wales, UK, 7 to 10 September 2014

Continuing almost 50 years of tradition, **iarigai** - the International Association of Research Organizations for the Information, Media and Graphic Arts Industries announces its next annual event. The conference will be hosted by the Swansea University and Welsh Center for Printing and Coating in September 2014.



Printing and media technologies are nowadays increasingly capturing the attention of researchers, bringing new development to the field. The 41st International Research Conference of **iarigai** on "Advances in Printing and Media Technology" will show how printing and media are moving forward in the 21st century. With the strap-line "Print and Media Research for the Benefit of Industry and Society", the program of this annual event will be focused on:

HD Screen and Digital Signage Expo



Shanghai, PR China
3 to 6 July 2014

The Shanghai HD Screen and Digital Signage Expo will be held at Shanghai New International Expo Center from 3 to 6 July, 2014. As expected, it will attract more than 140 000.

At the same time there is the world's most powerful APPEXPO - the 22nd Shanghai International Ad & Sign Technology and Equipment Exhibition.



The combination of signs and digital technology has changed the traditional mode of information dissemination and made it release fast and accurately as possible. The consumers demand of new instant information is more and more high and has had the characteristics of diversification, integrated, personalized.

Shanghai HD Screen and Digital Signage Expo not only collects up-to-date products and the top technology, but also integrates the number of best customer database to bring the business interests to the exhibitors.

Hong Kong Book Fair



Hong Kong
香港書展 16 to 22 July 2014

The 25th HKTDC will open a new page in the history of the event, expecting, for the first time, more than one million visitors. It will host 570 exhibitors from 31 countries and regions.

Events that will be staged during the Book Fair will include seminars, readings, book clubs and new book parades with some 300 speakers taking part.

As an extension of the Book Fair, the on-going month-long Cultural July festival will feature a total of more than 500 cultural events across Hong Kong.

Digital Fabrication and Digital Printing

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
7 to 11 September 2014

NIP30

NIP is no longer just about traditional methods of printing - defined as laying colorants on substrates - but it is still about using printing to make things. It is about the ways that printing processes are becoming integrated into larger manufacturing processes, about the ways that fundamental printing technologies are being used to produce complex objects. Printing workflows are expanding to allow for greater creative flexibility and efficiency, whether producing one item or one million.

The goal of this conference is to bring together everyone working in the printing ecosystem - teachers, researchers, developers, practitioners, manufacturers, distributors - to share ideas, learn from each other, and discover ways to collaborate to ensure the continued development and success of this important manufacturing sector.

NIP conferences will continue to represent and highlight ink jet and electro-photography as it moves to include the newer areas of functional, bio-printing, and 3D printing.

WAN-IFRA India Conference

New Delhi, India
17 and 18 September 2014



New Delhi will host WAN-IFRA India 2014, the twenty second annual conference of WAN-IFRA in South Asia. The event is co-sponsored by the Indian Newspaper Society.

The conference will have three parallel tracks: a) Newsroom Summit b) Printing Summit and c) Cross-media Advertising Summit. The conference will discuss the business and technology challenges and provide a direction into the future of the news publishing industry in the region.

The conference draws much significance in the backdrop of the digital media revolution facing the South Asian news publishing industry in one hand and the challenge of managing the growth of print media business on the other hand.

- Printed functionality - innovative ways of using printing technology for totally new purposes
- Printing processes and products - improvement of industrial processes and product development for traditional printed products
- Quality in print - new methods for improving and maintaining the technical and perceived quality
- Media development and the consumer - the problems and opportunities of satisfying consumer demands in a multimedia world

The conference will offer a range of high quality invited presentations, as well as contributions selected and evaluated by prominent international experts in corresponding fields. An added value to the regular conference program will be three workshops on different topics and a special COST session on New applications of augmented paper. As a major scientific and technical event of the print and media field, the conference will become a networking hub for its world-wide participants.

Print in the Mix

CMIC Summit, Rochester, NY, USA
15 and 16 October 2014



Rochester Institute of Technology Cross-Media Innovation Center will host the CMIC summit in October 2014. The summit will address the specific issues and opportunities impacting business and technology in the entire graphic communication value chain, particularly covering traditional, digital and functional printing:



- Transformative workflow
- Product optimization
- Best practices in media development
- Emerging technologies operational and business drivers
- User-oriented aspects of cross-media communications

This two day event is aimed at service providers, solution providers, students and educators. Professionals from both, industry and academia, will present a number of pertinent topics including (but not limited to):

- * Strategy in Cross-Media Communications
- * Content Management
- * Big vs. Small Data Mining and Analytics
- * Dynamic Communications
- * Mobile Communications
- * Transactional Communications (financial, medical, legal, etc.)
- * Books, Magazines, Newspapers and the Tablet (traditional vs. digital)
- * The Future Direction of Publishing Content (syndicated vs. free)
- * The Future of Package Printing
- * Measurement and Analysis - Spatial Uniformity
- * Functional Print Workflow
- * Functional Print Processes and Materials

Guidelines for authors

Authors are encouraged to submit complete, original and previously unpublished scientific or technical research works, which are not under review in any other journals and/or conferences. Significantly expanded and updated versions of conference presentations may also be considered for publication. In addition, the journal will publish reviews as well as opinions and reflections in a special section.

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A - General

The text should be cohesive, logically organized, and thus easy to follow by someone with common knowledge in the field. Do not include information that is not relevant to your research question(s) stated in the introduction.

Only contributions submitted in English will be considered for publication. If English is not your native language, please arrange for the text to be reviewed by a technical editor with skills in English and scientific communication. Maintain a consistent style with regard to spelling (either UK or US English, but never both), punctuation, nomenclature, symbols etc. Make sure that you are using proper English scientific terms.

Do not copy substantial parts of your previous publications and do not submit the same manuscript to more than one journal at a time. Clearly distinguish your original results and ideas from those of other authors and from your earlier publications - provide citations whenever relevant. For more details on ethics in scientific publication, please consult:

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B - Structure of the manuscript

Title: Should be concise and unambiguous, and must reflect the contents of the article. Information given in the title does not need to be repeated in the abstract (as they are always published jointly).

List of authors: i.e. all persons who contributed substantially to study planning, experimental work, data collection or interpretation of results and wrote or critically revised the manuscript and approved its final version. Enter full names (first and last), followed by the present address, as well as the e-mail addresses.

Separately enter complete details of the corresponding author - full mailing address, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail. Editors will communicate only with the corresponding author.

The title of the paper and the list of authors should be entered on a separate cover page (numbered as 0). Neither the title nor the names of authors can be mentioned on the first or any other following page.

Abstract: Should not exceed 500 words. Briefly explain why you conducted the research (background), what question(s) you answer (objectives), how you performed the research (methods), what you found (results: major data attained, relationships), and your interpretation and main consequences of your findings (discussion, conclusions). The abstract must reflect the content of the article, including all the keywords, as for most readers it will be the major source of information about your research. Make sure that all the information given in the abstract also appears in the main body of the article.

Keywords: Include three to seven relevant scientific terms that are not mentioned in the title. Keep the keywords specific. Avoid more general and/or descriptive terms, unless your research has strong interdisciplinary significance.

Abstract and keywords should be entered on a separate page, numbered as page 1. Do not continue with the main body of the text, regardless of the possible empty space left on this page.

D - Submission of the paper and further procedure

Before sending your paper, check once again that it corresponds to the requirements explicated above, with special regard to the ethic issues, structure of the paper as well as formatting. Once completed, send your paper as an attachment to: journal@iarigai.org. You will be acknowledged on the receipt within 48 hours, along with the code under which your submission will be processed. The editors will check the manuscript and inform you whether it has to be updated regarding the structure and formatting. The corrected manuscript is expected within 15 days. At the same time the first (or the corresponding) author will be asked to sign and send the Copyright Transfer Agreement.

Your paper will be forwarded for anonymous evaluation by two experts of international reputation in your specific field. Their comments and remarks will be in due time disclosed to the author(s), with the request for changes, explanations or corrections (if any) as demanded by the referees. After the updated version is approved by the reviewers, the Editorial Board will consider the paper for publishing. However, the Board retains the right to ask for a third independent opinion, or to definitely reject the contribution. Printing and publishing of papers once accepted by the Editorial Board will be carried out at the earliest possible convenience.

Introduction and background: Explain why it was necessary to carry out the research and the specific research question(s) you will answer. Start from more general issues and gradually focus on your research question(s). Describe relevant earlier research in the area and how your work is related to this.

Methods: Describe in detail how the research was carried out (e.g. study area, data collection, criteria, origin of analyzed material, sample size, number of measurements, equipment, data analysis, statistical methods and software used). All factors that could have affected the results need to be considered. Make sure that you comply with the ethical standards, with respect to the environmental protection, other authors and their published works, etc.

Results: Present the new results of your research (previously published data should not be included). All tables and figures must be mentioned in the main body of the article, in the order in which they appear. Do not fabricate or distort any data, and do not exclude any important data; similarly, do not manipulate images to make a false impression on readers.

Discussion: Answer your research questions (stated at the end of the introduction) and compare your new results with the published data, as objectively as possible. Discuss their limitations and highlight your main findings. At the end of Discussion or in a separate section, emphasize your major conclusions, specifically pointing out scientific contribution and the practical significance of your study.

Conclusions: The main conclusions emerging from the study should be briefly presented or listed, with the reference to the aims of the research and/or questions mentioned in the Introduction and elaborated in the Discussion.

Introduction, Methods, Results, Discussion and Conclusions - as the scientific content of the paper - represent the main body of the text. Start numbering of these sections with page 2 and continue without interruption until the end of Conclusions. Number the sections titles consecutively as 1, 2, 3 ..., while subsections should be hierarchically numbered as 2.1, 2.3, 3.4 etc. Use Arabic numerals only.

Note: Some papers might require different structure of the scientific content. In such cases, however, it is necessary to clearly name and mark the appropriate sections.

Acknowledgments: Place any acknowledgments at the end of your manuscript, after conclusions and before the list of literature references.

References: The list of sources referred to in the text should be collected in alphabetical order on a separate page at the end of the paper. Make sure that you have provided sources for all important information extracted from other publications. References should be given only to documents which any reader can reasonably be expected to be able to find in the open literature or on the web. The number of cited works should not be excessive - do not give many similar examples. Responsibility for the accuracy of bibliographic citations lies entirely with the authors.

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Appendix: If an additional material is required for better understanding of the text, it can be presented in the form of one or more appendices. They should be identified as A, B, ... etc., instead of Arabic numerals.

Above sections are supplementary, though integral parts of the Scientific content of the paper. Each of them should be entered on a separate page. Continue page numbering after Conclusions.

C - Technical requirements for text processing

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2-2014

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in the following fields of research:

- ⊕ Printing technology and related processes
- ⊕ Premedia technology and processes
- ⊕ Emerging media and future trends
- ⊕ Social impacts

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