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**PROFESSIONAL ROLES OF RUSSIAN JOURNALISTS AT THE END OF THE 1990s**

*A Case Study of St. Petersburg Media*

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**ABSTRACT**

The study explores the professional roles of contemporary Russian journalists with the aim to discover how journalism contributes to the development of democracy and civil society.

St. Petersburg at the end of the 1990s is presented as a case in the post-Soviet situation combining features of centre and periphery.

The study started in 1998 with a pilot study based on 11 expert interviews, continued in 1999 with 30 in-depth interviews with journalists and was completed in 2001 with an inquiry including 12 experts. The data represent local conditions of journalism in media chosen for the study. The study pursues intrinsic and instrumental interests in research on journalists by combining open questions (to obtain free responses) and closed questions (to focus on specific professional topics). The phenomena of professionalism are approached, on the one hand, through design and theories used in earlier studies on journalists, while on the other hand, a free look is taken at the phenomena still unclarified conceptually and empirically through procedures of grounded theory.

A central finding of the study is that contemporary journalism has been formed by two types of professional roles, representing two types of professional subculture: the old generation (practitioners entering the profession in the Soviet era) and the new generation (practitioners who entered the profession after 1990).

The subculture of the old generation is quite homogeneous and conservative, represented by 'standardized' professionals recruited (mainly after school and army) and trained (mainly in the university) according to the State policy toward communism: selected mostly from the working class, educated in Soviet theory and practice of journalism and socialized through party membership. Soviet professionals continue to hold a cultivated view of journalism as important social work in natural collaboration with the authorities, whereby they have a natural responsibility to support social order and render practical guidance to people. They perform the role of social organizers with the inherent functions of upbringing, educating and punishing.

In contrast, the young generation of the 1990s represents a heterogeneous subculture consisting of different representatives regarding age, ethnicity, origin, education, experience and social class: they have rather self-interest in journalism than a romantic image of a (state) public service. They seek no professional association and prefer to act alone for profit, new life prospects and to satisfy creative ambitions. They orientate to the new role of entertainers of the masses through a sensational agenda and perceive journalism rather as PR for the promotion of political and economic interests of media clients (influential groups and persons in policy and business). They often combine permanent and freelance jobs doing services not only in journalism but also in commercial sector of the economy.

Despite their differences, both streams of journalism - the older generation patronizing the people and the young generation serving the elite and masses accept the political function of journalism as a propaganda machine; both participate on the side of the authorities, for example, in covering elections. Three conceptions on journalism can be identified: the journalist as propagandist, organizer and entertainer. These are crucially different from the corresponding Western roles: disseminator, interpreter and adversary. Thus, Russian journalism develops in its own cycle which reveals the strength of cultural traditions over political conjuncture.

## Table of contents

INTRODUCTION	1
PART ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW	
1. Domestic Studies	5
2. Foreign Studies	23
3. Professionalism	33
PART TWO: METHOD AND MATERIAL	
4. Method	44
5. St. Petersburg Media	56
6. Portrait of the Journalists in the Sample	79
PART THREE: ATTITUDES TO JOB	
7. Practices	92
8. Tasks	118
9. News Criteria	128
10. Genre	138
11. Audience	147
PART FOUR: PROFESSIONALISM AND ETHICS	
12. Types of Professionals	154
13. Semi-autonomy	166
14. Values	172
15. Self-regulation	182
16. Corruption	185
17. Future Prospects	188
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	190
REFERENCES	205
Appendix 1	222
Appendix 2	225
Appendix 3	226
Appendix 4	232

## **INTRODUCTION**

The idea to study contemporary Russian journalists emerged four years ago and it was inspired by 'The Global Journalist: News People Around the World' (Weaver 1998). The book presented the journalists' profiles from 21 countries covering various corners of the globe from the Far East and the Australia to Europe and the Americas. However, the collective portrait of the global journalist did not include a Russian journalist, which seemed strange and unfair. A wish to rectify this omission motivated me to undertake this study.

In addition, my supervisor Kaarle Nordenstreng advised me to focus on journalists in contemporary Russia. After graduating from Leningrad State University, Faculty of Journalism in 1982 I worked as a journalist in Murmansk broadcasting for thirteen years (1983-1996). After moving to Finland in the fall of 1997 I began to pursue PhD studies in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Tampere. I also met support in my 'native' Faculty, whose new dean, Marina Shishkina, promised her assistance in my access to the media in St. Petersburg. The Finnish Academy of Sciences had financed a pilot study in 1998. The network between the departments of Journalism of the universities in Finland, Sweden, Norway on the one hand, and of Estonia and St. Petersburg on the other hand, had financed my fieldwork in 1999 and expert inquiry in 2001. The project "The Development of Modern Democracy in Russia" by the Finnish Academy of Sciences, headed by Harri Melin financed the writing thesis in 2001-2002.

The study is undertaken with a conviction that the knowledge of the features of professionalism could promote the understanding of Russian journalism. The question of professionalism remains one of the most topical both in the Russian and the Western discourses on the Russian media and media workers.

The history of research on Russian journalists reveals clearly enough a tendency for an earlier conceptual conflict between domestic and foreign scholars regarding their conceptual convergence. The Soviet approach to professionalism in journalism defended political-publicist reporting whereas the Western approach held the idea of neutrality. Both sides accused each other - one for promoting market without principles, and the other for propagandist brain washing. The situation changed crucially after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the USSR. Both sides laid foundations for common discussion about the professionalization of the Russian media and journalists (Kolesnik, Svitich and Shiryaeva 1995; Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996; Kolesnik 1998; Davis, Hammond and Nizamova 1998).

What is professional standard in the occupation? What ends journalism has in society and what is the role of a journalist today? These issues are still unclear for the post-Soviet discourse although searches for a formula of professionalism have been undertaken by scholars, educators and practitioners. Thus, Kazakov (1999, 3) states that "Russian journalism still very roughly knows itself and its nearest and far professional kinsfolk. Strictly speaking it still does not know precisely the address of its house in the informational world". The American researchers note that "that it is unclear in Russia and other East European countries what professionalism will mean and what the role of the journalist will be", although the last changes give hope for them to think that "journalism is one of the few occupations that have moved toward professionalization since the reforms started" (Wu, Weaver, and Johnson 1996, 535).

Really, it seems that the first decade of radically liberal reforms in post-Soviet Russia established practically all necessary preconditions of democracy: freedom of speech and elections, freedom of market and private property, freedom of travel and communication. However, the results of the last sociological studies on Russia, both in the country and abroad, testify rather to obstacles than to successes achieved in the building of democracy (Clarke 1996; Srednii Klass v Sovremennom Rossiiskom Obshchestve 1999; Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza 2000; Ledeneva and Kurkchiyan 2000; Melin 2000; Zaslavskaya 2000; Kivinen 1998, 2001). Contemporary Russia is characterised as "social formation comprising elements of emergent capitalism combined with substantial remnants of the old Soviet system, albeit without the central planning" (Simon 1999,1).

The appraisals by the media analysts contain both pessimistic and optimistic views on the present: "In both the communist and capitalist versions, the media were and are run by people very remote from the lives of the mass, and over whom the masses have no control whatsoever. Democratizing the media means breaking the control of those elites over what are necessarily the main means of public speech in large-scale societies" (Sparks 2000, 47). "Despite the criticism one may make of the Russian media, then, their continuing existence as free media... is a crucial support for democracy in the country, and a sign that things are still moving in the right direction" (McNair 2000, 93).

Both the scholars and practitioners recognise that in perestroika the media were main propagandists of democratic values, with a decisive role in the liberalisation of society. A decade later the appraisals of media activity became rather critical, first of all because of the media engagement in political conflicts. The present state power estimates the media as "suitable instruments for inter-clan fight" (Putin 2000,12).

The fact is that the post-Soviet media could not become economic enterprises deriving profit from consumption and private investments. "The development of the market economy in the sphere of mass media is still not very successful. Anti-monopoly laws do not work: there is no fair competition" (Zassoursky 2001b, 178). To survive the media have to implement rather PR function on promotion of the

political and economic interests of their sponsors. Such media activity gives cause to doubt the public character of the contemporary media and to think about them more as non-democratic media, because democracy means "the fact that information and ideas cannot acceptably be monopolized by private individuals" (McQuail 1994, 156).

The media functioning in the private interests raises a social contradiction between natural *right of the public to know* what is going on in society and the inability of media to provide this right. However, there is a favourable democratic climate created by the Laws on the mass media (1991) and the Constitution (1993) (Richter 2001). On the other hand, there are quasi market relations in the media sphere. It makes journalism vulnerable to be used by "various economic groups or corrupt government bureaucrats in their interests" (Zassoursky 2001b, 178-179). Moreover, the law on mass media does not define the legal norms concerning the relations of the editorial office and the owner. There are clearly defined the rights of journalists, of the editor-in-chief, but there is not defined the place of the owner in the structure of the mass media that results into serious problems for the media activity (ibid., 179).

The context of the study is to know how the media contribute to the development of democracy and civil society in Russia. In general terms it is about how media inform the public and how they turn people into citizens; what roles journalists have in society. The study explores the media stand toward the local authorities and business on the one hand and toward to the audience, on the other hand in order to clarify how professionalism develops there.

The hypothesis emerging from the pilot study of 1998 done in St. Petersburg is that contemporary journalism develops predominantly in the frame of the domestic (Soviet) tradition as a political instrument in the hands of the authorities. Its economic dependence on the political sponsors provides a bias in the interests of those who 'feed' media. To test the hypothesis I posed the questions: What is the relationship between media and authorities? What is the relationship between media and audience? What is professional community? How does all this establish contemporary professionalism?

The study takes an internal view from the perspective of the media practitioner in order to bring his/her subjective experience (how he/she produces information) and his/her subjective ideas (with what aims he/she produces information). At the same time the study seeks differences between Soviet (entering the occupation in Soviet time) and post-Soviet (entering the occupation in 1990 and later) practitioners with the aim of revealing what is adopted from the old heritage and what is adopted from new experience. The intention is to see where a journalist performs as an extension of the Soviet political tradition and where he/she is a product of change, that is an agent of market.

The study consists of four parts. The first part, Literature Review, gives an overview of earlier research on Russian journalists done in the Soviet Union and Russia (Domestic Studies) and in the West (Foreign

Studies). The chapter Professionalism discusses concepts of profession and professionalization developed in the Russian and the Western research on journalism and formulates the basic concern of this study.

The second part, Method and Material, reports how the empirical study was done and with what material. The chapter Method includes describing the research method of case study (intrinsic and instrumental concerns), research strategy (pilot study and field work), the research technique of in-depth interviews with analysis of data based on the comparative approach and procedures of grounded theory. The chapter St. Petersburg Media substantiates the choice of case with its societal characteristics including data on media and journalists. The chapter Portrait of the Journalists in the Sample provides data on income, gender influence in the occupation, motivation for journalism and membership, party affiliation and summarises data on two generations in a table.

The third part, Attitudes to Job, describes how journalists work and what aims they have. The chapter Practices discovers the working methods of journalists and roles emerging as consequences of their perceptions of roles, applied strategies and circumstances under which they act. The chapter Tasks shows what functions journalists implement in the work, what position (involved/ neutral) they take in the writing process, what roles emerge as consequences of journalists' perceptions on functions and position employed in the writing. The chapter News Criteria describes journalists' criteria for the selecting information to be publicised, sources of information, needs for verifying information. The chapter Genre describes the attitudes of journalists to factual and opinion journalism, to own comment in the text and to plural reporting. The chapter Audience covers journalists' attitudes to the audience, roles perceived by journalists and includes a final summarised table on journalists' attitudes in the job.

The fourth part, Professionalism and Ethics, gives perceptions of journalists on the concept of professionalism discussing notions of professional, professional involvement, professional responsibility, autonomy and membership. The part Ethics includes journalists' values and 'sins' perceived in the occupation, admission of lying and corruption, importance of friendship and likewise unwritten rules regulating professional community, future prospects of journalism.



## **PART ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW**

This part gives an overview of earlier research on journalists in the Soviet Union and Russia, both domestic (first chapter) and those made abroad (second chapter). Finally the chapter Professionalism discusses the professionalism as the basic concern of the present study (third chapter).

### **1. Domestic Studies**

The Soviet studies on media and journalists were carried out under the political influence of the party organs. For instance, "newspaper's (*gazetnaya*) sociology was initiated by practical needs for socialist building: the necessity for scientific management of press activity, its correction by audiences' opinions, an attentive registration of results of the ideological affecting of the press on society. At the same time concrete sociological and social-psychological studies provided journalists with the knowledge of those regularities which were not seen by a naked eye" (Alekseev 1971, 126).

Konstantinov and Kelle (1969, 516-520) refer to USSR Marxism as a living, creative method of cognition, of investigation of constantly developing and changing reality. All the social sciences relied on the method of historical materialism in their researches and applied it in accordance with the particular features of their respective subjects. Yadov (1995, 14) states that from the end of the 1950s and until the middle of the 1980s Soviet sociology was dominated by the Marxist orientation. Scholars tried to establish the connections between the sociological studies and the social philosophy of Marxism - historical materialism. As a result a three-level conception of the sociology was created: historical materialism as the general sociological theory, which sets the standardized way for the construction of particular sociological theories, and those based on the generalization of social facts. This conception had played its role in the establishment of Soviet sociology and allowed basing the status of *concrete* (*konkretnykh*) *sociological studies* and at the same time made difficult the inclusion of the Soviet science into the process of the development of the world sociology.

According to Vihalemm (2001, 79) "until the late 1950s, empirical social sciences did not exist in the Soviet Union. These were much more close to religion than to science". Shlapentokh (1987, 13-32) specifies: "The years 1958-1964 have been called the embryonic period of Soviet sociology". In 1958 the Soviet Sociological Association was established and in 1961-1964 the first sociological research units were established in Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk. The years 1965-1972 have been called the golden age of Soviet sociology" (Shlapentokh 1987, 33-56). The years 1973-1975 have been called the time of purges in Soviet Sociology (Shlapentokh 1987, 13). Repression struck mainly against critically oriented academic media sociology (Vihalemm 2001, 79,81).

The St. Petersburg sociologist Boris Firsov sceptically recalls the sociological studies of that time: "Socialist realism was 'a creative method' not only for aesthetic comprehension of reality, but also for social recognition of it. It had got sound registration in theoretical concepts on society and in the system of concrete proofs, which were built on this theory" (Firsov 1997, 7). His interpretation of the *concrete sociological studies* of the Soviet time is the following:

In the inertia of the Stalin epoch the notion *sociology* has been tied to the notion of bourgeois science. It was permitted to consider no bourgeois only the investigation of various social phenomena by means of quantitative methods, rather that part, which had recognition of social loyalty. In this reservation the science sociology was put under the pseudonym "concrete social studies" (Firsov 1997, 28).

The Estonian media researcher Epp Lauk argues that "during the Soviet time it was almost impossible to make any deeper analysis of the development of the media as a social institution or to introduce the 'western' theories into media research. Marxism-Leninism served as the basic universal theory and methodology for all the humanities" (Lauk 1997, 8). In the opinion of Vihalemm (2001, 81) "Estonian media research could continue to develop more freely compared to the total ideological control exercised over the studies of Russian-language central press and broadcasting in Moscow or Leningrad".

However, the Russian sociologists Grushin and Onikov (1980) realised "comprehensive study of public opinion conducted in the city of Taganrog as well as in Moscow and Rostov-on-Dony" in 1967-1974. In the framework of the given study the method of in-depth interview was first applied in research on journalists. In particular, journalists of the Rostov region were questioned regarding the activity of media as sources of information and as channels expressing public opinion. The data of the inquiry among journalists were compared with the results of other procedures of the project: surveys of publishers, population, and content analysis of various sources of information (Svitich and Shiryayeva 1997, 43).

Developed for the political and economic needs for socialist construction, the Soviet empirical research, nevertheless, gathered abundant factual material on media and its workers and today it serves as valuable documentation for researchers of the Russian media and workers (Märkälä 1973, 1976; Remington 1985; Svitich 2000). The first studies on the journalists laid the tradition in the exploration of professional media personnel, working conditions and payment of journalists, craftsmanship (professionalism) of journalists, psychology of journalism and journalism management.

In contrast to the Soviet era, the post-Soviet studies of the 1990s were developed with the widest opportunities for promotion of various theoretical, methodological, topical concerns; contemporary researchers had limitless possibilities for collaboration with western colleagues. The adoption of laws about mass media and more than a hundred legislative documents regarding media in the 1990s gave the birth the new areas of research such as journalistic jurisprudence and ethics (Prokhorov 1996, 1998;

Avraamov 1999; Lazutina 1999; Korkonosenko 1998, 2000). The close academic contacts of the Russian scholars with foreign partners resulted in the realisation of the first joint projects (Kolesnik, Svitich and Shiryayeva 1995; Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996; Davis, Hammond and Nizamova 1998). These and more recent studies on journalists investigated journalists on national, regional and district level; the last comparative studies were on an international level.

### ***1.1. Social profile***

The first sociological studies on journalists explored editorial staff regarding age, sex, education, experience, party membership. They appeared in the 1920s with the establishment of chairs and sociology departments in universities as well as the sociological university in the country. Many of them were conducted by the party committees or with the aim of obtaining information on who works in the press and under what conditions (Vinogradova 1998, 74; Svitich 1973, 6).

Thus, from May 1920 the training department ROSTA (Russian Telegraph Agency) gathered data about 190 editorial offices and 452 journalists - their education and writing experience (Bonus 1920, ref. Svitich 1998, 197). The first studies were sufficiently wide on coverage of media and restricted on content: the social origin of journalists, level and type of education, party membership, job conditions, budgets of editorial offices. The party membership and worker's origin were decisive for entering journalism.

Sociology of journalists' studies developed as a part of the party work aimed at establishing a new media system in the country. The new media system was intended to become "the most important part of the party and state apparatus" (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 20). In 1923 the Central Committee of the RKP(b) (Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks) released an instruction about registration of the local press with a detailed program how and what information should be gathered in editorial offices; for this the party enlisted the services of the central bureau of the section of press workers (*Izvestia* of Central Committee RKP(b) 1923, 77-78 ref. Svitich 1998, 197). In the following years: 1923, 1926, 1927 and 1929 the editorial offices in Moscow, Leningrad and remote provinces (*guberniya*) became objects of research (Lebedev 1923; Ernst 1924; Voroshilin 1926; Mariinsky 1927; Gus 1930; Svitich 1973; ref. Svitich 1998, 198).

In the 1930s sociological studies no longer seemed so important, the party committees possessed significant, complete information about the state of the media and their workers. Moreover, sociology itself was under the suspicion of the authorities as a bourgeois science (Firsov 1997, 28). The party completely administered the press on the basis of the decisions adopted by VIII, IX, XIII party congresses making media the Marxist-Leninist expressions of the famous formula of a collective propagandist, a collective agitator and a collective organiser; the journalists were educated as "social activists" (Talovov 1990, 40).

Only after the death of Stalin a new course proposed by Khrushchev in 1956 began to change the political and mental climate in the country, awakened social life and raised questions of the human being.

Sociological services became to be much in demand and there was a requirement for information for pilot concrete reforms. Sociologists were permitted to introduce new quantitative methods, among which interviewing and questionnaires to ordinary people became especially popular. Scholars took a look at the role of media and journalists by investigating public opinion. The first audience studies appeared. In 1965 the audience of the Moscow region was surveyed on its preferences regarding time of broadcasting and program topics (Grigorjeva 1966a; Sumakov 1966). In 1966-1970 national surveys were conducted on the readership of the central newspapers *Izvestiya*, *Pravda*, *Trud*, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*; in 1971 sociologists conducted an opinion poll about the work of mass media, in 1976 they conducted a repeat survey on readership of *Pravda* (Firsov 1997, 27).

Several audience studies were done in the Leningrad region: program ratings of two central television channels (Struzentsov 1966), sources of receiving information and its effectiveness for people in decision making (Yadov 1966); structure of the audience of the Leningrad television and its choice of programs (Khmara 1966); structure of the audience of the district papers of *Vyborgskii Communist* and *Znamya Truda* (Igoshin 1969).

The party remained the basic customer and consumer of sociological information and the studies had mainly an applied character. The first extensive studies on journalists were conducted in Leningrad 1966-1967 and 1970-1971 when a sector of press of the regional party committee (*obkom KPSS*) conducted a detailed investigation of editorial staff. For this the party organ used both traditional ways (media reports on the staff, visits of the party brigades to the editorial offices and personal conversations with the media workers, reviews of newspapers) and assistance of sociologists. In particular, they made a 'personal card of a journalist', a questionnaire 'journalists about themselves' and special statistic cards on the change of workplace, incentives and penalties of the journalist. Twice discussed in special meetings of the *obkom of KPSS*, the study results became the basis for the party decisions on improvement of editorial policy in the media (Voprosy partiinogo stroitelstva 1968, 175-196; Kruglova 1970; Kuzin 1968; ref. Kuzin 1971,161).

At the end of the 1960s a similar study on journalistic workforce was conducted by E.F. Romanchuk in seven republican newspapers covering 200 journalists (Voprosy teorii i praktiki massovykh sredstv propagandy 1970, 328-345). Both the Leningrad and the republican studies revealed a tendency to spontaneous migration by journalists. Thus, "for three years, for instance, every third Leningrad journalist changed his working place" while moving mainly not from bottom up (from the district newspaper up to regional), but on the same level (from one district newspaper to another district paper or from one regional newspaper to another). Of 200 journalists of 7 republican newspapers only 69 came from factory

newspapers. The researchers concluded that the journalists' migration process develops spontaneously and in the media there are not enough prospects for professional growth. These studies noted that the party organs and editors-in-chief should pay more attention to the selecting, placing and training of journalists and provided recommendations for the party committees how better to form editorial staff and how better to use press workers (Kuzin 1971, 157-158).

In particular, they noticed a necessity for a balance of experienced old and young journalists with a remark that the young generation comes into the profession too late aged 28-30 and more, when one should not begin, but to be in full professional prime. The studies recommended having the right correlation between males and females, both confirmed that journalism remains mainly a male profession: in the Leningrad media females accounted for 36%, in the republican newspapers 17% of personnel.

The researchers advised increasing journalist' specialisation to cover the agenda better and to attract more audience; they recommended improving the psychological climate in the media (half of the respondents were not satisfied with the relationships in the work) and improving the theoretical and professional level of workers. For this the regional party committee organised vocational training on university principles: common courses of lectures in the city and separate seminars in the editorial offices in the region (Kuzin 1971, 157- 184).

The social-demographic profile of a journalist of the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s appears in the studies done by Svitich and Shiryayeva 1979, 1989; Svitich 1985, 1986, 1987; Svitich, Tishin, Tarasov and Akulov 1989; Svitich and Shiryayeva 1994a,b; Svitich, Shiryayeva and Kolesnik 1995; Svitich 2000. In particular, Svitich (2000, 182), Svitich, Shiryayeva and Kolesnik (1995:1, 31) argue such tendencies in the transformation of the occupation, as: *feminisation* (from 7% in the 1920s to 35% in the 1970s and to 37% in the 1990s); younger age (two thirds under 30 in the 1920s, one quarter among district journalists under 30 in the 1960s, the 70s, the 80s and the average age of 40.7 in the 1990s); *intellectualisation* (13% highly educated in the 1920s, 35% in the 1960s, 56% in the 1990s).

In the Soviet time outside staff correspondents (*vneshstatnye korrespondenty*) were considered a basic support in the professional activities of journalists and editorial offices. The party cared about the development of mass character of media and the development of the worker-peasant (*rabselkor*) movement (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 51-63). Thus, the party degrees of 30.08.1958 "About the improving guidance of mass movement of workers' and peasants' correspondents of the Soviet press" and of 28.06. 1960 "About further development of mass bases in the Soviet press and broadcasting" were directly addressed to the media proposing concrete programs how to organise work with voluntary activists of the press. (Gurevich et al. 1970, 96). From 1956 editorial offices began to establish their own special 'outside staff rooms' (*neshtatnye otdeley*) which organise the work as staff rooms of the newspaper

but with the participation there of staff correspondents. Out staff correspondents were recruited from workers, agricultural workers (*kolkhozniki*), teachers, scientists, party, trade union, Komsomol activists who produced articles for the newspaper in their free time (*ibid.*, 123-125). Kuzin (1971, 159) notes that 37% of Leningrad journalists were active worker-peasant correspondents (*rabselkory*) before coming onto the staff.

The economic reforms of the last decade demanded completely new categories of specialists to emerge in the journalist's labour market: managers, marketing advisors, PR men, advertising managers. The old approach to analysis of journalist's profile is no longer appropriate. The current reality dictates the necessity for working up adequate qualification characteristics for the new specialities, today the estimation of their labour and its commodity-money expression is done without precise criteria (Korkonosenko 1995, 6).

### ***1.2. Working conditions and salary***

The studies of work conditions and income of journalists originated in the 1920s when the central bureau of the section of press workers with the Centre of Statistics (*Tsentralnoe Statisticheskoe Upravlenie*) gathered the data on time budgets and income of journalists. The sample included 341 journalists from Moscow, Leningrad, Voronezh, Saratov, Kazan, Baku, Tbilisi (Tiflis), Rostov-na-Donu, Sverdlovsk, Kzyl-Orda, Siberia and Ukraine (Dembo 1927, ref. Svitich 1998, 198). According to Dembo the journalists had extremely hard financial and housing conditions, the salary did not cover the expenses of a family. For quality what Dembo calls nutrition heads of printing houses occupied first place, then in descending order - technical editors and the responsible for the issue, literary workers, editors and heads of rooms.

A working day lasted on the average 9-10 hours, the provincial journalists had longer working days than their colleagues in the capital, all of them had too little time for rest: heads of editorial offices - 3.5 hours, literary workers- 4.5 hours. According to the data of the medical test conducted in Odessa newspapers only 3 out of 37 workers were healthy, one of the reasons for weak health was a 10-hour working day (Dembo 1927, ref. Svitich 1998, 211).

The studies of the 1980s had fixed the length of working time of the local journalists at 8 hours in the editorial office and 1-2 hours at home (work with text). Over payment journalists of the 1960s-1980s belonged to a significantly well paid group of specialists although differing depending on type of media (Svitich 2000, 188). The journalists of the 1990s combined work in several media, mainly because of low payment in staff positions, their working day lasted at their discretion.

In the 1990s a difference in income between the journalists of Moscow and the regions, the journalists of state and private media, press and television became hardly comparable (Svitich 2000, 188). The

researchers could not compose even an approximate picture of journalists' incomes because of constant inflation and consequently the change of payments, also because of the heterogeneity and instability of the sources financing the media. In particular, they pointed out that there were the journalists paid equally with bank workers and journalists paid lower than the living wage (*MROT*). Nevertheless, they defined a gradation of journalists over payment depending on type of media: the journalists of the Russian dailies and information agencies were highest paid, then in descending order - the journalists of magazines, regional radio and television stations, weeklies, local newspapers. Interestingly, the studies revealed that "television workers were paid 1.5 times less than journalists of dailies and information services, whereas the local journalists were paid 2.5 times less than journalists of dailies and informational agencies" (Svitich, Shiryayeva and Kolesnik 1995:1, 34).

Some editorial offices made the size of payment into a commercial secret. Nobody knew how much a colleague earned, the money was given in an envelope and everyone signed on a separate paper, an editor-in-chief could at his discretion increase or decrease the salary of a worker (Gusev and Gachos 1993, ref. Voroshilov 1999, 272). According to the data of the Union of Journalists of Russia, in 1997 the journalists of the regional media on average had only a third of the average monthly salary over the country; 40% of journalists earned \$50-100 a month, 60% of them \$100-120. On the other hand, Tretyakov, the editor-in-chief of *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, proposed to his fellow editors to fix an agreed maximum for a journalist's monthly salary in Moscow at \$1200-1500 (Glasnost Defence Fund 1997). In the words of the St. Petersburg journalists in 1999, a St. Petersburg journalist earned on the average \$100 a month whereas in Moscow a journalist earned \$1000. Another source reports that in 1997 the majority of the Russian journalists had an average salary up to \$20 (500 rubles); the gap in incomes reached 50 times between the majority of the journalists and the elite (Avraamov 1999, 60, 64).

At first specialisation of journalistic labour became an object of research in 1929 when 5 000 journalists from 376 editorial offices (70% of all the Soviet newspapers) completed a questionnaire. For analysis of the data the researchers used functional typology and defined the following specialities: literary, editorial, mass (worker-peasant correspondents and bureau of investigations), printing (Gus 1930 ref. Svitich 1998, 198-199).

The studies on the Leningrad journalists of the 1960s-1970s revealed the factors influencing the division of labour: type of editorial office (regional, district, factory), education, age, sex, post (Kuzin 1968; 1971,167). They revealed that the journalists of the central, republican and regional newspapers had narrow specialisation whereas their colleagues from the district and factory press acted as all-round craftsmen. They counted in 1970 that every Leningrad journalist had on the average 2.5 topics, of them a journalist of the regional press had 1.3 topics; a district journalist 2.1; a factory paper's journalist 2.8 (Kuzin 1971, 168).

They also noted the thematic division of press on type of media: the district press mainly covered agricultural issues (second place among ten analysed topics), the regional and factory press had the topic of morality as second most important. The researchers pointed out that the forming of journalistic specialisation continues long enough, the journalists seek their topic on average under 31, then at the age of 31-40 thematic orientation of the journalist occurs and at the age of 41-50 the journalists are characterised by "thematic flourishing". They found out that graduates of faculties of journalism of universities specialise in all topics quite well, whereas graduates of the philological faculties prefer topics of morality and culture and graduates of the Highest Party School (Central Party Institute in Moscow preparing party staff workers) choose industrial, party or propaganda rooms (Kuzin 1971, 169).

The specialisation was not only thematic, but also addressed applied working methods, genres and a territorial factor. Thus, journalists of information agencies and international rooms, special and a newspaper's own correspondents often specialised on a definite region. Although every type of media (newspaper, radio, television, information agency) had its own specialisation of labour, the basis for organising was common: division of labour between workers of the room, their co-operation for output of production and implementation of personal and editorial duties. The last included schedule of work (week, month, quarterly) with norm-fixing volume: 40% of journalist's own materials that were paid and 60% of the materials free done by the journalist under the name of the other author (Gurevich 1986, 38-46, Gurevich 1984). In addition, journalists of the local press could get a bonus for good work from the income of the newspaper from advertising (the party decree of 1968). Advertising occupied a fairly modest place in the Soviet press, "except specialising advertising editions the advertising could be in the last pages of the evening city and district press. The central mass newspapers avoid advertising" (Gurevich 1994, 103).

After the adoption of the Law about mass media in 1991, as Voroshilov (1999, 264) points out "the famous rule 40% to 60% was forgotten, a staff journalist works only for him/herself". Between journalists a real competition started for column space and time for broadcasting. For the sake of their honorarium journalists came to write with 'cosmic' speed often to the detriment of quality.

Genre specialisation of the journalists was explored regarding their preferences for genre (Svitich and Shiryaeva 1994a,b), also, the study was on the influence of psychological features of journalists on the choice of genre (Dzyaloshinsky 1996a).

### ***1.3. Craftsmanship***

The craftsmanship of a journalist was most widespread topic in Soviet applied studies on journalism. The stress on quality of production was logical in the domestic tradition of literary criticism and primary technology of journalistic labour was exclusively individual from an idea to ready text. The students were



taught craftsmanship mainly through genres in such a way that they gradually 'rose' in their ability to write from a simple note to more complex work such as, correspondence, feuilleton, review, article. The Soviet school of journalism laid down a conviction that how to write is more important than for whom and what to write (Korkonosenko 1998, 32-33).

Such a tendency in education had its consequence in that the journalists were little interested in knowing their audience. Thus, the study on district journalists conducted in 14 district newspapers of the Ryazan region in 1969-1971 revealed indifferent attitudes of the journalists toward their readers (Svitich and Shiryaeva 1979). The studies of the 1990s, in contrast, show that journalists wanted to know their audience although it is impossible to argue that they came to respect the audience more than before (Svitich 2000, 187).

Although all the journalistic genres were subdivided into informational and publicist, nevertheless the border between them was very conditional, because "every material brought a publicistic charge" irrespective of type of media. The power of the charge depended on the opportunities of the genre itself (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 259-260). The Soviet journalists' handbook explains the term *publitsistika* as "the literature on the public-political questions. The publicist materials state not only facts owing to which a reader draws conclusions himself, but they also include different reasoning, summarising, proposing these or those conclusions" (ibid., 677-678). In the opinion of V. Stepanov, editor-in-chief of the magazine *Kommunist*, "from the beginning to the end a newspaper mainly consists of publicists' materials" (ibid., 259).

The professionalism of Soviet journalists was measured by the level of development of his/her publicist skill. Theoretical works on journalism and books by the famous media practitioners about their creative laboratories pursued rationality - to teach beginners the essence of a journalist's labour - the writing of publicist text (Prokhorov 1968; Cherepakhov 1973; Kolosov 1977; Varustin 1987; Uchenova 1971, 1988; Gorokhov 1989; Agranovsky A. 1960; Zhukov 1984).

In the general theory of *publitsistika* there was made the statement that *publitsistika* is a special, third type of reflection, cognition of reality equally with two others: artistic (*khudozhestvennoe*) and thought (*myslitelnoe*) (Bukhartsev 1976, 37). The view of *publitsistika* as a special type of reflection, cognition of reality emanating from distinctions in the subject area of social-historical knowledge and art (Prokhorov 1973, 192-210). In the present time *publitsistika* is very valued and considered "one of the highest stages of journalistic creativity co-related with bright literary talent and a citizen's position" (Vinogradova 2000, 45). Kirichyok argues that in the 1990s sociology of *publitsistika* becomes a new area of sociological knowledge (Kirichyok 1998).

The craftsmanship of a journalist also implied possessing the working methods of the occupation, therefore the researchers wrote how one should work and the famous media practitioners propagated their experience (Gorokhov 1982; Barykin 1979; Sagal 1978; Sinitsin 1983). Meanwhile sociology was committed to rich journalistic labour with sociological methods in order to enhance the creative process of a worker and to make the text more effective in its influence on the audience (Kropotov 1976; Prokhorov 1966; Alekseev 1967).

Recently a proposal emerged to differentiate the notion of journalistic craftsmanship in separate areas of analysis: "methods of labour" (popular and scientifically verified means of activity) and "poetics of journalism" (forms and language of texts) (Korkonosenko 1998, 33). Shortly after a new textbook edited by Korkonosenko (2000) for the journalism school was published with a clear differentiation of the methods of a journalist's work (Lazutina 2000; Lozovsky 2000), journalistic text (Misonzhnikov 2000) and journalistic genres (Kroichik 2000). St. Petersburg researchers Koltsova (2000, 2001) and Sosnovskaya (2000a, b) made the studies on the changing professional practices of contemporary journalists.

#### **1.4. Journalism psychology**

Journalism psychology explores universal, pragmatically valuable aspects of creativity and communication through mass media (Korkonosenko 1998, 33). As an autonomous area it had taken shape by the end of the 1970s. Psychological features of professional creativity were distinctly represented in the studies on *publitsistika* as a special kind of journalism (Melnik 1996, 50; Tseitlin 1962; Svitch 1986). The personality of a journalist was seen "in the aggregate of his/her experience and personal characteristics, as a mechanism of perception and treatment of life material being able to impress public interest, to result into publicist production" (Bukhartsev 1976, 13).

Kuzin (1998,17) interprets journalism psychology as an interdisciplinary science in shaping and functioning psychology of a journalist as a personality and a professional. The science explores the psychology of the journalist's labour and creativity, peculiarities of interpersonal and inter-group interaction in the job process, forms and methods by means of which journalists and media influence the consciousness and behaviour of the audience. The key research objects are the journalist and the audience.

The professional consciousness of media workers was explored through their attitudes to the occupation, the audience and authority. The scholars were also interested in the attitudes held by the audience and the authorities to the journalists. Among the studies undertaken there were the following: on district journalists of the regions of Siberia (Parfenov 1969), on readers' orientations and the journalists' orientations of the Tartu newspaper *Edasi* (Tooms 1971), on journalists in the press, radio and television

of the Rostov region (Shiryaeva 1969). ). In 1973 in Sverdlovsk the researchers Dvoryaninov and Syunkov, in 1977-1978 and 1983 in Ljvov the researcher Lubkov conducted studies on the district press (Lubkovich 1986, 1989). In 1976 journalists of the central newspaper *Pravda* were questioned about specifics of the job, the relationship with the audience, prestige of journalistic activity (Korobeinikov 1993). Svitich and Shiryaeva (1979) conducted a study on journalists in fourteen district newspapers of Ryazanskya region based on surveys of press audience, the local officials and the journalists. The data significantly provided a complete picture of the journalist's work on small papers ('juice-squeezer'), the relationship between the journalists and the local authorities (unanimity and submitting to authority), the journalists' knowledge of the audience (little competence) and their attitudes to the audience (little interest).

To reveal factors contributing to the successful activity of a journalist the researchers explored the nature of a journalist's feeling and thinking: logic, intuition, emotions, process of generating a thought and ways of its embodiment in the text (Bukhartsev 1976; Solonin 1986, 1991; Smirnov 1986; Vinogradova 2000). The recent socio-psychological study of journalists scrutinised the interdependence of their personal and professional characteristics. The results caused a scholar to argue that the individuals with moderate level of development of personal characteristics work and feel more successful in the occupation than those who have deviations above or below (Dzyaloshinsky 1996, 254).

Svitich (2000, 183-189) investigates journalists' attitudes to the occupation since the 1960s. Comparative analysis of the data obtained for three decades assisted in identifying a shift of journalists' perceptions of the occupation from romantic literary labour in the Soviet time to pragmatic and adventurism earning money in the post-Soviet era. The researcher states that such a radical turn in the perceptions of journalism was caused by the transformation of the occupation itself, changing from literary creativity to information job. She also identified the shift of priority in personal characteristics perceived by the journalists from competence, adherence to principles, objectivity, literature talent and communicability in the past to honesty, morality and responsibility to society in the present. The contemporary practitioners experience lack of the latter in the work and consider that just the lack of persona l morality and responsibility of the journalists to some extent contribute to spreading ordered materials and hidden advertising.

According to Svitich (ibid.) the perceptions of professional roles transformed from propagandist and educator (*vospitatel*) in the 1970s toward informer and conversationalist at the beginning of the 1990s. The study done later, 1993 - 1995, identified a change in the perception of the roles from mouthpiece of public opinion, commentator and generator of ideas toward critic, informer, agitator with a tendency toward being an organiser, propagandist, entertainer (Dzyaloshinsky 1996, 237).

There are studies revealing causality between a change of the social character of a contemporary journalist and the reforming social-economic structure of society. According to its classification the journalists of *perestroika* are "knights of glasnost", the journalists of the period of shock therapy are "spitboys" (*pljuiboi*) who equated information with misinformation, the journalists of the second half of the 1990s are ordered journalists (*zakaznoi*) servicing the ruling elite and financial oligarchs (Pronina 1997, Pronin and Pronina 1997, ref. Kuzin 1998, 76-77). Kuzin (1998, 76) prognosticates an increasing number of journalists with market character, those who identify themselves as a seller and a commodity simultaneously.

In the 1990s the scholars began to be interested in political preferences and social feeling of media workers. An extensive study on the professional self-consciousness of a provincial journalist covering eight regions of Russia showed that many journalists had lost criteria and abilities for professional self-identification, they do not know what are professional norms, where the boundaries between freedom and responsibility go, what journalist's role is in society (Glasnost Defence Fund 1995, 111).

According to the data of the study (*ibid.*) a non-party journalist of the 1990s (who is in the majority) supports democratic values. However, this does not hinder him/her from collaborating with the present authorities or from preferring newsgathering from bureaucrats and officials or from participating in political campaigns on the side of those who are far from democracy (Korkonosenko 1997, 83). The researchers diagnose "the new politicisation of Russian journalism" (Korkonosenko 1997, 1993) as far as journalists serve power structures instead of serving society (Yadov 2000, 450), they characterise contemporary journalism as corporative in the interests of political and economic groups, clans and elite (Svitich 2000, 109; Zassoursky 2001, 178).

The recent study on social-political orientations of journalists was conducted using the method of expert interviewing of 40 famous journalists from eight Moscow newspapers of different political orientation and 10 editors of the district press. The basic task was to receive experts' appraisals of journalists' work on value orientating the people in the social-political life. In particular, posing a question on what social group's values prevail in the media content the researchers found out that the values of the financial and commercial structures dominate in the press. It testifies to the venality and engagement (*angazhirovannost*) of contemporary journalism when the media substitute objective value orientating of the people for propaganda of the media owner's values (Ustimova 2000:4, 25). The majority of experts had the opinion that contemporary journalism does not participate in the discussion of the views from different strata of the population with the aim of agreement of various interests in the society, and even journalism does not realize a requirement for such a discussion (*ibid.*, 27).

The other study of 1997-1998 on the national press in Russia revealed that in the country there are practically no national newspapers which implement the necessary integration mission, that is, contribute to the development of a dialogue between different social and political forces with the aim of public agreement the interests (Resnyanskaya and Fomicheva 1999, 227). Media psychology and its influence on practical journalism and the future is the area of research for those who focus on psychological problems of contemporary journalism, violence and psychological traumas produced by and via mass media, psycho-semantics in communicative aspect and other respective interests (Pronina 2002).

### ***1.5. Legal regulation***

The legal and ethical regulation of journalism emerged in the post-Soviet time when the mass media became free from the direct dictate of the state owing to the law on the mass media adopted on the 27th of December 1991. The Judicial Chamber on Informational Disputes under the Russian Federation President was established by presidential decree on the 31st of December 1993. It operated as an arbiter for resolving legal and ethical conflicts between media on the one hand and political, social and administrative structures on the other hand, between media and audience and also contributed to regulating editorial disagreements (Vengerov 1997, 4). In June 2000 the new Russian President dissolved the Chamber. In the words of Andrei Richter, director of the Moscow Media Law and Policy Institute it is "a very sad fact, because the body has amassed great expertise and a set of decisions and recommendations in media law" (Richter 2001, 154).

Established in 1991, the Glasnost Defence Fund constantly realises monitoring of media practice in Russia and the CIS, makes an examination of the laws regarding mass media area and organises research. Its study on provincial journalists revealed that one of the most acute problems in journalism was violation of journalists' rights. Among the reasons the experts noted both lack of juridical knowledge of journalists, shortage of lawyers and legal nihilism of the regional authorities (Glasnost Defence Fund 1995, 109).

In his review of media regulation in post-Soviet Russia Richter points that "in addition to federal laws and decrees, there is an array of local legislation that governs the press in Russia". The text of clauses of the Constitution of 1993 as well as the other legislative documents is not perfect and "provides a certain leeway for different opinions on regulation possibilities for the regional and federal legislatures". Division of authority over media is fixed between the federal and regional governments on the one hand. On the other hand there is competition for the influence of the media between the executive and legislative branches of the government on the federal level and a similar trend persists in the provinces between regional governors and local legislatures (Richter 2001, 146)

The legal nihilism of the regional authorities was testified to in the results of the research done by *Public Expertise* in 1999 - 2000 on regional legislation regarding media. Only 20 regional media statutes did not contradict relevant federal statutes, the legislation in the other subjects of the Russian Federation had deviations from the federal laws. However, "the change has come with the introduction by President Vladimir Putin of the policy to put the regional legislation in line with the Constitution and the federal legislation" (ibid., 148).

The research of the *Public expertise* mentioned above was organised by the Union of Journalists of Russia, the Glasnost Defence Fund, the National Institute of Social-Psychological Studies, the Centre for Media Law and Policy and the autonomous non-commercial organisation "Internews". Its basic aim was to measure the freedom of speech in the country taken under examination in 1999 and 2000. The first stage of research sought to test the legal conditions in which journalists work: all 89 regional legislations regulating media activity were analysed as well as the accreditation rules of journalists by testing the authorities on informational inquiries. From the results the experts deducted the level of freedom inherent in every region. The finding was that in Russia there are no regions with normal conditions for journalists' activity at all. The Russian media space appeared fragmentary and maimed by different local systems restricting access, production and dissemination of information in the country (*Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: Anatomiya svobody slova 2000*, 4-9).

The second stage of *Public Expertise* had the task of defining reasons for providing different levels of freedom in the regions. The fieldwork was done in every regional media market with exploration of media saturation, level of media conflicts, the structure of regional media budgets. On the basis of the aggregate data on the conditions in which journalists work and the level of development of the media sector the experts classified seven different media models in the Russian Federation which significantly influenced the level of freedom. Thus, the regions with the market model had the highest index of freedom for media at 44.2 whereas the regions with authoritarian media model had the least index at 23.5 (ibid., 110).

The growth of conflicts with the participation of media and journalists in the middle of the 1990s identified by the Glasnost Defence Fund and court practice forced the experts to see how this phenomenon threatens the freedom of speech in society. The analysis of the data gathered in 1995, 1996 and 1997 revealed two types of conflicts; when media rights were violated and when suits were brought against the media. In the list the violations of the rights of media was the most widespread: criminal offences regarding journalists, restrictions of access to information, violation of professional autonomy, interference in editorial policy and putting obstacles to producing and spreading media production. The media and journalists were accused mainly of defamation of honour, dignity and business reputation (Ratinov and Efremova 1998, 194-201).

When the researchers had thoroughly examined the actions brought against the journalists on protection of honour, dignity and business reputation, they discovered that a significant part of them was groundless and the majority of actions were made by the officials often owing to the critical articles of the journalists. Every year the number of recorded actions against journalists increased: 15 in 1995, 35 in 1996, 45 in 1997 (Simonov 1998, 126). And although statistics on the conflicts with the participation of media showed an increase, nevertheless it did not reflect the real picture owing to an extremely high level of latent violations of journalists' rights. The journalists themselves remained too tolerant regarding unlawful actions against them. Thus, in the data for 1997 only 1.4% of the respondents brought actions for violation of their professional rights. In their conclusion the experts diagnosed an increasing threat to freedom of information in society (Ratinov and Efremova 1998, 196).

The passivity of journalists in the protection of their professional rights was attested by the study that explored journalists' access to information. The sample included 1370 journalists working in the federal, regional and local media in different parts of Russia. As the results showed, the journalists were significantly competent in legal questions concerning their professional activity, but they did not strive at all to defend their lawful rights and interests or to use legal mechanisms for their protection. Three grounds were decisive in not going to court. The media and journalists did not believe that judicial organs are able to defend them (one of the reasons was the present weak media legislation). They valued their working time highly and did not wish to spend it on "visits" to court. Sometimes they themselves used questionable methods at work and would not like to reveal them in the process of legal proceedings (Tyutina 1996, 171-172).

The other study scrutinised the problem of access to information in a wider context including not only the journalists, but also other professional and social groups in the population. The researchers discovered that mass media is the main informational source for the majority of the population. However, the possibilities for journalists to obtain information remain very limited. The research confirmed the finding of a previous study of 1996 that facts, documents and statistical data are the most closed information for journalists. The authors concluded that mass media do not provide the citizens with all the necessary information whereas the people's use of the other informational sources is also inhibited (Dzyaloshinsky 1997, 107-112).

A recent analytical review of the legal bases for freedom of the press suggests comparative analysis of conditions for media activity in the rule of Yeltsin and nowadays. In particular Richter (2002, 164) notes that "now the government plays a rather bigger role in the governing processes in the media sphere":

licensing became a key word applied in the legal conflicts of the Kremlin with no loyal mass media. From the establishing and applying of juridical mechanisms directed at the oppression of broadcasters under threat of

recalling the licence the government moved to attempts to apply this effective weapon to Internet and print editions (Richter 2002, 167).

### **1.6. Ethical norms**

In the media field legal mechanisms have been operated together with ethical norms prescribed both by ethical codes of national and regional levels and by internal rules introduced by editorial offices. Leading a new claim for self-regulation of the professional community were 27 journalists who in February 1994 signed the Moscow Charter of Journalists. They strove to create ethical journalism in Moscow with the voluntary obedience to the accepted rules and control of conduct among its signatories. In April 1994 the Congress of Journalists adopted the Code of Ethics of a Russian Journalist taking as a basis the Moscow Charter and made observance of the Code obligatory for every member of the Union of Journalists of Russia. Following similar documents of democratic countries the Code did not cater for domestic circumstances and in this way made the demands hard to implement for the journalists. For instance, a ban on leadership in the political parties eliminated many talented publicists from membership in the union (Avraamov 1999, 14). Moreover, adopted without a wide discussion of the practitioners (only 60 delegates were in the Congress) the Code turned rather into an idle declaration than a driving tool for everyday usage.

Experts estimate the ethical 'health' of the post-Soviet journalism very critically. A report of the Union of Journalists of Russia characterises journalism as political, ordered, corrupt, self-sufficient and the appearance of ethical norms as a rarity, "a relapse of romanticism" (Glasnost Defence Fund 1997). Svitch (2000, 188) points out that the present editorial practice cultivates in journalists such propensities as time-serving, unprincipled approach, cynicism. Avraamov quotes from *Mass Media of Russia* (1997, 227):

journalism becomes increasingly egoistic and self-sufficient, it does not strive to know and to express public opinion, it does not attempt to form public opinion through comprehensive and objective information. Instead the media publish personal or editorial opinion presenting it as public and 'requisite' information is presented as objective (Avraamov 1999, 62).

The analysis of interviews with journalists in 40 cities and the analysis of their publications in the local newspapers revealed the following characteristics of the practitioners. Journalists are not interested in the realisation of the citizens' rights to information. For them it is more important to earn money than to get information to a reader, to expose a sensation than to suppress it. Journalists do not wish to deviate from an official picture of events, they use the information from the officials and do not verify it. They do not have a desire to write on the real lives of people, to interview the people so as to show different strata of society. They rely upon financing of influential persons and the local state organs instead of attempting to become independent. Journalists are not interested in the trust of the audience. In their publications



they do not indicate where they received information, but present themselves as the source of information. They mix fact and their own opinion; they often use pseudonyms and other names instead of their own names. They widely participate in the preparation of advertisements for commercial or political advertisers, not distinguishing between professional and commercial work. At the same time journalists actively publish hidden advertisements violating the law on mass media but they justify themselves by the necessity to survive (Olson 1998, 20-21).

As the basic reasons why media practitioners do not have the requirement for self-regulation experts point out two, cultural (the absence of independent journalism traditions) and economic (lack of development of market and economic dependence of the majority of media) (Eryomin 1998, 36; Avraamov 1999, 13). In particular, Avraamov (1999, 10) states that Soviet journalism was a form of party work, the moral aspects of journalism were indivisible from party responsibility, the journalists were submitted to external institutional regulators such as the directives of a publisher, party discipline, functional instructions in the editorial office. The internal regulator of the journalist's conduct was elementary fear of inevitable sanctions for deviations from demands sent down from above.

The Soviet studies on the journalist's ethics were done in the frame of the party ideology, notably by Bukhartsev (1971, 1985) and Teplyuk (1980, 1984). According to Svitich (2000, 132) the main paradigm established the harmonious existence of society without antagonistic contradictions. In the total positive public mood journalism was aimed at revealing contradictions between those who implemented their duties well and those who implemented them badly, between those who observed the norms of socialistic morality and those who violated them. The professional magazine *Zhurnalist* initiated the discussion on the moral questions in the occupation.

At the end of the 1980s and at the start of market reforms with the abolition of the institution of censorship and party control the old concepts of the State 'right' journalism clashed with the intake of new liberal market ideas coming from the West. At just that time, as Shaikhitdinova considers (2001, 632) the journalist community began to accumulate primary ethical capital through the search for new beliefs, free mood, shoptalk about common principles and the ethos of the professional environment. However, regional journalism had to operate on elementary 'rules' of common sense "in order to preserve itself in the conditions of the State monopolization of the local capital". These elementary 'rules' were very far from that "what is right" (ibid.).

The researcher stresses that "the trouble is that the journalists do not perceive self-regulation as a social matter":

Professional questions have been regarded on the line of the relationship between journalism and authority although professionalism is no political category and journalism is no personal problem of those who work

there. The journalists' need for ethical norms may appear when their practice is discussed not only 'in camera', that is in professional circles, but with the wide participation of society. For this one should organise public discussions on the professional work of journalists through mass media in order to raise a requirement of the audience for such information (Shaikhidinova 2001, 632).

Conducted on the basis of the Moscow and Tyumen regions humanitarian expertise is in the researchers' opinion the first step in monitoring the journalist's ethics. The data were provided by 'internal expertise' (analytical reflections of editors-in-chief, famous journalists) and 'distance expertise' (chiefs of professional associations and the authors of professional codes) with the participation of media experts. The research was based on dialogical communication between researchers and experts, discussing and consulting the basic models of professional ethos presented by everyday consciousness of journalists (Bakshtanovsky, Kazakov, Simonov and Sogomonov 1995).

At the first the publication of the first volume of documents and reference materials on professional ethics of journalists introduces a Russian reader to the ethical legislation developed by international and national associations and organisations of journalists. The main aim is to provide knowledge of what is professional right conduct of a journalist (Glasnost Defence Fund 1999). The other work is based on an analysis of journalists' everyday practice in the centre and regions and also presents discussion of media experts on the present situation in mass media and society, gives the experts' prognosis's for media in nearest future (Kazakov 2001); one of the prognoses is following:

It is conceivable that with the end of the Yeltsin epoch and the obvious tendency to the transformation of Russia into an authoritarian state sharp changes will develop regarding mass media and it means that the situation of a moral choice for a journalist will change. Now a fifth part of the Russian media belongs to the state. Moreover, in the conditions of the state monopoly over printing trades, delivery of the newspapers and magazines, relay lines, television towers and transmitters the media cannot feel free, because the basic levers of state influence on the relationship of media and consumers are preserved. The striving to establish the former clearly institutional methods of the regulation of the journalists' conduct become everywhere the leading trend of the representatives of the state in the relation to the press. The danger of the restoration of quasi-Soviet information regime invokes the deep feeling of anxiety (Avraamov 2001, 612-613).

## 2. Foreign Studies

The interest in the West in research on Soviet media workers developed rather later and to a lesser degree than the interest in research on the content of the Soviet media. Obviously Western Sovietologists did not consider journalists a worthwhile object of study. However "assumptions about media-actor linkages in Western analysis of Soviet affairs are integral to the assumptions about the nature of Soviet politics", the analysts held an opinion on journalists more or less as propagandists deprived of autonomy (Dzirkals, Gustafson and Johnson 1982, 91).

In addition, there was difficulty of access for doing research on journalists. In the years of the Cold War the Soviet state rigidly limited all contacts of Soviet people with foreigners and it was impossible for a westerner to realise an uncensored study in the editorial office or wherever in the territory of the country. Vihalemm (2001, 80), for instance, describing annual conferences on mass communication theory organised by the Sociological Laboratory of Tartu University at Kääriki near Tartu from 1966 to 1969, referred to Shlapentokh that "any participation by researchers from outside the Iron Curtain was impossible (Shlapentokh 1987, 13)".

The few studies on Soviet journalists were based on the accessible sources from official documents: journalists' texts in the newspapers and professional magazines, the official party and the Union of Journalists' documents, the Soviet studies published in the universities' and scholars' editions, the surveys of the International Press Institute.

The Kremlinological school had been confined to the analysis of the Soviet top leadership in search of hidden conflicts among its members. The analysts had focused on the role in the Soviet political processes of large organisations and elite groups. Among those were large bureaucratic organisations, and the professional and occupational groups such as the secret police, party functionaries (*apparatchiki*), heavy industry and light industry managers, military and others but no journalists. These groups had been seen as "policy groups" which speak out through their own media organs promoting their viewpoints on the political scene (Brzezinski and Huntington 1964; Lodge and Merrill 1969; Angell, Dunham and Singer, 1964; Paul 1971, ref. Dzirkals, Gustafson and Johnson 1982, 96-97). Meanwhile, the Union of Journalists established in 1957 soon became "the largest professional union in the country", thus, in 1966 membership had reached 43 000 (Hollander 1972; Turpin 1995, 14; Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 189).

A change in approach to research on Soviet media workers came with the new "interest grouping" school that began to investigate the role of the political groupings belonging to a specific lower level elite, its researchers paid attention to chief editors, deputies, specialist commentators:

policy-relevant media differentiation cannot be assumed to emanate entirely "from below" ...the diversity of view is the result not merely of initiative from below by individuals, but also of decisions by persons in authority, who approve or perhaps sometimes sponsor certain lines of arguments. Editors, publishers, Agitprop officials, even censors, and in some cases, political leaders, are thus involved in this interplay of group attitudes and interests (Skilling and Griffiths 1971 ref. Dzirkals, Gustafson and Johnson 1982, 99).

Undertaken by the Rand Corporation in 1978-1981, the comparative study of the Soviet and the Polish media was aimed at avoiding stereotyping of Sovietological research. It adopted an assumption on media not only as part of the propaganda organs, but as having other functions. The study was focused on the relationship between media and political actors whose behaviour or attitudes are inferred from the media content. It also tested the usual Kremlinological assumption that the media of the USSR and the other Communist countries have been utilised as an instrument in the power struggle and policy debate by contending leaders or groups (Dzirkals, Gustafson and Johnson 1982, iii). The researchers emphasised the novelty of their approach by the fact that new information derives from immediate media workers:

...it has not been possible to have an inside look at the ways in which media material is initiated, processed, approved, and controlled. We could not look inside a Soviet editorial office to see what goes on there. Knowing only the output of the media, Western analysts inferred what they could about its meanings, but with only a vague idea about how it was produced (ibid., 4).

Extended interviews with former Soviet journalists, experts and editors who emigrated to the West and agreed to tell about their personal experiences in various media fields became primarily the basis of the study (43 out of 56 of them were Jewish). The results confirmed that "journalists and writers are, on balance, a reliable part of the system. Whereas in some specialized technical fields the Soviet professional has achieved a degree of latitude in affecting policy, that is not the case in the Soviet media" (ibid., vi).

### ***2.1. Stigmatized propagandist***

One of the first sketches of a Soviet journalist emerges in the *Four Theories of the Press* in an imaginary dialogue of the Soviet and the American journalist represented by Wilbur Schramm as shoptalk of 'deaf' colleagues (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm 1956, 105). Discussing the same notions of freedom of press, nature and functions of news both heroes operate with absolutely different senses and therefore do not understand each other. From this classic work to the present days the stress on the incompatible system of professional co-ordinates has remained as core for the following studies on the Soviet and the post-Soviet media workers.

Accordingly, Antony Buzek (1964, 243) describes working journalists as leading propagandists "who possess high political and class consciousness, understand the political line of party, accept it as their own, are able to put into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it, and able to align themselves correctly in any situation". The researcher argues that the journalistic profession

in the USSR is a political function, a party assignment and this is reflected in the approach to the training of journalists. In particular, the training is shaped to the party "propagandist and agitational needs and filled the curriculum with the necessary ideology and party decisions, tossing practical aspects of journalism aside as unnecessary 'bourgeois technicality'". It results in a very low standard of professional preparation of the students who are equipped mainly with a general education and do not possess the 'narrow' specialisation (Buzek 1964, 244-247).

He argues the Union of Journalists and the professional journals perform an important role in the continuous ideological education of journalists. The articles discuss all aspects of journalistic work from the ideological standpoint. The Union is subordinated to the propaganda department of the Central Committee, which directs its work. The researcher states that in spite of the coming of 'new freedoms' owing to Khrushchev ruling among "Soviet journalists, there is, as yet no sign of changed attitudes. Soviet journalists are no rebels yet, only faithful servants of the party" (Buzek 1964, 251, 254).

Alex Inkeles (1968) exposes the incompatible system of professional co-ordinates of Western and Soviet journalism when he explores the Soviet mass communication:

Bolshevik theory rejects the notion of freedom of the press as it is understood in the West. Objectivity as a goal of journalistic effort is similarly rejected. The resultant concept of what is news is remarkably different from that held by Western journalists. The private affairs of prominent persons in political and artistic life, and many other elements which are important as news in the United States, play no role in the Soviet newspaper. The main ingredients of Soviet news are those events which have come to characterize the effort of the Communist Party to cement its control of Soviet society and to press the people on against all obstacles toward rapid industrialization of the country (Inkeles 1968, 276-277).

Tomas Remington (1985, 490) examines the professionalism of the Soviet journalists over four aspects: "the nature of journalism training in school, the lessons that early exposure to journalistic practice teaches, the role of the Journalists' Union, and the social standing of journalism in Soviet society". He points to a gap between education and practice:

the curriculum offers a smattering of knowledge in a wide range of subjects but leaves the students without a firm claim to a single body of expertise that would define them as professionals. Even the practical and technical skills they develop often have only limited application to the job they take after graduation (ibid., 491).

The researcher writes that the journalists are under constant economic and ideological pressure because their incomes are tied to an obligatory working plan (line quotas) and professional career depends on political commitment:

A beginning journalist earns about 120 to 140 rubles per month, a modest wage. A senior correspondent earns 200 rubles per month. The chief editor of a major central or republic newspaper earns a salary well over 500

rubles a month. Moreover, the editor-in-chief is a figure of political weight in the jurisdiction to which his organization is attached. He enters the *nomenklatura* of the corresponding or higher party organization, and in most cases he is a member of the bureau of the party committee on his level. For beginning journalists the prospect of improving their material well-being and raising their sociopolitical status by advancing to editorial ranks must serve as a strong incentive for political compliance (Remington 1985, 494).

Remington (ibid., 499-503) estimates the professional union of the journalists as having "little influence over the party and government in either professional or personal welfare areas", underscores the journalists' "dependence on party favour for their social status", characterises the journalists as "an extension of party bureaucracy" and predicts overriding politicizing forces in the process of professionalizing journalists "until major changes occur at the highest level of the political regime".

## **2.2. Semi-propagandist**

With the policy of perestroika and the start of democratic process Western analysis rushes to search for changes which might happen from an impact of the reforms on media and professionalism. What changes did the studies reveal in their analysis?

Based on a 1988 survey of the Soviet media He Zhou (1988, 193) indicates five noticeable changes in the media. Among those are more timely releases of news; a tremendously expanded scope of coverage that has included many formerly forbidden topics; a trend toward more factual though still sketchy, information; more entertainment stories and human interest; and more moderately negative items. According to Zhou "the changes in the Soviet concept of news have been caused, primarily by the modernization process and the accompanying socioeconomic changes" (ibid.).

Remington (1988, 179) found that the restoration of "the prestige of a profession which had sunk far in both social standing and self-esteem". He refers to a recent report according to which "applications to journalism faculties have tripled".

Another researcher, Philip Gaunt (1987, 531-532) notes the transforming of journalists' attitudes to the audience as a part of the journalists' striving to understand better the audience's needs. He considers that "changes taking place within the Soviet media are less the result of ideological exigencies than 'bottom-up' pressure from the audience and structural changes within the media themselves".

Doug Haddix (1990) tested the effect of *glasnost* on two areas, journalism training and job experience, in an attempt to find out whether there is fundamental alteration in the nature of Soviet journalism and whether the Soviet journalists are moving closer to a professional model. In his opinion most indications point to a growing sense of professionalism in the Soviet media. It is a result of remarkable innovations both in the education (more practical training than before in curricula of universities) and daily practices of journalism (more openness and critical assessment of the Soviet society including reports on formerly

forbidden subjects such as prostitution, AIDS, drug abuse, corruption). Journalists have freedom to select what to report and how to report it and their perception of the journalist's role began to change from public relations workers for the Communist party to professionals. The practitioners "have called for a code of professional standards and ethics - something to help them understand the new rules of the game. In 1988, the Journalists' Union created the All-Union Council on Ethics and Law to foster "strict observance of the norms of professional morality"(Haddix 1990, 168).

At the same time Haddix estimates the current juncture sufficiently carefully but with an optimistic look at the future:

Some changes have been made in journalism education, but many educators apparently have been hesitant to institute sweeping reforms for fear of a sudden shift in the political wind. Working journalists have made tremendous strides in the quality of their work and the types of topics they tackle, but the Soviet media still have a long way to go (Haddix 1990, 156).

Regardless of the political changes in the Soviet Union, short of a highly unlikely return to Stalinism, journalists in the USSR will continue to move closer to the ideal of professionalism (ibid., 170).

According to Anthony Jones "an important aspect of the policy of *perestroika* was the attempt to introduce 'professionalism' into Soviet Society" (Jones 1992, 85). That meant to establish "the conditions in which decision making could be pursued on the basis of occupational standards and ethics, rather than on the basis of political considerations imposed from the outside", and also to create "conditions for a change in the status of those occupations that in the West are referred to as professions. That meant that they could move closer to what has been called 'guild status', the possibility of controlling the ways in which the occupation is pursued, making it more like a profession" (Jones 1991, 3-42; Jones 1992, 85).

Jones (1992, 86) considers that discussing the status of professions in the USSR was "difficult because the use of the term 'profession' is itself not wholly defensible" (Jones 1992, 86). Moreover, he casts doubt on the existence of professions in the Soviet Union because those were shaped by the state and were under its complete control. The coming into being of professions as Jones notes "will take a considerable amount of time and we should not expect the full flowering of professions in the former USSR in just five or six years" (ibid., 85).

Nevertheless, in the scholar's opinion *perestroika* and *glasnost* led towards de-politization of occupations and their autonomy. Accordingly, from 1991 corporate and cooperative activities were also becoming more noticeable: the Foundation for the Defence of Glasnost and the Committee for the Defence of Freedom of Speech and the Rights of Journalists were created. "The Union of Journalists was designated a creative union in 1987, raising its prestige and increasing its control over its activities" (Jones 1992, 93-94).

Vera Tolz (1992, 112) places journalists in the group of Soviet intellectuals who "had already formed a theoretical base for supporting drastic changes in the Soviet political system and therefore was ready to respond to the new challenges posed by Gorbachev's policies and to take advantage of the new opportunities they offered". Writers and journalists played a unique socio-political role, turning literature and journalism into the main battlefield of various social and political ideas. They broadened "the range of topics that could be discussed in the press" and "gradually ceased to take into account the point of view of the top leadership and started to run the media the way they thought appropriate" (ibid., 104-105). Tolz notes that "many media people, already known for publications critical of the existing system, received further opportunities to influence the situation in the country", when they were elected USSR people's deputies in the 1989 elections (92 media workers) and RSFSR people's deputies in the 1990 elections (55 media workers) (ibid.,107-108).

At the same time the researcher concludes that:

Of course, Soviet journalists have not been able in such a short space of time to attain the standards of the best Western journalism. Many provincial and especially recently-created independent newspapers are not professional as regards either content or appearance. Some press articles are marked by intolerance - a general problem of Soviet society; some material is unbalanced, and many journalists fail to distinguish between fact and opinion (a failing of many news programmes on RSFSR television and radio) (Report on the USSR 1991, no. 43; ref. Tolz 1992, 108).

In the opinion of Owen Johnson (1992, 221) the current situation does not provide clarity as to how the journalist's occupation will develop. "With so many journalistic jobs in jeopardy because of financial uncertainty there has been little consideration of these issues; with so many old journalists discredited and so many new, untrained reporters flooding into the profession, the defining characteristics of the journalist are in flux".

Nevertheless some scholars cherish the hope that "journalism is one of the few occupations that have moved toward professionalization since the reforms started", although there is significant apprehension "that it is unclear in Russia and other East European countries what professionalism will mean and what the role of the journalist will be" (Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996, 535).

Elena Androunas in her analysis of the Soviet media of the second half of the 1980s critically estimates the role of media in society. The researcher notes their conformity, loyalty and obedience to the government although they could "play a crucial role again as they did at the start of perestroika". In this case "they must be a counterbalance to government, a separate power". But the researcher doubts that the present media, with few exceptions, can do it efficiently enough because they were designed for other than it was in the West system and "the new ideas are not natural to them" (Androunas 1993, 154).

Moreover, as the researcher emphasizes:



What is worse, the media reflect the traditional way of thinking in Russian society, whether under monarchy or under communists, instead of trying to break this stereotype. Russia is used to an authoritarian way of rule. Politics has been always been personified in one leader, whether he was tsar, secretary general, or president. ... inclination to rely on a strong leader has remained one of the principal characteristics of the Russian people (Androunas 1993, 155).

Joy Morrison (1997) looks at the Russian journalists' way toward professionalization through Western partners' training and various kinds of foreign aid. It was essential that since 1991 journalists and educators from Western European countries and the United States enthusiastically trained Russian journalists offering them courses according to their domestic models of journalism education and media system. Material aid was important:

There has been an enormous amount of funding available in the United States for "developing" Russian journalism with a stated view of promoting democracy. There has also been funding from European governments for media training in Russia, and the result is a proxy war for the hearts and minds of Russian journalists and journalism students (Morrison 1997, 26).

The researcher considers that "Russian journalists and educators are much more partial to the European assistance they are receiving. Their preference is for the European media system, which has many similar cultural and historical roots" (ibid., 32). At the same time Laurie Wilson (1994, 2) criticises U.S. expectations of Russian development, comparing it to the "thoroughly ethnocentric modernization paradigm", which includes an expectation that the media in Russia will work toward becoming clones of Western media, "in spite of significant differences in historical development, cultural norms, current events and societal structures, and available resources" (ref. Morrison 1997, 33).

In the opinion of Morrison (ibid.,33-34) "the European model could be a better transitional one in Russia. The Russian system is much like that in European countries in that it is a mixture of privately owned (newspapers and radio), sponsored by businesses (newspapers), jointly owned (newspapers, radio and television) and state controlled (newspapers, radio and television) media". Whereas "the commercially based media system being pushed by United States bilateral aid programs does not seem to be in much demand although the financial incentives - from United States advertising agencies and funding sources such as The Freedom Forum - to adopt this system are extremely attractive and difficult to turn down". However, "as Russia is not a democracy and does not appear to be immediately headed in that direction, it is fruitless to expect freedom of media, or to teach journalism students to operate in such an environment".

Brian McNair (2000) analyses the Russian media of the 1990s under such key words as "power, profit, corruption, and lies". He notes such a specific of the Russian press as "politics-media interface".

According to him "freedom" in Russia chiefly meant that proprietors were free to dictate what the editorial line of a title would be. Given that this is normal feature of media markets, it would not have been especially worrying in the Russian context", however the proprietors of many Russian newspapers "exert a degree influence on the political apparatus which is rarely seen in mature capitalist systems" (McNair 2000, 85). The scholar states that "journalistic objectivity has not yet emerged as the dominant professional ethic in Russia":

There is still relatively little accumulated experience of objective or independent journalism in Russia. The audience is used to, and still expects, journalists to be politically committed propagandists. The media in Russia continue to be associated with the manipulation of public opinion, rather than its formation, and with private interests, rather than public service (McNair 2000, 91)

The scholar considers that these problems are rather problems of political culture than censorship, "of underdeveloped professionalism rather than dictatorial law" (McNair 2000, 91-92).

The European Institute for the Media based in Duesseldorf examined the level of the journalist's freedom in Russia at the end of the 1990s. For this purpose the experts monitored developments relating to the violation of journalists' rights in 1996, 1997 and 1998. According to the data obtained "as before, in the majority of conflicts involving journalists, the second protagonist was the state". Among the most serious conflicts were "state persecution of media and individuals who had, in the opinion of the authorities, published material which constituted a state secret (e.g. Vil Mirzayanov); the murder of journalists who had published articles critical of state organs or prominent officials or policy (e.g. Dmitri Kholodov)" (Media in the CIS 1999, 213).

The experts pointed to an apparent deterioration of the situation in comparison with the beginning of the 1990s. Thus, the number of reported incidents involving journalists increased from 370 in 1996 to over 1000 in 1998. The number of regions as the worst areas of media/state conflict increased from two to five (Moscow, Sverdlovsk, Rostov, Nizhegorod, Voronezh, Krasnoyarsk and St. Petersburg). Almost half of all cases in Russia are brought against journalists or are at least cases where journalists are incriminated. In 1996, there were 168 such cases, in 1997 there were 350 cases (ibid., 213-215). As the experts assume:

This number of cases cannot simply be put down to a lack of professionalism on the part of journalists (although wild and often unsubstantiated allegations can all too frequently be found in print) but must also be seen as relating to the desire of powerful individuals to punish critical journalists (the courts are almost certain to find in their favour - the constitution does not allow of any circumstances where a citizen's honour and dignity may be called into question) (Media in the CIS 1999, 215)

The newspaper *Izvestiya* was at least twice an object of research for foreign scholars in their attempt to investigate professionalism of the Russian journalists of the 1990s. Katrin Voltmer (2000) aimed at revealing what new journalistic practices emerged in the last decade and whether are there new

conceptions of the role of journalists in society. The study was based on quantitative data with content analysis of the political coverage of *Izvestiya* with implementation of comparative analysis of front-page news of 1988 and 1996 in search for structural and thematic changes of news presentation. The results showed the coexistence of old and new journalistic norms when news became more factual, more timely and broader in the selection of topics and the same time there are traces of a high degree of journalistic subjective evaluations (Voltmer 2000, 469).

The comparative study on Nicaragua, South Africa, Jordan, and Russia implemented by Adam Jones in the University of British Columbia, Mexico in 1999 includes the Russian part as an overview of the recent media history with a case study done on the newspaper *Izvestiya*. The researcher investigated the 'coup' against chief editor Golembiovsky in 1997. The empirical material for the study was taken from two dozen interviews with journalists and journalism experts in Moscow. The researcher notes that despite the widespread western ideas on impartiality and dispassionate "objectivity" Russian journalists act according to existing circumstances adapting new ideas in their own way. As a result the Russian journalism continues to be partisan and self-censored with very little degree of solidarity among journalists (Jones 1999, 27-28).

### **2.3. *International studies***

The comparative study on the professional roles of Russian and U.S. journalists was the first attempt at a joint sociological project implemented by Russian and American scholars in 1992. The study was based on interviews with 1156 journalists in the United States and 1000 journalists in Russia (Kolesnik, Svitich and Shiryaeva 1995; Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996). Two research teams, each in its own country scrutinised the journalists' perceptions regarding the importance of various professional roles and identified predictors of three key roles - disseminator, interpreter and adversary.

The researchers revealed both similarities and notable differences between the Russian and the American journalists. As the Russian team notes:

...the journalists of both countries are very much alike... there are definite characteristics pertaining to the profession and journalist's personality as social-psychological type not depending on the social structure in the country, its national traditions, the way of life. But unconditionally there are notable differences in the characteristics and orientations of the Russian and the American journalists. Some of them are connected with the traditions of mass media and national character, others are connected with the situation in Russia: instability, complexity and discrepancy of the processes ongoing in the society and mass media (Kolesnik, Svitich and Shiryaeva 1995, 27).

The American colleagues stressed, "we need more comparative studies because they are system sensitive. They help us gain a better understanding and a less biased view of journalists from different systems, as well as the social systems within which they work" (Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996, 545). In their

analysis the researchers revealed "the traits of the role of agitator in Russian journalists" and concluded that "there are no fixed models of professional journalism" (ibid., 544).

The other joint project was realised by British and Russian researchers in 1996 in Tatarstan. The study examined the contemporary practices of journalists with a focus on continuities and changing forms of social control in Russian journalism. It attempted to clarify what norms the journalists adopt and also their self-image and identity (Davis, Hammond and Nizamova 1998). The study confirmed that "while there have been some real but incomplete changes – in the legal framework of media regulation, in the development of private sector media, and in the relationship between journalists and political authorities – there are also significant continuities with past practices" (ibid.83). Interviews with 28 journalists revealed that the understanding of 'professionalism' was unstable and ambivalent. The findings suggested "that none of the available models of the role of journalism (Leninist, liberal democratic, market based, etc.) provides an adequate framework to describe present practices" (ibid.).

In summary, both the Russian and the Western research hold a basic interest in the examination of the professionalization of the Russian journalists taking as a subject of study journalistic product, journalistic conduct and journalistic consciousness. In comparison with the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s nowadays the scholars' voices bring rather caution for the future of the professionalism in Russia. The results of the last studies testify that journalism hardly parts with its past, the traces of political serving still are inherent in it. Largely it has been caused by direct or indirect economic dependence of the media on the authorities and not enough developed media competition.

Also, the cultural factor is decisive, apart from other considerations it includes type of relationship in society (kinship), stereotypes in on journalism (journalists are state people) and moods (from *dermokratii* {shit-democracy} to self-sufficiency).

### **3. Professionalism**

The review of earlier studies suggests that changes in the journalist's job develop a tendency to transform a journalist's image from a stigmatized propagandist to a something else. The last decade and a half has led Russian society toward integration with the Western community, and consequently it is logical to expect gradual rapprochement of the Russian and the Western approaches to journalism. Jukka Pietiläinen (2002), for instance, is convinced that there is still more talk about a specific character of the Russian way than well-grounded evidence of this. In particular, his analysis of the regional media of Karelia indicates that contemporary Russian journalism is developing according to the same common patterns as journalism of Western societies has developed.

Elena Vartanova (2001, 23) states that "the dynamics of media structures everywhere in the world are driven by the same economic and market logic of concentration, investment policy, and social and cultural changes in society". She advises us to scrutinise today's Russian media in the global context because the Russian media "more impressively than in other countries demonstrate complex problems under influence of which contemporary media systems have been founded". She identifies the complexity of the problem as "nationally caused social-economic problems, for Russia they are tied with transitional period, newest factors of global character, first of all progress of information-communication technologies and firmly tied with national history traditions of ideology, culture and mentality" (Vartanova 2002, 18).

The main task of the present study is to clarify the professional consciousness of media workers within the framework of the Western conception of professionalism in journalism (objective reporting, the journalist's detachment, need for self-regulation). The study is based on the concepts of profession and professionalization developed in Western and Russian research on journalism. The questions addressed to analysis of the empirical part of the study are:

- How much do contemporary journalists differ from the Soviet-era journalists who were supposed to have the (state) role of an organizer of the socialist system?
- What continuities and breaks characterize contemporary journalists; is there just a transformation but not fundamental change in the propagandist role from ideological commitment to market survival?
- What new ways of thinking and acting can be seen among the practitioners of both generations?

#### ***3.1. The Russian discourse***

As Filippov (1998, 520) argues, in the USSR, sociology of professions has been developed since the first years of Soviet rule (initially within the confines of the problems of the scientific organization of labour - *NOT*). In the 1960s-70s the majority of studies were about prestige of professions, professional adaptation, professional orientation of young people and professional career (Podmarkov and Sizemskaya 1969; Titma 1975). Only in the 1980s did researchers begin to study sociological problems of separate

professions of intelligence (physicians, teachers, engineering-technical personnel). The sociological studies on the professional labour of scientists and their professional mobility occupied a special place among others (Kugel 1983; Titma and Talyunaite 1984; Krevnevich 1985).

The sociology of professions investigates the state and tendencies of the change of the professional structure of society, the peoples' attitudes to the sphere of professions expressed in their assessed judgements and social behaviour. The sociology of professions is closely tied to the sociology of labour (Filippov, *ibid*). However, let us clarify how the term profession is interpreted and what the senses of profession are.

The term runs "from Latin *professio*, *profiteor*; a kind of labour activity demanding definite preparation and being usually a source of livelihood" (Soviet Encyclopaedia 1983, 1070). The other source defines profession as "a kind of labour activity, occupations demanding definite preparation and being usually a source of livelihood" (Academic Dictionary of Russian Language 1987, 540). According to Strumilin (1957, 12) profession should be perceived as "the aggregate of acquired special labour skills by schooling and out of schooling when one person combines them under one definition".

The term 'professional' is interpreted as, "a person who turned some occupation, activity into his/her profession, a good specialist ... hunter-professional, director-professional". Regarding the profession, for instance "an experienced jurist thoroughly knowing laws and all kinds of professional subtleties. To be professional: professional revolutionary, professional wrestlers, professional nurse". Professionalization is "mastering by profession, specialising in somewhat area. Transition to the rank of professionals". For instance, "younger writer" (Academic Dictionary of Russian Language 1987, 540)

In the last decade the notion of profession has changed little. The Russian Sociological Encyclopaedia describes it as follows:

1. The kind of labour activity, occupations determined by production-technological division of labour and its functional content.
2. A big group of people uniting in a common kind of occupation, labour activity. In society there is a hierarchy of professions depending on the degree of complication and responsibility of implementing work and reflected in the public awareness of the kind of prestige of professions (Filippov 1998, 425).

The sociological dictionary gives the definition of profession as "institutionalized and existing in the framework of needs of society and its economy the kind of labour activity" (Kravchenko 1999, 220). Both sources emphasise the interconnection and interaction of professional structure (the population of professions and their interconnection) with the social structure. The first notes that "the borders of profession, a number and kinds of entering specialities are inconstant and lively" (Filippov 1998, 425).

In the framework of western sociological theory of professionalism such a sense of the terms of profession, professional, professionalization is defined as "a trivial sense ... referring to the division of labour in society and to the degree of socialization of different kinds of activity". It "is used to describe someone who earns a living from a particular occupation as opposed to the amateur who pursues it for other motives" (Splichal and Sparks 1994, 34-35).

That is, one could assume that the Soviet and the post-Soviet discourses employ the term profession and its derivatives mostly in the trivial sense, not claiming a core of professionalism as it is understood in the West and in this way lowering the level of demands. The Finnish sociologist Markku Kivinen investigates the sociology of labour in Russia and argues that in the socialist ideology there is no a detailed system position regarding the problem of professionalization. In the USSR the professional organisations possessed different opportunities to oppose interference from outside in the process of definition of production tasks. They often met interference from party apparatus forming professional practices and managing the professional education and training. The traditional intelligence was far enough away from professional thinking, its ethos was sharpened not so much on the idea of professional competence as on endless polemic about high ideas, noble aims and the future of Russia. There was no true labour market for specialists and specialists did not have an opportunity to implement private practice completely or partly (Kivinen 2001, 122-123).

That is, one could identify the Russian case as an instance of under-developed comprehension of professionalism. On the other hand, if turning to medical practice then one should admit that the terms profession and professional had and have also been used in narrower senses as technical mastery, implying high routine skills and as the standards of professionalism legitimated by employers and colleagues (Hippocratic oath of the Soviet physicians). Moreover, it is possible to discuss the professionalism of Soviet physicians in Freidson's sense because they made decisions on the basis of their technical competence and not on the basis of state interference, although they were subjected to state administration and served as state employees. However, this was not the case for Soviet lawyers and scientists.

Maybe it would be more fruitful to speak about a model of 'Soviet profession' as the product of the Soviet system and its 'birth-mark' at present. In this case there is a chance to scrutinise features of the development of profession in the conditions of modernization of no liberal society according to the state planning and the compelling process of levelling of class structure and also in the new post-Soviet conditions of transforming the old system into a new one. Then one could distinguish a single occupation holding the highest status in the social stratification and occupations and meeting all requirements for a true profession in western theory: power, prestige, autonomy, self-control and self-regulation, body of knowledge and techniques, service orientation, ethics, membership. Such an occupation was party

practice, which could be identified as meta-profession of the Soviet system with many other occupations as sub-professions (Soviet professions).

The Soviet past testifies that the party staff workers (mainly former specialists of various professional spheres) served as meta-professionals, specifically their competence was acknowledged as the most appropriate to be appointed and often to command in proper fields: policy, economy, industry, culture, education, journalism and so on. The Highest Party School (*VPSH*) was for them the second high education and on graduating they became top level state managers and patronized the professional structure of society. The Soviet professionals had no conception of a detachment of their professional activities from interference of the 'native' state, the majority was an adherent of socialistic views and strove to make his/her own contribution to the welfare of the country:

Toward 1985 the majority of the population of the country believed in the advantages of the planned economy, public property as a means of production, believed in the cultural, moral superiority of the Soviet Union over the West. Deeply believed in, deeply patriotically and quite sincerely supported the foreign policy of the Soviet government - even the policy on Afghanistan (Shlapentokh 2000, 120).

In the 1990s the meta-professionals continued to be required in the state policy and private business. Kivinen (2001, 153) notes that: "today in the leading positions in society there are the same people which were in the past. They are equally related to the group of "new Russians" and the group of managers as a whole". The Russian researchers note that "The former members of the *nomenclatura* who, during the period of privatization of state property, have successfully converted their old power assets to capital, form the core of the new elite (Frydman et al.1996; Kryshtanovskaya 1992; Radaev 1994; Ershova et al.1994; ref. Piirainen 1998, 337). One could say that the meta-professionals of Soviet society occupy positions allowing them to control and to direct the developments in various professional spheres of the present society. An assumption emerges that in such a case to expect cardinal change in the development of status of professions including journalism is very unlikely.

However, let us see what senses journalism as a profession accumulated in Russia.

Nikolay A. Polevoi, a writer and a historian, first introduced the word 'journalism' into the Russian language. The first attempt to expound the history of the Russian journalism belongs also to him in the "Review of Russian newspapers and magazines from their beginning to 1828" (Zapadov 1963, 177). In the 1830s an amateur occupation of writing for the press began to change into a professional occupation. Some factors emerged for this. A.F. Smirdin, a publisher and bookseller, first introduced the fixed author's payment of 200 rubles for a page, and of 1000 rubles and more for a page for famous writers. It provided an opportunity to come into journalism for those who did not have another livelihood. The introduction of honorarium contributed both to the democratization of literature and journalism and the professionalization of the writer's and journalist's labour.



Many writers started their career in journalism (V. Belinsky, A. Chekhov, M. Gorky), the others were connected with the occupation of journalism for a long time or a whole life establishing their own journals and newspapers (brothers Dostoevsky, A. Gertsen). They used journalism as a public tribune for their activities and perceived their mission in producing mental pabulum for the satisfaction of the intellectual demands of the citizens. In the history of Russian culture literature and journalism developed together enriching each other, writers and journalists had the role of public teachers. For instance, Alexander Pushkin was not only a great national poet, but also a talented journalist and critic. He published and edited *Sovremennik* (Contemporary) one of the best Russian journals of the 1830s and *Literaturnaya gazeta* in 1830 (Zapadov 1963, 162-163). This was the same as American journalism in the 1890s: "Journalism was traditionally conceived as a literary genre rather than a specific of technical writing" (Carey 1969, 32).

The dominance of literary tradition is visible in the interpretations of terms of journalist and journalism in Soviet sources: "a journalist is a professional literary worker in journalism"; journalism is "the literary-publicist's activity in magazines, newspapers, radio, television" (Academic Dictionary of Russian Language 1985, 489). Another definition of journalism bears a political trace: "the public activity over gathering, treatment and periodical spreading of the actual social information through press, radio, television, cinema and others; one of forms of conducting mass propaganda" (Soviet Encyclopedia 1983, 441).

Bukhartsev states that journalism is among the number of professions submitting to the laws of creativity. He clarifies the core of the journalist's profession as:

Creative labor is always tied with the creation of something new, unknown. An existing set of professional methods and means does not contain a ready scheme relevant to the implementation of an emerging task. An act of creativity, in contrast to the acts based on the application of the known methods and rules leading to the known results, means every time a creation of completely autonomous strategy of human conduct (Bukhartsev 1976, 3).

He appeals to Lenin, who emphasized that it is inadmissible mechanic levelling in the approach to the work of the party literary worker. The specific character is in the scope of personal initiative, individual inclinations, in the scope of thought and fantasy, form and content (Lenin Vol.12, 100-101 ref. Bukhartsev 1976, 3). The scholar stresses that "the development of Soviet journalism was tied to genre, thematic specialization, but not to functional-operational forms. The publicistic comprehension of reality had occurred in any genre, in any theme and it could not to be separated from the gathering and treatment of a material without risk of destroying the content of the profession, its core". He notes that journalists possessed different skills from publicist's writing, but a watershed could not to exist between publicist and

non publicist writing in the journalist's profession (Bukhartsev 1976, 8).

The essential signs of the journalist's professional approach to the phenomena of life are "when a journalist comes to the description of a situation or a problem from outside, comprehends its essence in the process of publicist writing and presents the material not from himself, but from the public" (Bukhartsev 1976, 9). The scholar argues that "journalism in its creative nature is a profession the basic content of which is the publicist's comprehension of reality with inherent transformation of the forms of the cognition and also with specific means of the penetration into special spheres of the material and spiritual activity" (Bukhartsev 1976, 10).

The Soviet journalists' handbook brings the definition of the Soviet journalism as "the most important area of the party and public activity". Whereas "every Soviet journalist must perform with the party, publicistic partiality against everything that hinders our movement forward, against any appearances of bourgeois ideology, unhealthy moods and philistinism. To perform acutely and deeply with class positions" (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 3-4). Whereas Bakhtin's definition is that "a journalist is a contemporary first of all. He/she must be the contemporary. He/she lives in the light of questions, which can be solved in the contemporaneity (or, in any case, in the near time). He/she participates in dialogue which can be finished or even completed, can be turned into business, and can become an empirical force" (Bakhtin 1979, 356-357).

Some of the post-Soviet interpretations explain journalism as "specific mass informational activity bound with search and transmission of actual social information in rhythmical form for mass anonymous audience" (Svitich 2000, 4). The scholar considers that the profession of a journalist is comparable with the professions of writer, teacher, politician, statesman and public figure, representative of art and culture, scientist, historian, judge and priest (Svitich 2000, 111). Vinogradova (2000, 45) states that publicistics is one of highest levels of journalistic creativity. According to Dzyaloshinsky the professionalization of a journalist is the mastering the professional experience by adapting him/her in the professional community and the developing the process of individualization when the journalist turns into creative personality (Dzyaloshinsky 1996, 30). The Russian law on the mass media defines a journalist who " edits, creates, collects or prepares messages and materials for the editor's office of a mass medium and is connected with it with labour and other contractual relations or engaged in such activity, being authorized by it" (Panyarskaya and Richter 1996, 8).

The Russian Sociological Encyclopaedia categorises a journalist as a specialist of the second level or of "a high qualification", equated to "engineers, agronomists, physicians, teachers of higher forms of schools, lawyers, economists and others". The first level or "highest qualification" consists of scientists, and representatives of art and system of government. The third level or "middle qualification" includes

technicians, nurses, teachers of primary school, librarians, kindergarten teachers and others. The hierarchy of specialists is based on a degree of complexity of brainwork (Filippov 1998, 529).

### ***3.2. The Western discourse***

Sociologists define profession as an occupation that is based on theoretical and practical knowledge and training in a particular field such as medicine, law, or science. Professions tend to be regulated in relation to certain standards of performance and ethics. This makes them more autonomous and independent than other occupations. The combination of specialized knowledge and collective self-regulation produces a relatively high social standing for professionals, including higher levels of income, wealth, power, and prestige (Allan G. Johnson 1995, 242).

The dispute about profession is a vast reference field for examining the development of occupations. The scientists still did not come to a generally accepted definition of profession although considerable literature exists - "often referred to as the 'trait' or 'attributional' perspective - which consists of a largely fruitless attempt to identify the elements common to all occupations (Greenwood 1957; Millerson 1964; ref. Terry Johnson 1993, 513). Meanwhile, the Western discourse embraces very different meanings of the notion of profession bringing those cultural and historical settings of professions in as they were interpreted, that some scholars because of these differences come to the conclusion that "the terms profession and professionalization are virtual nonconcepts, since there is a little consensus about their meaning" (Forsythe & Danisiewicz 1985, 59).

According to Goodwin and Smith (1995, 35), sociologists usually reduce the term 'professional' to occupations whose practitioners can meet three necessary standards: have specialized university education, be self-employed or work with little or no supervision, and abide by a uniform code of ethics that everyone in the profession follows. Splichal and Sparks (1994, 37) have included in the definition of profession such criteria as body of expert knowledge, autonomy, group solidarity within the professional community, self-regulation, licensing, authority over clients, and a code of ethics. Beam (1990, 6-8) argues that control over the occupation's knowledge base and techniques often underlies common attributes of professions. This leads him to the conclusion that since no occupational group has absolute authority over the terms of its work it is more helpful to think of occupations as more or less professionalized rather than to think of some occupations as professions and others as not. Thus, to summarize, profession can be viewed as an ideal type of occupation (Vollmer and Mills, in Becker et al. 1987, 19).

Magali Larson (1977, xi) proposes the general dimensions of ideal-type of profession as follows:

the cognitive dimension is centered on the body of knowledge and techniques which the professionals apply in their work, and on the training necessary to master such knowledge and skills. The normative dimension

covers the service orientation of professionals, and their distinctive ethics, which justify the privilege of self-regulation granted them by society. The evaluative dimension implicitly compares professions to other occupations, underscoring the professions' singular characteristics of autonomy and prestige. The distinctiveness of the professions appears to be founded on the combination of these general dimensions. These uncommon occupations tend to become "real" communities, whose members share a relatively permanent affiliation, an identity, personal commitment, specific interests, and general loyalties.

According to Terry Johnson (1993, 513-514) two questions have governed social thinking on the modern professions. First, "to what extent have professional occupations been a unique product of the division of labour?" Here the main reference is addressed to Weber (1967, 1978) who "saw professionalization as a process crucial to the emergence of modern society, with the rise of occupations characterized by 'rational' criteria of recruitment and performance". The second question posed the problem "do the professions perform a special role or function in modern society?". Here the appeal is to Durkheim (1950), "who argued that in industrializing societies, increasingly fragmented by a 'forced' division of labour, the 'occupational corporation' or profession was the only institution capable of generating a new moral order, mediating between the bureaucratic regulation of the modern state and the anomic individual".

However, since the mid-1960s, as Terry Johnson (1993, 515) points out, there has been a loss of faith in professional altruism, an increasing focus on monopolistic professional power as an exploitative force, and scepticism about the beneficial effects of professionalism as a strategy for collective, occupational advancement or mobility (Gilb 1966; Navarro 1976; Friedman 1962). With the emergence of 'monopoly' theory professionalism was identified as both a collective strategy for monopolistic control over occupational jurisdiction (Larson 1977) and a system of exclusionary practices, significant in the formation of the division of labour rather than a product of it - part of the wider process of class formation (Parkin 1979).

Kaarle Nordenstreng (1998, 125-126) distinguishes two main strands of thought or approaches in the sociological discussion on profession: 'Functionalist' and 'neo-Weberian' promoted two opposite views on professionalism. The positive view taken by the functionalistic approach suggests that "professions brought much-needed social cohesion and new morality into process of modernization, with scientific specialization (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933) and social service" (Marshall 1939). The critical view taken by the neo-Weberian approach perceives "professions as bastions of narrow and elitist interests, "which "serve in modern society as repressive mechanisms undermining democracy and turning active citizens into passive consumers".

Nordenstreng suggests that the evolution of journalism as a profession "provided a textbook example of a functional approach" although "reflections around media professions over the past two decades include more and more critical voices... and this one can indeed speak of a democratic shift":

...When a media-centred paradigm is replaced by a citizen-centred paradigm, one is also moving away from a functional approach to a critical (neo-Weberian) approach. ... More fundamentally, however, it was a paradigm shift away from an approach which understands media and journalists as the owners of communication rights and freedoms toward a paradigm whereby it is the citizens and their civil society that should be seen as the ultimate owners of freedom of information (Nordenstreng *ibid.*, 126-127).

However, when the question is posed directly: is journalism a profession or not, scholars prefer to discuss journalism more as an occupation than a profession, the more so as there is no internationally recognized definition of who actually is a journalist (Splichal & Sparks 1994, 4; Alleyne 1997, 111-112). According to Bromley (1997, 330) "While strictly speaking, neither a profession, nor a craft, it has displayed many of the characteristics of both". Lambeth (1992) has suggested the definition of journalism as a craft with professional responsibility. Some authors argue that journalism is becoming more professionalized (e.g. Splichal & Sparks 1994; Lambeth 1992, 106; Cohen 1997, 97). There is some authority, increasing stress upon special or at least higher education, in most cases ethical codes and a specific culture (Skolkay, 1998, 312). Professionalism of journalists is defined as impartial, fair and accurate reporting (Corner 1995).

In the course of the twentieth century a number of non-professional occupations (for instance, business or journalism) attempted to stake a claim to professional status when they professionalized themselves by forming occupational organizations and fostering a public image of their ethics, specialized knowledge and training. Owing to their attempts hybrid occupations had got the definitions as the 'semi-' or the 'sub-', or' the 'pseudo-professions'. However, according to Terence Johnson (1984) the 'monopoly' theorists claim that the identification of an occupation as professional has less to do with the reality of a division of labour in which a colleague association effectively controls its own work practices than with the collective strategy of professionalism as a means of occupational advancement (ref. Terry Johnson 1993, 515).

John Merrill (1997, 334) argues that journalism is no profession and it must not be the profession. Journalism is an occupation, a craft, a commitment open to everyone irrespective of education. The more journalism becomes a profession the more it will reject innovations, frighten off irrepressible dilettantes and contribute to the promotion upward of second grade specialists. Journalism will narrow pluralism and journalists will not think about the public interest but first about their own interests.

The theory of the professional roles by David Weaver applied in many western studies establishes three basic journalists' roles: disseminator, interpreter and adversary (Weaver 1986, 1996, 1998). In elaborated

forms they flow out from American history of journalism based on Milton's assertion of 'self-righting principle' and conception of 'free marketplace of ideas' (Altschull 1984, 40). The system of beliefs formed for the media roles and the journalists provides the 'western' understanding of professionalism as objective reporting and the journalist's 'detachment'.

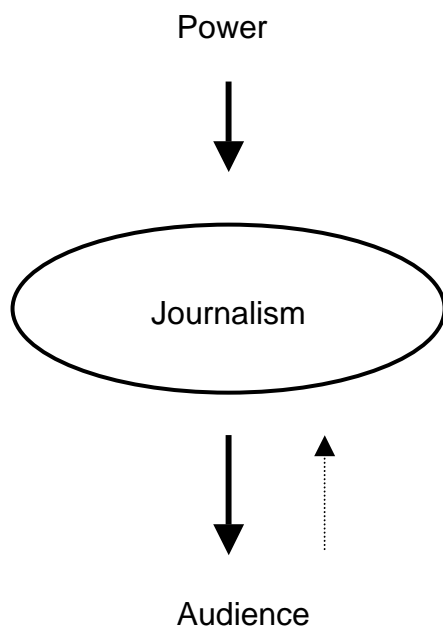
Kaarle Nordenstreng (1998, 131) looks at the concept of professional ethics as "a contradiction between media-centred professionalism and citizen-centred ethics". He proposes a critical approach to professionalism in order "to promote its ethics side" in this way "joining a broader intellectual movement in defence of democracy in the contemporary world". The International Principles of worldwide journalists' organizations define professional journalism as "supported by the idea of a free and responsible press" and calls "for professional autonomy of journalists as well as a measure of public accountability" (ibid., 132).

In summary, the difference between the Russian and the Western discourses on professional journalism is a reflection of the political and cultural developments in Russia and the West. Russian discourse on professionalism has changed little from the Soviet time, when it was restricted to a trivial understanding of the division of labour in society. It represents the applied character of the profession of journalism, which was supposed to function as an extension of the government.

The Western discourse on professional journalism focuses first and foremost on the demands of certain occupational standards and conduct with the idea to establish independent informational expertise. This is accompanied by the promotion of equal access and participation by people in a public debate. The professional has responsibility for the public and at the same time is an opponent to power.

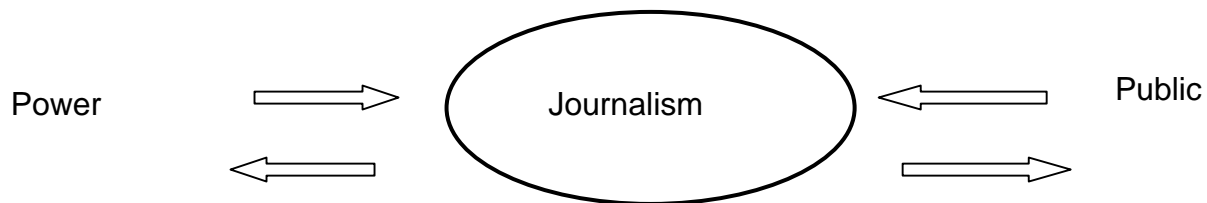
The two discourses on professional journalism are schematised in the two figures below representing the idea of the position of journalism in Russian and Western societies. Russian society represents vertical (government system hierarchy), whereby journalism as a derivative of power is intended for the transmission of order (information) from the power to the people seen as a passive audience. The Western society represents horizontal (civil society), journalism as a platform where the interests of power and the interests of public interact freely.

Russian discourse



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Western discourse



## **PART TWO: METHOD AND MATERIAL**

This part describes how the study was carried out and with what material. The chapter Method reports the research method of case study (intrinsic and instrumental concerns), research strategy of phased immersion into the field (pilot study and field work), the research technique of in-depth interview with analysis of the data on the basis of a comparative approach and the procedures of grounded theory. The chapter St. Petersburg Media substantiates the choice of case with its societal characteristics including data on media and journalist population. The chapter Portrait of the Journalists in the sample provides data on the social background of respondents (marital status, education, motivation for journalism, income, political orientation) and occupational position (specialising, membership) comparing respondents regarding gender, generation and type of news organisation.

### **4. Method**

Case study as a research method relies rather on a single case than a representative sample. Stake (1998, 86) points out that the *case study* "draws attention to the question of what specifically can be learned from the single case". A subject of the case study can be a phenomenon or a population of cases or the individual case. However, "we cannot understand this case without knowing about other cases. But while we are studying it, our meagre resources are concentrated on trying to understand its complexities" (Stake 1998, 87).

Although the researchers have different purposes for studying cases the scholar identifies only three common types of study. *Intrinsic case study* is undertaken for "better understanding of this particular case" because "in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest". *Instrumental case study* examines a particular case "to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory" (ibid., 88). And third type might be called *collective case study*. "It is not the study of a collective but instrumental study extended to several cases" (ibid., 89).

Following such a typology this study reveals a very relative line between intrinsic and instrumental but nevertheless in its purpose it seems rather instrumental. The study aims at describing the St. Petersburg case with the task of clarifying what professionalism is as perceived by journalists and how it is patterned. What is common in the developments of professionalizing of the St. Petersburg journalism as a case and of other localities representing together journalism on the national level. The study refers to earlier studies on Russian journalists. Moreover, exploring the present system of



the professional co-ordinates of the St. Petersburg's journalists the study strives to learn whether Russian journalists are turning similar to western journalists. Maybe it is a two-faced process combining movements to professionalizing and de-professionalizing in the context of transition from one system to another.

The choice of St. Petersburg is naturally based on its geography (bordering upon the West), history and culture; as modern pattern of a megalopolis connecting polarities, as 'the second capital of Russia' inserted into the peripheral frame. By the end of 1999 the city accumulated the features of two dissimilar spaces in Russia, of the centre and periphery and came to be incorporated increasingly into the international network. It provided more opportunities for western ideas to reach the local people. Comparing the political, economic and professional alternatives of St. Petersburg journalism to Moscow journalism, the former looks peripheral to the latter. But comparing St. Petersburg to regional journalism, it has more advantages than any remote periphery. The city's journalists also had more opportunities to get to know western journalists' practices.

However, the one case makes it impossible to generalize throughout the population. Therefore the results of the study do not lay claim to make reliable statements about all Russian journalists. The study covers the St. Petersburg journalists with a hope to serve as a model for further studies with more representative samples.

Which issues bring out the dominant themes of the study? According to Stake (1998, 92) "qualitative case researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines". This study belongs to the research area on professionalism in journalism studies. It has the aim of describing the journalists' attitudes toward job processing: how information emerges, what information emerges, what goals the journalists have for providing information to the audience. The technology of the journalist's labour (the selecting news, sources of information, strategies for presentation of news, genres et cetera) inextricably linked with value orientations of the practitioners, their perceptions of what is professional and moral. The exploration of the journalists' image of a professional and their perceptions of professional roles leads to the learning how the journalists understand the role of journalism in society. This gives cause to state that the study shares an approach having concerns in social psychology and sociology.

Stake points out that the different purposes of studies demand different methods, in particular:

the methods of instrumental case study draw the researcher toward illustrating how the concerns of researchers and theorists are manifest in the case. Because the critical issues are more likely to be known in advance and following disciplinary expectations, such a design can take greater advantage of already-developed instruments and preconceived coding schemes (Stake 1998, 100).

In the introduction we mentioned the book by Weaver (1998) 'The Global Journalist: News People Around the World' that inspired this study as well as the fact itself that there was not a chapter on a Russian journalist. The intention was to attempt to some extent to rectify a given unfairness. However, the comparative study of the Russian and the American journalists was published in Russian (Kolesnik, Svitich and Shiryayeva 1995) and in English (Wu, Weaver and Johnson 1996) and a separate Russian edition appeared in Moscow print on the basis of those comparative studies (Kolesnik 1998). Some studies on the Russian journalists were also done in the 1990s, they are reviewed in the first part Literature Review of the present study.

The research on American journalists (Weaver 1986, 1996, 1998) was a somewhat appropriate guidance for planning this study. Thus, the study's coding scheme has been built in the same way as in the studies mentioned: the basic characteristics of journalists, the job process, and the issues in professionalism and ethics. In the interviews with the journalists the study used Weaver's typology of questionable working methods. The study also applies the typology of journalists' roles by Weaver in the analysis of the empirical data. However, the study also addresses the European studies and joint comparative projects on the journalists in the search what unites and divides journalists of different countries (Donsbach 1993, 1995, 1999; Köcher 1986; Splichal & Sparks 1994; Zhu etl.1997). The study hypothesises that by virtue of the features of the occupation all journalists are alike in the same sense that physicians are like each other or also teachers, having the common characteristics as far as every kind of labour moulds its practitioners through specific processing. Nevertheless, journalism practitioners seems more professionally dependent on political and cultural traditions as well as the current political and economic agenda, owing to their public job they are in different degrees deeply incorporated into the relationship with the ruling power. Probably therefore they can differ from each other more than, for instance physicians from different countries. Their professionalism as well as ideas of the profession can be quite different.

#### **4.1. Research strategy**

##### *Pilot study*

Before the fieldwork in 1999 I conducted preliminary interviews in 1998 with eleven experienced journalists and journalism experts in St. Petersburg with the aim of examining conditions for

research work (the list of the respondents of the pilot study is given in the appendix 4). In particular, I wanted to learn where it would be better to interview journalists: in the editorial office or outside. Are journalists willing to talk with a Finnish researcher on their professional matters? I also wanted to get recent information about the state of journalists, media and moods in society.

It was a fruitful start for further research work. The pilot study gathered valuable local information that provided the understanding of the current situation; it helped to define questions for the interview and helped to define media sampling. It also clearly showed where and how to conduct interviewing: in the journalists' editorial offices and in privacy. All interviews with the respondents conducted in their working places were successful. The respondents were talking freely, openly and with pleasure. They felt themselves experts in the theme discussed, the interviews lasted approximately an hour or longer.

However, I had completely unsuccessful experiences when meeting outside, in some place in the city in the respondent's free time. Either the respondent did not come to the meeting at all or if the respondent came, he/she did not wish to talk, the interview was sticky and the respondent tried to finish it as soon as possible. It seemed that he/she felt uncomfortable in another environment, was not disposed to frankness and apparently did not see the sense in this meeting.

### *The fieldwork*

The implementation of the fieldwork was facilitated by a network of collaboration launched in 1999 between the departments of journalism of the universities of the Nordic countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway; Estonia and St. Petersburg's State University. Financing of the project by the Nordic Council of Ministers allowed me to work in St. Petersburg for gathering data. The Dean of the Faculty of Journalism at St. Petersburg State University, Professor Marina Shishkina, rendered crucial assistance for my access to the local media by phoning the editorial board members of newspaper and broadcasting institutions and getting permission for the researcher from Finland to interview their journalists. The Dean also mentioned that I was a graduate of the Faculty of Journalism of Leningrad State University, and now involved in a sociological project. We did not get a single refusal from the eight editors of the media and I had free access to the editorial offices on the days agreed. I had also a letter of recommendation from my supervisor, Professor Kaarle Nordenstreng.

Sampling of the media was done on the advice of St. Petersburg experts in 1998 with a view to obtaining various types of editorial organizations: the most influential traditional media from the

Soviet time and new media established in the 1990s, profit-making and non-profit-making media, state and private media. In this way eight institutions representing different types of journalism in the city were selected: the state television service *Peterburg-5<sup>th</sup> Channel*, the state radio *Peterburg*, a private radio station *Baltika*, three dailies: *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, *Smena*, *Vechernii Peterburg*; the St. Petersburg edition of Moscow's leading daily newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and the most popular city weekly in that time *Peterburg Express*.

The procedure for selecting the respondents in each media was done with the free agreement of the journalists. When I came to the editorial office and met with the deputy editor-in-chief I agreed on two conditions: to talk to journalists of different generations (those who came into journalism in the Soviet time and those who came in 1990 and after) and genders and to do it privately without witnesses. The deputy editor-in-chief helped me to find the journalists, but there were also cases in which the journalists who had already given me an interview introduced me to other colleagues. I did not meet refusals from journalists and therefore one can state that the data do not bring psychological distortion.

In this study the definition of a journalist includes those who have news specialization and work full-time in the dailies and weeklies, in broadcasting and television. They produce information on political, economic, social, cultural issues, criminal and sport news.

#### *The researcher and the respondents are peers*

Anticipating a possible distrust toward a new person with a tape recorder and a paper with a list of questions I tried to reduce the tension at once by speaking to the respondent about my endeavour to get his/her honest answers. I explained that the research is being made regarding their job and based on their views of the profession and that the more complete the answers the better will be the material for the research. That is, I tried to make the respondent my ally in conducting the interview. It seemed that the journalists understood me, they themselves every day obtained information and made similar requests to different persons. At the same time I stressed the conditions of the respondent's security: anonymity, I did not ask his/her name, my outside position to the St. Petersburg environment and that further use of the interviews would not harm the respondent, all data were to be codified and presented in the report without any indication suggestion of the interviewee.

I strictly observed a rule of data gathering to interview a respondent privately in order that nobody would influence the answers. All the respondents talked with me of their own free will; they were

interested in shoptalk. Almost always we encountered the problem of finding a secluded spot in the editorial office, but every time we succeeded in finding something. Thus, we talked privately in the room or under the stairs, or in the buffet, or in the corners of the corridors. I tried to observe the order of the questionnaire. Usually an interview lasted 40-90 minutes depending on the respondent's time.

There were cases when the respondents came to help me to lend their batteries for the recording. Some stayed after work to give me the interview quite late (19-20 p.m.), and after the interviewing we left the editorial office together, went to the metro continuing the talk about private matters. Some of them asked me to tell about myself, in particular how I turned out to be a researcher from Finland. During the interviewing some of them were smoking and it was seen that they were enjoying the topic and their own reflections, the males offered me coffee and tea. There was a case when the respondent on the next day after the interview brought me his own classification of the topics of his newspaper in case it could be useful for my research.

One can say that practically everyone was intrigued with the questions and the theme of their job, some of them thanked me for the shoptalk deeming it necessary only sometimes to reflect upon the professional issues. Some of them gave me their visiting cards in case if I needed their assistance whenever. A similar reaction was found among Polish journalists who wished to be subjects of research (Curry 1990, ix). I can assure Jane L. Curry that the Russian journalists also wished to be subjects of the research.

That is, I can say that a good atmosphere between the researcher and the respondent was achieved. Thus, in the traditional media (from Soviet time) the respondents irrespective of generation and gender were the most open answering all questions freely and in detail. In contrast, in the new media under private foreign ownership established in the 1990s the post-Soviet practitioners were more guarded answering more briefly, some of them refused to say anything about their salaries, stating that it a commercial secret, also regarding who are the owners of their media. Here probably two reasons can be assumed, first one, the internal recommendation or rule for a journalists not to speak about earnings and ownership to outsiders and second the insufficiently stable status of the young journalists in the media. All of them were recruited recently, on a short contract, and had a good salary in comparison with the journalists from the traditional media.

This difference in the respondents' openness between the traditional and the new media gives reason to presuppose that different type of conduct could be tied with quite different atmospheres

for work and professional collaboration. In the traditional media the traces of the Soviet journalistic collective could persist owing to the old order providing regular staff jobs for journalists and it could contribute to openness in relationships, whereas in the new private media the jobs were based on temporary recruitment and it forced journalists to compete with each other perceiving a colleague rather as a rival than a friend. It could contribute to closeness in relationship.

I suppose that the choice of strategy to become interviewer and interviewee "peers" or "companions" (Reason and Rowan 1981, 205 ref. Alasuutari 1995, 52) in the conducting of in-depth interview was relevant. My relation to the respondents as experts seemingly encouraged them to tell me essential information about their jobs. According to Alasuutari (1995, 51-52) in qualitative research there are two methods which are used to check or improve the truthfulness of the information people give. The mechanistic method (Bernard 1988, 150; Dooley 1990, 106) proposes giving limited information to respondents about the aims of the study or not telling why particular questions are asked. Here information is used as indirect evidence of the fact studied. The humanistic method (Berg 1989, 29-30; Bogdan & Taylor 1975, 45-48; Georges & Jones 1980, 63-64) attempts to develop 'rapport', that is, the informants trust the researcher, they will be honest with the researcher. Here information is used as testimonies of the fact studied. The two methods are not mutually exclusive.

This study relies on both methods. On the one hand I tried to develop rapport between myself as a researcher and the respondent, therefore I told the respondent my purpose at once to know how he/she works, what is important and what not important for him/her in the occupation. On the other hand I said nothing about the idea underlying the study of examining his/her understanding of what is professionally in journalists' job.

#### *Micro and macro climate for revelation*

The reasons why shoptalk covering many of sensitive questions seems to have succeeded can be regarded on two levels. On the micro-level between the researcher and the respondent there had been achieved a climate of reciprocity owing to the following circumstances: interviewing was conducted in privacy and anonymously. The place of interviewing (the habitual environment for the respondent, the editorial office) was chosen rightly. The editor-in-chief or the deputy editor-in-chief sanctioned conducting interview for research purposes. The respondent had an interest in the proposed theme. The researcher was prepared to conduct shoptalk, she used the journalistic jargon and knowledge from her former journalist's experience, she was Russian, educated in journalism and had lived six years in this city. It could be confirmed by the words by Elliott (1972, 171-172)

"there was no problem of socio-cultural distance" between the researcher and the respondent that guaranteed that "the researcher has completely understood the dynamics of the social experience".

On the macro level a premise for revelation was the fact that the researcher and the respondent communicated without inhibitions in society and in the editorial office. The respondents were not afraid and at the same time did not hesitate to be outspoken even on the most 'sharp' questions as, for instance, corrupted articles or plagiarism. One can say that the revelation testified to the firm hold of freedom of speech in society since glasnost. On the other hand, it revealed a crisis of general moral criteria in the occupation. The question what to consider 'a sin' and to be ashamed of it was unclear for practitioners. This resulted in notion that everything has a right to be if it brings personal profit. That is, there was no a psychological problem for the respondents to be amoral, they acted under those circumstances which framed their conduct.

#### *Claim for responsibility*

The responsibility of the researcher is to provide the most accurate description of the data of the empirical material. The distance that the researcher tried to diminish between herself and the respondent in conducting in-depth interviews should now be placed to implement the analysis, conceptualization, comprehension and interpretation. The given work demands impartiality pertaining to the role of the observer with the critical stance to self for the sake of avoiding any bias in analysing and reporting.

#### **4.2. In-depth interview**

The empirical part of the study is based on 30 in-depth interviews conducted during the period October 10 - November 10, 1999. In the statement by Johnson (1995, 162) in-depth interview most often is used as the basic technique in case study method. The interviewers try to get as much information as possible about a respondent's views and experience.

The interview consists of 72 questions (Appendix 1). They comprise factual questions (16) giving factual information about basic social characteristics of the respondent; closed questions (21) mainly about job and closed dichotomous questions (8) about job, gender role, ethical issues; open questions (27) concerning job and ethical issues. The classification derives from Maslova (1998, 70-73) and Foddy (1993, 36-37).

The combining of different kinds of questions was aimed at obtaining more complete information from the respondents and stimulating free reflections on the proposed items. The basic interview

was semi-structured. Care was taken to obtain the data in relatively identical conditions in order to facilitate their treatment and analysis. That is, the standardization of the conditions of interviewing and random selecting of respondents were put as the ways to increase the reliability of the research. The form of an individual anonymous interview also facilitated the efforts to reach more reliability. It was pursued to avoid on the one hand somebody's pressure on the journalist and on the other hand the suspicion of the journalist toward the researcher. To answer positively the question: 'can we believe the respondents?' and to treat their responses as factual statements the positivists "base this assertion on a set of claims about how 'rapport' was established with subjects: interviewers were accepted as peer-group members, showed 'genuine interest' in understanding the interviewees' experience and guaranteed confidentiality" (Silverman 1993, 100).

Mäseide summarises the most significant premises of positivist approach to interview data from a critical position:

1. The aim of social science is to discover unknown but actual social facts or essentials.
2. Reality is supposed to be 'out there'. Thus it is a matter of finding the most effective and unbiased methods that, as precisely and objectively as possible, could bring out information about this reality.
3. The existence of typical respondents is explicitly presupposed. These respondents are implicitly supplied with standardised mental structures that match the analyst's reasoning and use of language.
4. Methodological problems are more technical than theoretical or interpretative (Mäseide 1990, 4 ref. Silverman 1993, 93).

Positivists' belief in standardised forms of interviewing, as Mäseide (1990, 9, 11) points out, relies on an exclusive emphasis on the referential functions of language. "However, interview responses 'are delivered at different descriptive levels. The informant does different things with words and stories" (ref. Silverman 1990, 93).

If we rely on the classification of approaches to interview data from Silverman (1993, 91) the approach of this study is to a significant extent positivism both over "status of data: facts about behaviour and attitudes", and "methodology: random sample, standard questions, tabulations".

However, as mentioned, my in-depth interview was semi-structured, one third of the questions were open questions to obtain information, which I could not presuppose before and which could appear only owing to open questions. For instance, when I asked the respondents whether they used suspicious sources in their work, I received an interesting result. Half of the respondents considered all people except officials, the journalist's own informants, and Internet to be suspicious sources whereas another half considered criminal and dark sources persons whom a journalist does not trust,



rumours and gossips to be suspicious sources. At the same time all respondents unanimously considered officials to be reliable sources of information not in the sense that all of those provide the truth, but in the sense that information from officials does not need for verification because ultimately it should be published.

The aim of the study was to get the revelations of the respondents about their experiences and open questions with journalists' reflections could help me to obtain and to understand those meanings, which were inherent in the concrete situation or in accepted routine, the respondents had in mind. In this case my approach was closer to interactionism. I strove to move into depth. The study does not share a positivist assumption of an unchanging social world, in contrast, it approaches the world as processual. In such a case as Silverman (1993, 146) points out, "we cannot assume any stable properties in the social world. However, if we concede the possible existence of such properties, why shouldn't other work replicate these properties?"

According to Hammersley (1992a, 67 ref. Silverman 1993, 145) reliability of research "refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same categories by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions". Thus, when we are dealing with a text "issues of reliability now arise only through the categories you use to analyse each text. It is important that these categories should be used in a standardised way, so that any researcher would categorise in the same way. A standard method of doing this is known as 'inter-rater reliability' (Silverman 1993, 147-148).

The analysis is based on comparisons as the main analytical tool learning about and from the case. Stake (1998, 97-98) argues that "Comparative description is the opposite of what Clifford Geertz (1973) calls "thick description". "Readers examining instrumental case study are shown how the phenomenon exists within a particular case". Therefore some knowledge about the case is ignored, some knowledge is put under close scrutiny.

This study explores *what* attitudes and values in the occupation the journalists share, *how* those attitudes and values are synthesizing in the job processing and *how* its synthesis determines the nature of professionalism of the practitioners. *What* are the basic characteristics of professionalism of contemporary practitioners and what journalists' roles do they predict? *How* much does the professionalism of Russian journalists differ from that of western journalists? That is, the subject of the study is a phenomenon of professionalism and an individual journalist is the unit of analysis. Chosen by random selection in the eight various types of the leading media of St. Petersburg and

consisting of different practitioners regarding generation, gender and education, this sample of respondents is representative enough for the case study of St. Petersburg journalists.

"If the question concerns an experience and the phenomenon in question is a process, the method of choice for addressing is grounded theory" (Morse 1998, 64). The authors of grounded theory, Strauss and Gorbun, (1990, 26) argue:

Grounded theory can be used successfully by persons of many disciplines. One need not to be a sociologist or subscribe to the Interactionist perspective to use it. What counts are the procedures and they are not discipline bound. It is important to remember that investigators from different disciplines will be interested in different phenomena - or may even view the same phenomenon differently because of disciplinary perspectives and interests.

This study approaches the phenomenon of professionalism of contemporary journalists with naive questions: What is it? How is it formed? What meanings do its components bring out? We actually do not know what cements the fundament for the professional now. The drastic changes in the social life and the journalist's occupation occurring in the last fifteen years in Russia caused for the practitioners a completely new situation in many respects. We strive to investigate the journalists in the new circumstances with the purpose of making a discovery that would be grounded in the lived practice of the journalists and interpreted with the help of relevant theories, first of all the sociology of professions and theories of media.

I use some strategies and procedures of grounded theory for the analysis of the data to come to findings which could clarify the process of professionalizing in its everyday course. Thus, the study tried to develop the iterative character of exploring. When I gathered data I certainly had knowledge from the "technical literature" on the question investigated and kept in mind definite categories for future analysis, such as objectivity and detachment, neutrality and autonomy, ethics and responsibility in the journalist's job. However, the procedures of coding the data provided me with completely new meanings of the categories studied which emerged from the analysis of the primary data. It demanded their identification. Then I went back again to the technical sources (theoretical works, the studies of the journalists) which could make more precise my ideas and findings, and develop the analytical reflecting further. I did not want to restrict the analytical landscape to only the known meanings pertaining to the discourse on the phenomenon of professionalism in the western research. I strove to reveal those meanings, which were incorporated within the journalists' practices studied. As Stake (1998, 98-99) advises, the simplest rule for method in qualitative

casework: "Place the best brains available into the thick of what is going on. The brain work ostensibly is observational, but more basically reflective".

Comparative analysis was the basis for all stages of the research. The procedure of coding facilitated conceptualizing and categorizing data. I made comparisons of the data on every question, elicited extreme cases and categorized them. Every category has certain particular properties or concepts. The procedure of open and axial coding verifies categories made and concepts pertaining to them co-relating them to the primary data and organising the data in a new way. I developed the newly worked up categories through all data of the study focusing on the phenomenon of professionalism as the core of the research. I strove to keep in the mind the other advice from Spiro:

the best way to learn and instruct in order to attain the goal of cognitive flexibility in knowledge representation for future application is by a method of case-based presentations which treats a content domain as a landscape that is explore by "criss-crossing" it in many directions, by re-examining each case "site" in the varying contexts of different neighboring cases, and by using a variety of abstract dimensions for comparing cases (Spiro 1987, 178 ref. Stake 1998, 96, 98).

The journalists as units of analysis were compared in terms of variables of gender, type of media and generation (Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners). This helped to promote understanding why the journalists had different attitudes and values in the job. However, the focus of the comparisons was put on the old and new generations of practitioners in journalism. The description and interpretation of data presents the results of the analysis. The process of the verification of the results constantly persisted through all stages of the analysis. It included the co- relation of the newly worked up categories of the analysis to the primary data and the categories taken for the study, the co-relation of them to each other and the co-relation the results of the study to the findings of the previous studies.

Thirty interviews were transcribed verbatim at the end of 1999 - start of 2000. The text transcribed consists of five hundred pages covering seventy-two questions from thirty respondents. Every question represents definite topic therefore responses of respondents on every topic are brought together into a topical card. The topical cards have been analysed and responses are classified into typologies. The typologies revealed are brought together into three basic topical protocols corresponding to the organising the study, basic data on respondents, attitudes in job and perceptions on values. The analysis uses all instruments worked up with constant turning to primary data as the basic source of information and with the writing memo contributing to the process of analysis.

## **5. St. Petersburg media**

The chapter represents data on the city media, journalists and the eight media chosen for the case study with data of the interviews conducted with the local media experts on the recent developments of St. Petersburg society, media sector and journalists' community.

The choice of St. Petersburg as a research location was made in view of the contrast between centre and periphery in Russia - the two absolutely different spaces in the post-Soviet reality at the end of the 1990s. Being one of 89 regions of the Russian Federation, St. Petersburg is seen as a symbiosis of capital and peripheral life owing to its recent history and the present state.

As regards journalism, from the political, economic and professional alternatives St. Petersburg looks peripheral to Moscow, but compared it to regional journalism, St. Petersburg has more advantages than any remote periphery. Therefore this choice is optimal among the other Russian options, provided by the unique polar-symbiotic status of St. Petersburg as the second capital of Russia inserted into the peripheral frame.

Moreover St. Petersburg is the birthplace of Russian journalism, where there emerged the first printed newspaper and daily (*Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* 1728), the first evening paper (*Vechernyaya gazeta* 1866) and the free paper (*Kopeika* 1907) (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 66; Voroshilov 1999, 50). Yet the decisive reason of the choice of St. Petersburg was really access of the researcher to the media. After graduating from Leningrad State University, Faculty of Journalism I kept my network with fellow graduates. This facilitated my access to the local media.

### **5.1. Media data**

The amount of media registered in St. Petersburg changes annually and during the year.

In comparison with the Soviet period its quantity increased significantly, from 118 in 1991 to more than 4000 in 2001 (interview with Tretyakov 2001). It means that the amount of new media dominates in the information market. The first issue of a reference book on the mass media of St. Petersburg and Leningrad region publishes data of 1999 on 1539 information sources distinguishing them as print media (newspapers, magazines, newsletters), electronic media (tele radio companies, radioprograms, teleprograms, videoprograms), information agencies (*Sredstva Massovoi Informatsii Sankt-Peterburga i Leningradskoi oblasti* 1999). Another source notes more than 600 newspapers in the city in 1999, of them only 150 operated (Voroshilov 1999, 210).

The term newspaper (*gazeta*) includes various kinds of papers differing regarding frequency of output as dailies, weeklies, monthly; print characteristics, as circulation, volume, format; region of spreading as national, regional, local (of city, district, factory); purpose, as political, departmental (*vedomstvennyye*), corporate, professional; character of audience as entertaining, advertising (including free), commercial; type of founder as private person, editorial office, commercial, authorities' structure, political party. The majority of newspapers are registered and published legally but there are newspapers which are considered as no legitimate editions because they are not registered because have a circulation of less than one thousand copies or they do not register because of other reasons (Voroshilov 1999, 49-50). According the Law on the mass media newspapers having a circulation of less than one thousand do not need to be registered.

The St. Petersburg media market represents quite a diverse picture of editions where with traditional information press, for instance specialising newspapers more and more take an active role. Thus, in 1998 they were 128 among which advertising (31) and business & financial (12) were in the lead for quantity of names. For instance, such advertising editions as *Astok-pres; Privet, Peterburg; Utro Peterburga; Metro, Reklama-pluys, Ekstra-Balt* have being distributed near metro stations every day whereas on Saturdays every family takes from its post box the latest issue of the free advertising newspaper *Tsentr-pluys* (Voroshilov 1999, 50-51).

Established in the middle of 1990s, business editions *Delovoi Peterburg* and *Delovoe obozrenie* became authoritative and popular among a wide circle of city entrepreneurs. Yellow (tabloid) editions *Peterburg Ekspress* or *Kaleidoskop* seized significant part of the audience.

The city market for magazines is intended for various interests and tastes. Thematically it embraces 35 directions from editions on anomaly phenomena (*Paranormalnyi Peterburg*) to national-cultural (*Ukraintsy i Peterburg*) and informational technologies (*Ves komputornyi mir Sankt-Peterburga*) (Sredstva Massovoi Informatsii Sankt-peterburga i Leningradskoi oblasti 1999). In the city there are twenty radio stations of different styles and thematic directions (*Radio Roks, Otkryti gorod*) among which are stations established by foreign investors (*Evropa-pluys, Radio Maximum*). In the city there are more than ten Tele channels from traditional Moscow channels of the 1st, the 2th, the 4th to regional channels of the 22th, the 36th, the 40th and Tele companies (*Onego, Petronii*) (Voroshilov 1999, 52)

On 01.04.2001 the data on registered media provided by the North-Western Direction of the State Committee of the Russian Federation on the mass media are presented in Table 5.1. below:

**Table 5.1. Registered media until 01.04.2001**

<b>MEDIA</b>	<b>NORTH-WESTERN PART</b>	<b>ST. PETERSBURG</b>
total mass media	5883	3211
newspapers	2895	1380
magazines	1519	1237
other print editions	48	66
information agencies	301	178
TV programs	608	227
radio programs	388	120
other electronic media	124	3

In early 2001 the North-Western Direction of the State Committee of the Russian Federation on the mass media in St. Petersburg issued 815 licences permitting polygraphic activity, of which 146 state licences, 69 municipal, 600 non-state licences. According to its data in the north-western region of Russia, 30 enterprises specialise in output of newspapers.

In St. Petersburg the media structure is developing dynamically (Zassoursky 2001, 12; Sredstva Massovoi Informatsii Sankt-Peterburga i Leningradskoi oblasti 1999, 3). Approximately every week 10 new print media are registered in the city, 15 new media - over the north-western part of Russia. Notably the peak of registration happens before the expansion of pre-election campaigns after that not many media more appear (interview with Tretyakov 2001).

Public expertise reports a high level of media saturation in the city: 28 local TV programs, of those 25 non-state; and also 31 local radio programs, of which only one is a state program. Monthly there are subscribed more than half a million copies of periodicals (577.5 thousand), it is not much: per 1000 inhabitants only 122 copies of newspapers or magazines. This index is considerably below the average subscribed index in the country. The experts explain the low level of subscription by the high subscription rate and the developed net of the retail trade. Thus, the average subscription rate is 27 rubles 83 kopecks, which exceeds the average subscription rate in Russia 1.48 times. Information saturation of the region occurs at the expense of TV and radio broadcasting (Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: Anatomiya svobody slova 2000, 677).

### *Ownership*

Practically the whole city media sector is privatised: "90% of the newspapers of St. Petersburg are joint-stock companies" in 1998 in the words by Tretyakov (Namsaraeva 1998, 12). In the data of *Obshchestvennoi expertizy* the share of private newspapers and magazines is 90.6%. The aggregate volume of printed copies of private newspapers and magazines is 15 348 732 copies a week, whereas the state newspapers and magazines have an aggregate volume of 1 584 665 copies a week. The aggregate capacity of private TV transmitters is 99.35 kilowatts, the aggregate capacity of the state and municipal TV transmitters is 50 kwt. The whole share of private TV transmitters is 66%. In contrast, radio remains more in state than in private ownership. The share of private radio transmitters is 25% and their aggregate capacity is 87.2 kwt, whereas the aggregate capacity of the state and municipal radio transmitters is 260 kwt. The share of private television is 67%, private radio -25% (*Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: AnATOMiya svobody slova 2000, 682, 24*).

The city administration as a whole owns an insignificant part of the shares in the media sector (approximately only 8-10 % of all media). However, it has the control package of the shares of the main city TV channel (the 5th channel) and main radio broadcaster *Peterburg* together with the regional government and also it has 25% shares of the main daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*. The daily possesses exclusive rights to publish the city government's decrees and the other important decisions concerning city affairs. The regional authorities (the region government and municipal administrations) own 60% shares in 180 newspapers of the Leningrad region. The district administrations of St. Petersburg publish 70 their newspapers (Tretyakov 2001).

### *Subsidies*

The city budget is not an important source of financing in St. Petersburg mass media. In 2000 the foreseen expenses for the mass media were 132 805.6 thousand rubles, of which 59 730 thousand rubles for print media and 73 075.6 thousand rubles for broadcasting. The share of expenses for the development of the mass media was 0.39% of the total budget, which practically corresponds to the common index in Russia (*Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: AnATOMiya svobody slova 2000, 677*).

However, in the city there are other sources for media subsidies. Thus, after the August crisis 1998 the city administration adopted the Law "About grants of St. Petersburg for the mass media". The law foresees annual support approximately in the sum over 5 million rubles for every sector: mass media, publishing-houses, modernisation of polygraphical enterprises and publishing-houses (Tretyakov 2001). In 2000 according to this law the media which represented the projects of social, cultural and educational earmarking received 23 grants in the sum of more than 6 million rubles.

Another source of 'feeding' of the media comes from the reserve fund of the city authorities:

The budget reserve fund is unique in St. Petersburg not having analogues in Russia. It 'remembers' all city media and helps them to survive. The reserve fund has 3% of the common bulk of all budget expenses. This sum is divided proportionally between the governor and the deputies. Every side uses these means at its own discretion. For instance, in 1998 every deputy had a sum of approximately \$900 000 (Ovchinnikov 1998, 18).

Owing to the means of the reserve fund the deputies of *Zakonodatel'nogo Sobraniya Peterburga* (the Legislative Assembly) establish their newspapers and subsidise certain mass media (the table of personal subsidies by the deputies with indicated sums and media-recipients is published (Ovchinnikov 1998,19). The governor provides financial support to the newspapers from his part of the reserve fund, for instance, in 1998 the daily *Vechernii Peterburg* received 170 thousand rubles. Another kind of support of the reserve fund is the privilege subscription, which allows the newspaper to increase the circulation over several tens of thousand copies. Mainly the privileges in subscription were given to the daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (ibid.).

### *Advertising*

The structure of the advertising market in St. Petersburg has its own specifics and differs from Moscow and the other regions of Russia. According to the data of the Russian Association of Advertisement Agencies (RARA) in Moscow and the other regions the share of television advertisement on average is 30% and more, in St. Petersburg it is 3 times less (10%). Here other kinds of advertising are developed: street advertising, advertising on the radio and in the press. In Moscow the share of street advertising is 9.5%, in the regions 16%, in St. Petersburg 31%; radio advertising in Moscow absorbs 3.3% of all advertising budgets, in the regions nearly 6%, in St. Petersburg 11%. The share of advertising in the print media is in Moscow one third, in the regions 21%, in St. Petersburg almost 40% (Grozny 1998, 16).

On the whole the share of St. Petersburg in the general Russian advertising market is not big. If in 1997 the whole market was evaluated at 1.77-1.87 billion \$, the bulk of St. Petersburg advertisement was only \$95 million or nearly 5% of the advertisement budget of the country. In the regional market not including Moscow the position of St. Petersburg looks more impressive - nearly 20% of the Russian advertisement market (ibid.).



The head of the board of directors of the service *Public opinion* on the 5th TV channel, Olga Ermolaeva, notes such the local feature of advertising business as that what the bulk of advertisement does not depend on the size of the audience:

If according to the laws of the market the bulk of sales of advertising time is proportional to size of audience, so in St. Petersburg on the local channels the situation is opposite. The 6th channel (STS) having 3 times less viewers than the 5th channel sales the biggest bulk of advertisement in the city (nearly 20 hours or 6% in a year). Another example: the 40th channel (RenTV) has a 3 times smaller audience than the 11th channel (TNT) but sells the same bulk of advertisement. This means that in St. Petersburg for the advertisers it is more important to announce about themselves than to reach a real effect. For political customer the number of gained or lost voices of TV audience is more important than for the simple advertiser, the more so as St. Petersburg viewer has low purchasing power but high election ability (Pushkarskaya 1998, 22).

Gallup Media SPB and the research firm *Gortis* define the leading media in the advertising market of St. Petersburg as follows: among TV channels - the 5th channel, the 6th channel and the 11th channel; among FM radio stations - *Baltika*, *Modern*, *Eldorado*; in the press - free editions among which the local versions of Moscow newspapers - weeklies *Extra-Balt* and *Tsentr-Plyus*; the weeklies *St. Petersburg Times* in English and *Karjera-Kapital* (both Moscow projects of the Dutch company *Independent Media*). The least of all of the advertisement is placed in the information weeklies (5% of advertisement in the press market) and the informational dailies (more 10%) (Grozny 1998, 16-17).

The advertising budget of the city mass media is evaluated at 480 430 thousand rubles. The correlation of state money and advertising money is 22 to 78. In the experts' statement such a budget structure defines the media model in St. Petersburg as *market model* and characterises a high enough degree of financial independence of the mass media from the authorities (Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: *Anatomiya svobody slova* 2000, 677).

In the opinion of Ovchinnikov, the St. Petersburg journalist "To that or another extent the majority of St. Petersburg print media exist owing to the favour of the authorities. In reply to the media do not forget their benefactors and react keenly to the changes in their moods (Ovchinnikov 1998, 18).

#### *Indexes of Freedom*

St. Petersburg had an index of freedom of mass information of 50.5% in 1999; of 50.2% in 2000 that put the city in second place in Russia after Moscow (its index was 63.1% in 1999; it was 62.9% in 2000). The smallest index of freedom of mass information was in the republic of Bashkortostan

at 10.1% in 1999; in the Karachaevo-Cherkesskaya republic at 14.6% in 2000 (ibid.,14-17). The index of freedom of mass information is based on the deduction of three other indexes: index of freedom of access to information, index of freedom of production of information, index of freedom of distribution of information. In St. Petersburg they were correspondingly in 1999: 61%, 56.5%, 34.1%; in 2000: 60%; 56.5%; 34.0% (Obshchestvennaya ekspertiza: Anomiya svobody slova 2000,16-30). Owing to such the level of access to information St. Petersburg is related to semi-closed regions (they are the majority (44) in Russia); the other regions have better opportunities in access to information and therefore they are related to the open regions (14), the other regions have worse opportunities and they are related to the closed regions (29) (ibid., 50).

St. Petersburg has both favourable and non-favourable conditions for the freedom of mass information. In particular, the experts note a deep contradiction between the high potential of the local mass media, the overwhelming majority of which are independent of the state, and the position of the city authorities, which since cannot formulate an adequate policy regarding the mass media. The experts point the neglect by the highest official persons of the city of the inquiries done by the mass media regarding the problems of increased public interest (ibid., 676). On the whole in St. Petersburg the index of the answers of the officials for informational inquiries by the media was 33% in 1999 (20th place in Russia), 41% in 2000 (14th place) (ibid.,18-21).

The rules of journalist accreditation adopted by the city administration have seven infringements of the Federal laws. In the city legislation there is no provision for implementing support for the media, which contradicts the federal policy. There is a bureaucratic system for retail press, it is needed to get the permissions in 10 instances in order to have the right to put up newspaper kiosk (ibid., 676, 680-681).

The city is characterised by high media conflict and comes in the first ten of the most conflictual regions of Russia. Thus, the experts registered 205 media conflicts in 1999-2000, of those the most numerous, infringements connected with the search for and obtaining of information (21), infringements of professional independence and interference in editorial activity (15), criminal violence (11), murder of a journalist (4), infringements of non-property rights of the natural and juridical persons (68), criminal encroachment upon the journalist's property and the property of the editorial office (19) (ibid., 676-678).

## **5.2. Journalists**

The question 'how many journalists work in St. Petersburg' stumped the local experts in Smolnyi in the committee of the mass media of the city administration, in the North-Western Direction of the State Committee of Russian Federation on the mass media, in St. Petersburg Union of Journalists, in the Faculty of Journalism of the State University (the list of the local experts questioned in spring 2001 is in Appendix 4). Everyone confirmed that nobody ever counted how many journalists work in the city. In the words by the expert Vladilen Kuzin in the Soviet time there was some card-index on the working journalists in the regional party committee, but it was not complete and now it is difficult to say whether it was kept or not.

In the words by Vsevolod Bogdanov, the chair of the Russian Union of Journalists the number of members of the Union is 100 000 from 80 regions of Russia (Bogdanov 2001, 63). Kuzin mentions the same number 100 000 regarding all media workers of the Russian mass media (Kuzin 1998, 69). The St. Petersburg experts preferred to refer to the number of members of the St. Petersburg Union of Journalists. Thus, Tretyakov (2001) said about 2100 members. Sharkova (2001) mentioned about 2300 members, of which 1000 working journalists of pension age and 500 journalists pensioners not working but continuing to be members of the Union. The number of young journalists under 30 is insignificant. Sharkova noted that in the city there are practically no unemployed journalists.

In order to define the characteristics of the journalist population in the city on the advice of the experts I conducted an expert inquiry among the representatives of the organizations mentioned and some heads of the city media. The reason to trust data from the local experts was that they had solid experience of St. Petersburg journalism (11-45 years) and vast networks in the media sphere. We made a questionnaire with seven items and presented it to ten experts (Appendix 4). The results were obtained by statistical measure of the average score in distribution. I calculated by adding up all of the scores given by the experts and dividing the resulting sum by the number of experts.

According to the results of the inquiry in the city there are fewer than five thousand journalists employed on a full-time basis. Among them more than half are females whereas males are more than one third. Among female journalists more than one third are under 30 years, over one third are from 31 to 45 years, over one fifth are from 46 to 55 years females and one tenth are females over 55 years.

Among male journalists more than one third are under 30 years, one fourth are from 31 to 45 years, one fifth are from 46 to 60 years and a few are over 60 years. More than half of the working

journalists has professional education, among the young generation half of journalists have professional education.

The experts were asked to compare the journalist population in St. Petersburg in the Soviet and post-Soviet time for gender, age and education. According their judgement in the Soviet time there were fewer female journalists than male journalists but an insignificant proportion; the number of young journalists was half as so many as old journalists; four times more journalists had professional education than had not. In the post-Soviet a lot of females came into journalism and the proportion between females and males turned in favour of females; young journalists under 30 years are almost as numerous as old journalists; the journalists with professional education account for more than half.

Admitting the relativity of the results obtained from the expert inquiry one should note that the inquiry reveals quite clearly the same qualitative changes in the structure of the journalist population in the city which was found in domestic studies regarding the national population of journalists. In particular, according to these results for the last decade St. Petersburg journalism became more feminised, younger and less professionally educated. According to the data of the sociological studies conducted in the 1990s by Moscow State University "the profession gradually feminises", "becomes younger" and at the same time suffers from "lowering of the level of professionalism, which straightway depends on level, type and quality of education" (Svitich 2000, 182, 190).

### ***5.3. Views by media experts in 1998***

The non-structured interviews with the media experts and media professionals conducted in their working places in summer of 1998 in St. Petersburg sought to obtain rather the personal feelings, proper moods and opinions of those who made journalism in the city, who trained in the journalism school (the university) and who were the analysts of the local media by virtue of his post. The list of the interviewees is given in Appendix 4. In this chapter the experts are presented with letter 'E' and a running number. The analysis of the interviews revealed three basic themes mostly raised by the respondents, such as society, media and journalist.

#### *Society*

St. Petersburg is not a big city, everyone knows each other and it is quite difficult to find a workplace although there are many newspapers, but the economic state of the newspapers is very bad. But here they pay rather better than in the other regions of Russia but worse than in Moscow where is a

huge press market and the journalists run from one media to the other, seeking where there is higher salary, honorariums (Sidorov, managing director of the St. Petersburg Union of Journalists 1998).

The radical reforms of the 1990s provided the experts with more pessimism than optimism in the evaluation of the present society which has weak democratic parties, weak opposition, powerful oligarchs, non-formed middle class, crying inequality between elite and the rest:

Poverty is our vice, the society is not stable, the society is in the regime of self-seeking. All Russia plants radishes, grows tomatoes, digs potatoes and at the same time the political system functions in itself absolutely not connected with people's life. The people think only about one thing to feed and raise children (E.3).

I shared the opinion that the present system is a specific variant of capitalism for a small group concentrating huge property in their hands. Here formally seated democracy is not based on stable democratic institutions and limited by the elections in conditions of very unfair political struggle. I would say that now we are rather farther from democracy than we were in perestroika (E.2).

The experts assesses the role of journalism in the coming of democracy as decisive:

In the rising democracy journalism played a crucial role. At the end of the 1980s the journalism substituted for ruling power and the decisions were made under the pressure of public opinion formed by the journalists. In 1991-92 journalism enjoyed full freedom: the state no longer censored the media and at the same time continued to subsidise them, privatisation only started. Today journalism itself is the object of purchase and sale (E.7).

I think journalism experienced the most serious disappointment among all strata of the society. In 1993 journalism participated in the democratic overturn in Russia and suddenly soon it became obvious that the politicians who used the press, television air in order to destroy the Soviet system left their friends-journalists. Journalism was turned out in a terrible financial state, it was turned out on the pavement. Today we have clearly graduated group's journalism that serves the political elite (E.3).

### *Media*

The experts described how the city's media had been privatised and according to their information capitalization of the media brought three crucial things, bankruptcy of the traditional press, raising the gutter press, expanding the journalist market of labour. They described the current situation in the traditional mainly the former Soviet press as follows:

The traditional newspapers were on the brink of collapse: loss of the state financing, five to seven times drop in circulation, non-payment of salaries (E.8).

The total circulation of all five dailies is less than the circulation of one any of them before (E.10).

Among five dailies none was thriving, of them *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, the former *Leningradskaya Pravda* had the best position (E.6).

Although Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti began to publish its colour supplement in Helsinki the daily had to stop it a few months later because of the high cost (E.10).

In June 1998 five newspapers did not pay salaries to the journalists: *Smena*, *Nevskoe Vremya*, *Peterburgskii Chas Pik*, *Chas Pic* and *Vechernii Peterburg* (E.3).

According the experts' view privatization did not become a panacea for the traditional press; the new owners did not keep the newspapers, did not turn them into profit enterprises and did not invest capital; the editorial managers were hardly competent in media economy:

A trivial story is when the bank bought the newspaper (as it was with *Astrobank*, which bought the daily *Smena* or the bank *Sankt-Peterburg* bought the daily *Vechernii Peterburg*); it gave the newspaper a big credit owing to which the newspaper lived peacefully for 1.5 -2 years. When the money was gone the bank gave not one kopeck more. However, the newspaper continued to publish getting gradually into debt. When the debts achieved a huge size, the typical procedure has been undertaken: the media is declared bankrupt, publishing rights are passed to another juridical person and the newspaper began to publish in the name of the new juridical person. The standard situation when there are heaps of debts to the printing house, the state and others, but nobody is to pay. The liquidation of a bankrupt firm is conducted with the liquidation of its debts. The last time such a procedure was made with the newspapers *Smena*, *Peterburgskii Chas Pik*, *Chas Pik* (E.8).

Today all the press has been brought to its knees economically, the main media have been bought up, privatized either formally or through allotment of shares. In St. Petersburg I know who feeds every newspaper. I am a member of the commission on the licences for all media, we note that today Moscow channels increasingly seize television, the local entrepreneurs are not in a position to make transmission for 10-20 hours. Our 5th channel is in a critical state. The situation is such that the media become more dependent ... here censure is sharper, here public interests all disappear (E.11).

The experts pointed that 'chronic' election campaigns help the press to survive:

A chain of national and local elections following one after another allowed the newspaper to earn money and in this way to keep in the information market. All Russian newspapers await any elections with impatience because then the gold rains on down the indigent press (E.3).

Although it is not obvious that the media influenced the audience, nevertheless different financial-industrial groups struggled to control the media in the hope of political dividends in the next

parliamentary, presidential, or governor's elections. The successful experience of the last presidential campaign of 1996 convinced them that the mass media can be effectively used as a tool in the indoctrination of the population. Between the elections and just before them the media were used as instruments of information wars. The fight between different political groups for power with the help of the media provided a plurality of information to the public that did not at all mean it was objective (E.2).

However, as the experts noted that when the traditional press attempted to survive owing to its participation in the political struggles, another type, the gutter press, arose and gained people's sympathy:

It cannot be liked because it shocks the public. Here are wild headlines, terrible from the point of view of an intelligent man. But they publish, increase circulation, and pay salary to the journalists. In contrast to the traditional press, obsessed rather by messianic moods, these newspapers had an idea about journalism as independent business. It strove to seize a seller's market, a consumer and an advertiser (E.8).

Among the successful editions the experts listed the branches of the Moscow press and the local editions such as *Peterburg Express* with the foreign investments, *Kaleidoscop* (7-8 kinds of different tabloids with circulation above 4 million copies delivered over the whole country).

Expert 6 noted ongoing occupation of the local market by the Moscow capital which found the language of compromises with the city authorities and made its editions (*Novaya Gazeta*, *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, *Argumenty i F акты*) in the most selling form as a mix of Moscow and St. Petersburg pages. The Moscow channels TV6, TV Tsentr, the 11th channel increasingly seized the audience from the 5th St. Petersburg TV channel. In its privatization the local authorities divided the shares with the Moscow banks; 51% the city and region (38% the city, 13% the region), 17.5 % the BaltOneksim bank, 17.5% the Promstroj bank and 14% the Inkombank (E.6).

They told about an unsuccessful attempt undertaken in the city to turn the 5th TV channel into true public (*obshchestvennoe*) television in Russia where the observation council could be:

The idea did not find support anywhere either in the centre - Federal Service of TV and Radio Broadcasting (FSTVRB), the Duma, the Union of Journalists, or at home: the local executive and legislative authorities, the Union of Journalists, the administration of the 5th channel (E.10).

In the statements of the experts by the middle of 1998 practically all city media had been privatized in such a way that the local authorities mainly had no control but blocking allotment of the shares (E.3). The governor had the possibility to influence the whole media sector to such extent that no one newspaper, even free ones, dared to criticize him (E.3). In the words of the experts St. Petersburg is a semi-provincial city with limited finance, narrow market for advertisements, low purchasing power of the population, and lost the national TV channel (the 5th channel turned to be regional).

### *Journalist*

The abolition of the state monopoly in the media sphere set in motion the journalist labour market, it became an open, alternative, self-regulative field:

The conditions changed very much. In order to earn one should alternate in three-four newspapers, to write continuously, even it is possible that you will not be paid or suffer delays (E.8).

In Moscow a journalist has good conditions, in the provinces he has bad conditions, in St. Petersburg he has bad conditions. However, the level of salaries of the St. Petersburg journalists is higher than an average salary. The salaries are earned differently: the work is done for several editions at once that is not a sign of professionalism but a sign of unhealthy development of the city's market. As in Moscow to get money in the one place it is not possible for subsistence. It is no a secret that a significant part of journalists is corrupt on the personal level, they make ordered materials advertising commercial undertaking (E.6).

The journalists collaborated with different political groups on the federal and regional levels and so the situation is more plural than it was in the Soviet time. However, formerly the media depended on their political patrons and in this sense the situation changed little. Now the journalists are not called to *obkom*, they are simply not given money. For the audience it is a problem to get information because the journalists mix news with comments and although there is Internet from which it is possible to take any information, it is not available for the majority, the majority of the population receives news mainly from the television. I am not a poor man, but for next half of the year I shall subscribe to not one St. Petersburg newspaper, there is nothing to read. The professional level is low, facts are interpreted freely, there is no division between fact and the appraisal of the journalist. The journalist's opinions are not interesting for me, I do not need brainwashing (E.2).

The experts note corruption and lack of professionals as the main problems in journalism:

I am demoralised at what a low value Russian journalism has. Sometimes it is a banquet in the presentation where the journalist comes to eat and then squeezes the notice in thirty lines about the firm which has a million dollars and which does not have the habit of working with the journalist or the



newspaper through the advertising sector. The firm economises on the advertisement by cutting sandwiches for the journalist (E.3).

The main problems became the corruption of the journalist community and the lack of professionals on the editorial staff (E.11).

The Code of Ethics adopted by the Congress of Journalists in 1994 is little known among the city journalists, the editorial offices did not introduce it in their normative documents. The journalists resort to those working practices which are in accordance with to the policy and culture of their media:

Nobody can say that gentleman Minkin is a pariah among the journalists. For somebody he is a pariah, for somebody he is a noteworthy journalist (E.6).

The experts were full of scepticism concerning professional organising. The St. Petersburg Union of Journalists was criticised for its inability to get a 'defence card' for the journalists although many talks were held, the Union did not help when the press journalists were on strike and television journalists were subjected to militia search (*obysk*) in the working place (E.3). The journalists are little interested in the other associations such as the Glasnost Defence Fund:

The thought that some fund will feed me or defend my rights calls up a smile. We are very far from that in order that the real strength would be ready to consolidate some rules of conduct, some ethics, defence among the journalists. I am a member of the Union of Journalists, a member of the Union of Political Journalists. The Union of Journalists is a place for events, to sit in restaurant; the other unions are clubs for interests where we communicate, but we are far from defending each other (E.6).

In summary, one should remember that the situation both in Russia and in St. Petersburg is changing significantly firstly owing to the political change. The interviews with the media experts of mid-1998 and the interviews with journalists at the end of 1999 evince the traits of just that time when the city was more like a province than a capital. In the 1990s the city had three different leaders, Gidaspov (1990-1991), Sobchak (1991-1996) and Yakovlev (1996 -), who was responsible for developments of St. Petersburg. Regarding the policy pursued by Yakovlev, the opinion is quoted from ETLA Solid Invest Group (December 2000):

V. Yakovlev (a construction engineer and manager) changed the emphasis from political questions to municipal ones. He concentrated on city maintenance and municipal issues. Unfortunately, this provided to be another extreme in decision-making. Industrial and economic policy, although well balanced, was somewhat devoted to and concentrated on the maintenance issues. St. Petersburg started to lose its grip on the overall development in Russia and became one of the largest but provincial

centres. Only after V. Putin's election as President of Russia was the idea to move some political power to St. Petersburg revived. Moreover, after the city became the centre of the North-west Federal District its position both in the region and in Russia began to improve (ETLA Solid Invest Group 2000, 7).

#### **5.4. Study sampling**

Sampling of the local news media was done on the advice of the St. Petersburg experts at the end of 1999. The selection of the media was pursued to obtain various types on the following criteria: to cover the most influential city media; traditional (established in the Soviet time) and new (established in post-Soviet time); print (dailies, weeklies) and electronic (radio and television); profit-making and non-profit-making; state and private; local media and Moscow branches.

In this way the selected media include TRK *Peterburg* (Tele Radio Company) consisting of the 5th TV channel and *Radio Peterburg*, FM Radio station *Baltika*, three dailies: *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, *Smena*, *Vechernii Peterburg*; the regional edition of the central leading daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and the first yellow newspaper in St. Petersburg weekly *Peterburg Express*. These media are represented in Table 5.2. on page 71.

That is, eight basic media represent different informational journalism in the city. Moreover, the given sampling of the local media reflects the ongoing process of monopolization and concentration of the mass media in the hands of political and financial-industrial groups including the foreign capital. Thus, five media (all traditional) out of eight belong to the local authorities (the city and the regional governments and the city council), three media (new) have as founders foreign investors.

Below Table 5.2. presents the media sample with the indication of distribution and circulation of the media, type of media ownership and the media owners. The data on the circulation provided by the handbook of 1999 (*Sredstva massovoi informatsii Sankt-Peterburga i Leningradskoi oblasti 1999*) diverge significantly from the data on the circulation published in the newspapers October-November 1999.

**Table 5.2. Sampling of media and their characteristics to the end of 1999. Circulation figures published by the newspapers are in brackets.**

<b>TYPE OF MEDIA</b>	<b>DISTRIBUTION</b>	<b>OWNERSHIP</b>	<b>SHAREHOLDER</b>
<b>TRK Peterburg</b> 5th TV Channel	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region	state-private	51%: - the City (38%) and the regional governments (13%) 49% - private capital: <i>Promstroibank</i> -17.5% <i>BaltOneksimbank</i> - 17.5% <i>Inkombank</i> -14%
<b>TRK Peterburg:</b> <i>Radio Peterburg</i>	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region	state-private	
<b>Radio Baltika</b>	St. Petersburg, the Leningrad region and Karelia	private with foreign investor	Scandinavian corporation (headquarters in Sweden) St. Peterburg brewery <i>Baltika</i>
Daily <b><i>Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti</i></b> the former Leningradskaya Pravda	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region  Circulation over 145 000 (over 84 000)	state-private	the city government, <i>ZAO Gazeta Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti</i>
Daily <b><i>Smena</i></b> the former Smena	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region  Circulation: 41 000 (over 22 000)	state- private	<i>Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie Sankt-Peterburga</i> (the city Parliament) <i>ZAO Smena</i>
Daily <b><i>Vechernii Peterburg</i></b> the former Vechernii Leningrad	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region  Circulation is 20 000 (17 500)	state-private	the city government the banks: <i>Sankt-Peterburg, Oneksim</i>
the St. Petersburg variant of the central leading daily <b><i>Komsomolskaya Pravda</i></b>	St. Petersburg and North-western region in Russia  (Circulation is 40 000) (on Fridays 140 000)	private	<i>Oneksimbank</i> <i>Izdatelskii Dom Komsomolskaya Pravda</i>
Weekly <b><i>Peterburg Express</i></b>	St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region  Circulation is 50 000 (61 000)	private with foreign investor	<i>Izdatelskii Dom Komsomolskaya Pravda</i> the Norwegian concern <i>Apressen</i>

The index of popularity of chosen media is high enough in St. Petersburg. Thus, they have a high audience rating: the 5th TV channel at 35.1% of the audience (the biggest audience among city TV channels); radio *Peterburg* at 37.9% (according to another source nearly 50% of all listeners); Radio *Baltika* at 19% (the top position among FM radio stations). Among the dailies (10) if we do not include free advertising newspapers *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* occupies the first position, then in order: *Vesti*, *Vechernii Peterburg*, *Smena* and then the other dailies. Among the weeklies if we do not include free advertising newspapers *Peterburg Express* comes in the first five leading editions. Among the most popular central informational dailies *Komsomolskaya Pravda* occupies the first position (Comcon 2, 1998; RTGI, 1998 (March-June) Comcon 2 ref. Korennikov 1998, 25-28).

The expert inquiry of April 2001 included the question on the media chosen at the end of 1999. The aim was to know how much the positions of the media changed and if we could regard them today as basic informational media in the city. The experts were asked, "What ten media should be studied in order to get qualified representation of journalism in St. Petersburg?" The majority confirmed five media chosen before, the dailies: *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, *Smena*, *Vechernii Peterburg*; *TRK Peterburg*; the 5th TV channel, *Radio Peterburg*. Three media, the weekly *Peterburg Express*, *Radio Baltika*, the daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* were mentioned but by the minority of the experts.

### ***Electronic media***

*TRK Peterburg* (the 5th TV channel and *Radio Peterburg*) is the former part of *Gosteleradio* (The State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting) subordinated to the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Leningrad Television originates from 1938 when there was built a television centre (in Moscow in 1936, in Kiev in 1939). The first mass programs of Leningrad television began in 1948 (in Moscow in 1946, in Kiev in 1951). In 1924 emerged radio broadcasting in the city began (in Moscow in 1922) (Voroshilov 1999, 53, 51). In 1971 the Leningrad television centre was rebuilt and equipped with the most modern technology including the new fixed mounting, five new *PTS* (travelling television stations), the full complete set for colour television for nine studios (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 171,174).

In a year Leningrad television had 6530 hours of broadcasting, of those 3070 fell in the first program of the central television, 2960 hours - in the second program prepared by the Leningrad TV studio itself and 500 hours - in the third cultural-educational program done by its forces. In

addition for national broadcasting the Leningrad TV annually made programs of a duration of 420 hours, television plays 220 hours and 32 films (ibid.,181).

In 1991 in the country began the process of destroying of the single information space of the USSR. It was caused mainly by political reasons - "a parade of sovereignties" of the national republics and their becoming free from the diktation of Moscow. In the media sphere the Republics broke off the traditional connections with the centre, refused the former broadcasting net assigned by Moscow and defined themselves the time of transmissions of the Central TV and radio programs in their regions. Instead of the single system there emerged 15 state TV and radio complexes (Ovsepyan 1996, 166).

Leningrad television had 95 million potential viewers having the status of third national program. It was widely known as an initiator of the new television traditions, directions, experiments: in the 60s-70s by the television theatre, 'literature Thursdays', the youth program *Gorizont*, in the 80s and the early 90s by the innovative programs *Telekurier*, *Muzykalnyi ring*, *Obshchestvennoe mnenie*. In 1996 there was developed the new conception 'rapid reaction television' that aimed mainly at the news and straight contact with the viewer. "The television turned into the arena of life where the viewer was invited to be co-participant and co-feeling person" (Pochkai & Streltsova 1997,182). The new leader of the 5th channel Oleg Rudnov (the former director of the radio station *Baltika*) established two new services: art-centre and the service of the main producer, the last initiated everyday information-analytical programs *inform TV* and the talk-show *Sobytie* (Event) and also the authors' weekend entertainment programs.

The national broadcasting of St. Petersburg television ceased in 1997. President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree (1st November 1997) about the establishment of the specialised state channel *Kultura* financed from the state budget and broadcasting over all the territory of Russia using the frequency of the 5th channel (Media in CIS 1999, 228-229). The channel *Kultura* got the bulk of broadcasting, 12.8 hours in twenty-four hours. The cancellation of the federal status quickened the privatization of the St. Peterburg TV and radio broadcasting company. In August 1998 St.Petersburg television and Radio was privatised and got the new name *TRK Peterburg* (Voroshilov 1999,56, 218). The owners of the company became the city and regional (*oblastnoe*) governments (51% shares) and private capital (49%): *Promstroibank*, *BaltOneksimBank*, *Inkombank*, some part of the shares remained for free sale. After the privatization the number of employees of the company was reduced 6 times: of 2500 employees only 750 were invited to

continue work. On radio out of 650 only 108 workers were engaged, of them - 40 journalists. None of the journalists participated in buying the shares of the company.

Radio *Baltika* was established in 1991 as the first independent radio station in the city in the middle waves. In the days of the August putsch of 1991 when all television and radio programs in the country turned into one endless concert of classical music *Baltika* obtained the permission of the city authorities and transmitted the latest information using all possible sources. First of all they were the journalists of press and information agencies who were forced to be silent in their media. On 20 August the station broadcast the interview of Moscow journalist Georgii Urushadze with Fors's captive Mikhail Gorbachev made by phone. In three days *Baltika* reached the highest popularity among the population and its director Oleg Rudnov became a person respected by the city authorities (Korennikov 1998, 24).

Today the station operates on FM 104.8 and YKB 71.24 megahertz in the regime stereo almost twenty-four hours (06.00 -03.00) and broadcasts both over St. Petersburg and the Leningrad region and Karelia. *Baltika* became the first Russian FM station in the city oriented only to Russian language music refusing to use foreign songs. The new music format (Russian broadcasting) was launched in 1994 with live broadcasting of the concert of the pop-star Alexander Malinin from the Big hall *Oktyabrskii*. Later the radio station made over 100 live broadcasts from the biggest concert halls of the city.

The radio has its own information service providing hot news every hour. Two thirds of the information is exclusive, obtained from the radio's own sources. The conception of the station is the propaganda of Russian language music, the support of domestic artists, interactive communication with listeners (the projects: *People's news*, *midnight*, virtual server in Internet), the spot news informing about the events in the city and the country.

Many programs of the station were awarded professional premiums: *Zolotoi Ostap*, *Zolotoe pero*, and received the grant of the Cores Fund. According to the independent firms *Comcon-2*, *Gellap*, *Gortis*, *Ekro*, the sociological centre of the 5th TV channel *Baltika* is the most popular radio station in the city (<http://www.rbalt.spb.ru>). The media owner is a Scandinavian corporation (headquarters in Sweden) investing in the brewery *Baltika*. On the staff of the radio are 10 workers and outside staff are 10. None of the journalists owns shares in the media.

## **Press**

*Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (the former *Leningradskaya Pravda* for 70 years) is the main and respected daily of the city possessing exclusive rights to publish the city government decisions before they come into force. The daily regards its origin to be from the first Russian newspaper *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* established by Peter the Great in 1728 and revived in 1991. The credo of the daily is "maximum information, objectivity, utmost assistance for people" (interview with Alexander Yurkov deputy editor-in-chief 1999). The daily covers the most important events occurring in the city, the region, the country, the CIS and in the rest of the world using the services of domestic information agencies as well as *CNN*, *Euronews*, *Eurosport* and the net of its own correspondents (Moscow, Riga, Erevan, Tbilisi, Helsinki, New York).

In the words by Yurkov the daily holds the traditions of professionalism of *Leningradskaya Pravda* to be trustworthiness, argumentation, the considered approach to publication, rich literary language. At the same time the daily tries to acquire the signs of the western journalism such as concise style and the principle of headnote (*liid*) for the presentation of hard and soft news (Yurkov *ibid.*, Voroshilov 1999, 66-67; Shostak 1996, 10-11). The newspaper investigates the interests of its audience by means of the readers' letters and sociological inquiries. It acts as an initiator of the city affairs (patronage of frontier outposts of the Northwest frontier region (*okrug*), reconstruction of iconostasis in Kazanskii church, establishment of special prizes in the city prestige competitions and many others). In the readers' rating for the last five years it remains indisputable leader among all dailies in the region. It attempts to copy the London *Times* "the solid newspaper close to the official circles but not being the official organ" (interviews with Yurkov 1998, 1999).

In 1993 the newspaper was privatised with a controlling interest (55% of the shares) to the journalist workforce, 25% to the city administration, 20% to the bank *Rossia* (Yurkov 1998). Later the ownership was re-divided between the city and the regional governments and the administration of the daily practically already without the participation of the journalists. Among all other dailies in the region the newspaper has a relatively successful state owing to its management policy (profit from the subscriptions and advertisement) and the significant support of the mentioned governments, which as one can propose, provide a favourable 'climate' for financial, production and image politics of the daily. Although the editor-in-chief of the daily O. Kuzin argues that "The stability of the financial state, over 85% is provided by means of commercial advertisement" (Voroshilov 1999, 224). The researcher identifies the daily with the group of independent media operating in the city owing to its self-financing (Voroshilov 1999, 222).

In 1968 in Leningradskaya Pravda there were 56 writing journalists, after thirty years in 1998 only 8 remained. 22 journalists left the media and made a further career in the city and Moscow, 26 were retired on pension (Voroshilov 1999, 263). The workforce is renewed owing to the recruitment of journalists from the other media and the stringers.

*Vechernii Peterburg* (the former *Vechernii Leningrad* established in October 1917) is the daily providing political, economic and social information for the city dwellers. In 1991 the newspaper became free of its former founder, the city party committee (*gorkom KPSS*). It also refused the services of the party publishing house *Lenizdat* and made contract with social-commercial firm *Chelovek*. This firm doing the publishing and sale of books became co-founder of the daily, undertaking to lead the financial and commercial part and not to interfere in editorial policy (Voroshilov 1999, 214). The founders of the daily also became the journalist's workforce and the city Council of the People's Deputies.

In 1991 to improve its services to the reader the newspaper entered into an experiment - to deliver the issue in the evening of the day when it is made but not the next day as it was before. The daily applied to the commercial firm *Kurier* and the expenses of the distribution grew manifold. The city Council of the People's Deputies refused to assist with subsidies and then the newspaper had to increase the space for advertisement. It began to publish advertisements not only on the last page, but on every page including the first. As a result already in March 1991 the month's revenue exceeded the profit of the whole previous year. In that year the salary of everyone working in the editorial office became a secret from the others (Voroshilov 1999, 224, 272).

The privatization of the newspaper was in December 1995 with a decision by which 50% of the shares belonged to the editorial workforce and 50% to the bank *Sankt-Peterburg*. But by July 1999 the newspaper was declared bankrupt and all shares were cheapened. The journalists were not informed who became the new owners of the daily. In their words they are the city administration and the banks *Sankt-Peterburg* and *Onesimbank*. Being shareholders of the daily the journalists did not get any dividends. On the contrary, the newspaper still had big debts to the journalists for their salaries for several years. In the new privatization of the newspaper the journalists were not admitted.

In 1991 on the staff of the daily were 32 journalists, in 1998 there remained only 15 (Voroshilov 1999, 263). At the end of 1999 there were 8 writing journalists. In 1997 on the basis of the daily



they opened a press-club for the meetings of the city journalists mainly with famous visitors: politicians, deputies, economists, political scientists came from Moscow and other places. *Smena* originates from 1919 established, as the main Komsomol daily of the city and region and being the official organ of the regional committee of Komsomol (*Leningradskii Obkom Komsomola*). In 1991 the editorial collective went on hunger-strike to become free from the dictates of its political patron and gained the victory.

On the brink of bankruptcy, the daily turned in the early of 1995, then *Astrobank* came to its assistance and the president of the bank, V.J. Derevyanko, became general director of the ZAO (closed joint-stock company) *Izdatelskii Dom Smena*. Together with the editor-in chief he began to sign every issue of the daily. In autumn 1995 before the elections for the State Duma, the daily developed a broad campaign in support of the banker as a candidate for deputy of the Russian Parliament, but it did not bring success to Derevyanko. Because of the difficulties appearing in the bank the banker weakened the financing of the daily and the media applied for assistance to the city Council of the People's Deputies (*Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie Sankt-Peterburga*) which became co-owner of the daily (Voroshilov 1999, 222).

From 1996 the newspaper did not receive stable financing, for two years the journalists practically did not have salaries. In 1997 *Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie* provided means once in three months and the major part of them went for covering the expenses of the paper and the publishing house's services. In February 1998 the decision was taken to bankrupt the ZAO *Izdatelskii Dom Smena* with its huge debts and to register the new firm ZAO *Smena*. In the policy the daily began to orient to the city council and to publish a lot of materials about the deputies and their activity (E.2 1998). The main directions in the content are policy, economy, sport (*Sredstva Massovoi Informatsii Sankt-Peterburga i Leningradskoi oblasti* 1999, 75).

*Peterburg Express* appeared as the first yellow paper in the city established by the central leading daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in 1994. Five years later the weekly became the first joint venture with the Norwegian publishing concern *Apressen* in St. Petersburg. The weekly has 32 pages and comes out on Wednesdays. Practically it is sold retail, subscriptions amount to 5 % of the total circulation. From the middle of 1999 the newspaper turned profitable and began to change its content: the city information (50%), entertainment and materials for family reading (30%), advertisement (20%). On the staff are 8 journalists, no one of them owns shares in the media.

The St. Petersburg edition of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* is the regional edition of the central leading newspaper with a combination of Moscow and St. Petersburg pages. A circulation amounts to 40 000 on working days (distribution in the region) and to 140 000 on Fridays (distribution on the north-western part of Russia). On the staff of the local team 4-5 journalists and the editor are responsible for producing the St. Petersburg pages.

This newspaper (circulation 1.6 million) is one of the most popular Russian dailies. Advertisement is an important part of its income, it also receives money from sponsors and is linked to the process of assimilation of the central press by the Russian oligarchs (Media in CIS 1999, 233). *Izdatelskii Dom "Komsomolskaya Pravda"* with its supplements belongs to the private media holding *Interrus*, which was established on the basis of branch of *ONEKSIMbank - Profmedia* in 1998 and which includes the newspapers and magazines summary circulation of which approximates to 10 million. Among them are *Izvestiya*, *Russkii telegraf*, *Antenna*, *Ekspress-gazeta*, the magazin *Ekspert* (Voroshilov 1999, 220).

In summary, all the eight basic news media of St. Petersburg are privatized. The local authorities (the city and regional governments, the city council) have shares in five media established in the Soviet time, Television and Broadcasting Company *TRK Peterburg*; the dailies, *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*, *Smena*, *Vechernii Peterburg*. The Moscow bank capital has shares in five media, *TRK Peterburg*, the daily *Vechernii Peterburg*, the St. Peterburg regional edition of the national daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and the weekly *Peterburg Express*. The foreign capital came from the neighbouring countries of Sweden and Norway with shares in two media: the radio station *Baltika* and the weekly *Peterburg Express*, both of which emerged in the post-Soviet time. The St. Petersburg journalists are not admitted to media ownership.

## 6. Portrait of the journalists in the sample

Thirty journalists working in eight leading media in St. Petersburg were chosen for interviewing. Among them there is an equal number of males and females, ages ranging from 20 to 60, time of entering the occupation from 1963 to 1996. The majority specializes in current information, others in culture, criminal and sports news. They occupy different posts in the media, in the press: 11 correspondents, 3 columnists, 4 desk editors in the office; in broadcasting: 9 editors-correspondents, 3 editors-in-chief. They work in the information service in television and radio broadcasting as well as in newsrooms in the newspapers.

### 6.1. Income

Mostly the journalists are salaried employees on the staff. The sample revealed only two cases when the journalist was self-employed working as a freelancer for three newspapers and when the journalist was contracted temporarily. In the first case the journalist preferred to be independent of any media policy, in the second case the journalist attempted to be taken onto the staff of a specifically certain media. As forms of employment self-employment and temporary contract appeared at the beginning of the 1990s with the developing market of the journalists' services, the reforming of a structure of media organisation and incipient privatising media. These forms are still rather more exceptional than widespread in the city media. Also, a deviant form of 'dead employee' (*mertvaya dusha*, almost as in the classic Gogol) appeared. That is, a journalist works without any contract in the non-staff of one media (there he/she earns good income), but formally the journalist is on the staff of the other media (there his/her working time will be included for the pension). Although the staff journalists are at work full-time, every third works in addition in one or several other media simultaneously.

The form of payment of the journalists, salaried or by the assignment rates, differs depending on the media organisation. Thus, on Television and Radio *Peterburg* the journalists have a salary (*oklad*) fixed in the contract according to the journalist's post and also from time to time they get a bonus (*premiya*). On Radio *Baltika* the journalists get a salary, honorarium and monthly bonus. In the daily *Vechernii Peterburg* the journalists get a salary in the size of *MROT* (minimal size of payment of labour in Russia, it was 84-100 rubles at the end of 1999, the daily paid *MROT* of 100 rubles) and an honorarium. In the daily *Smena* the journalists get a salary and honorarium (the salary of a correspondent was 100-150 rubles, of an editor 600 rubles). In the daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* correspondents have only an honorarium, the editors have a salary and honorarium; in the weekly *Peterburg Express* the journalists get a salary and honorarium. That is, the journalist

gets payment in three forms, salary, honorarium, bonus; the size of the payment is not constant and varies depending on the quantity of journalistic production for a month.

The income of the journalist in addition to salary, honorarium and bonus also includes payment for advertising services done by him/her both in the staff job and outside. The advertising services mean not only promotion of goods and services for ordinary consumerism but also the promotion of interests of political and economic groups by means media. The advertising services can be done both in a legal and an illegal way (hidden advertisement).

At the end of 1999 a St. Petersburg journalist earned on the average: 3000 - 5000 rubles a month. In different media there was different income. In television it comprised 3000-7000 rubles (salary 3000 rubles); on radio *Peterburg* the correspondents earned 3000-3600 rubles, editors 3800-4000 rubles and the payment was not regular and delayed. On the private radio *Baltika* income was a commercial secret, the journalists were satisfied with the size of the payment, trainees had the least income at 2500 rubles a month. In the daily *Vechernii Petersburg* the journalists earned 1500 - 5000 rubles (salary 500 rubles). However, since 1st January of 1998 salary had been irregular and the daily had huge debts to the journalists. In the daily *Smena* the journalists had 2000 - 6000 rubles (one line cost 1.50 ruble). In the daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* the journalists earned 1200 - 8000 rubles; before the August crisis of 1998 the income on average was \$500, by the end of 1999 their income fell to \$200. In the weekly *Peterburg Express* the journalists had 2000 - 6000 rubles (salary 300 rubles).

I prefer to use the rating ruble to dollar as far as it represents just that equivalent at the moment of gathering the empirical material, the end of 1999, when the Euro was not yet in the money-market. Now I consider comparing euros and rubles risky and unreliable. Moreover, the rating of the ruble to the dollar is an essential characteristic of post-Soviet life, when the official salary is paid in rubles but the people count their budgets and convey money operations both in rubles and dollars. Therefore everyone knew the rate of inflation rubles to stable currency. The respondents preferred to speak about income in dollars.

The comparison of the monthly income of the journalists, especially print journalists with fixed salary, clearly shows that honorarium as a form of payment brings major money, that is, the size of income depends how many lines a journalist writes; it characterised payment in all five newspapers in the sample. The size of the journalists' income depends little on the financial state of the media. There is no great difference in the income for being on the staff of a profitable (*Sankt-Peterburgskie*

*Vedomosti, Peterburg Express*) or unprofitable (*Smena, Vechernii Peterburg*) newspaper. The financial health of the media influences rather regularity of payment than the size of income. Thus, in the profitable media the journalists got payment every month whereas in unprofitable media there were delays from a few months to two years.

The journalists are not admitted to media ownership. In broadcasting and television the journalists never had shares while in the newspapers *Vechernii Peterburg* and *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*. The journalists had shares in the first stage of the privatisation of the newspaper, but in 1999 they lost them owing to bankruptcy of the newspaper (*Vechernii Peterburg*), their newspaper managers forced the journalists to sell the shares (*Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*). The journalists have a very vague idea about who their media owners are and they showed that they are not interested to know about this:

I do not know who our shareholders are, I am not interested, I do not want to say...Nothing depends on me (R.23)

Who knows? I do not know the latest state of affairs (R.21)

I am not interested in who our founders are although in the papers our investors are banks, one of them died, and City authorities. What is it to me, if this state continues already two years (R.22)

I am a desk editor, I have a few correspondents. I do not remember having any contacts with founders, simply, I do not even know who it is (R.15).

In summary, one should say that the journalists are clear employees in the labour market earning from 1200 to 8000 rubles a month. In dollars it was from 40 to 280 at the current rate 1 dollar to 29 rubles at the end of 1999. In their opinion it is too low and they would like to earn \$1000 a month on the staff. Monthly income includes all kinds of payment on the staff and outside, salary, honorarium, bonus and advertising services. The payment outside may be in several times more than payment on the staff, for instance, R.19 earns 500 rubles in the staff job and 4500 rubles outside. All journalists have the opportunity to work outside. This testifies that the journalist have autonomy both in the labour market (independent choice of jobs) and in media (there is no intensive load and rigid control by the editor). Burning necessity in the journalistic services predicts that the media sphere in the city is developing rapidly.

## 6.2. Gender

Among the 30 respondents are 15 males and 15 females, aged 20-60. Except one all the males are under 40, whereas the females are in even age distribution 20-60. Gender difference in age suggests an idea to that, maybe, after 40 males rise in their career leaving the journalist's job or occupation, while females stay in the old position. The eight basic media where interviews were conducted had practically only males in the managerial posts. More than half of the respondents did not have a family, among them 8 bachelors, 3 unmarried females, and 5 divorced respondents. The majority did not have children.

In Russia journalism appeared as a masculine occupation, until the October revolution there was only one female in the Union of Journalists among 460 members. In 1927 females accounted for 7%, in 1929 for 10%, in the 1960s in the local press they numbered 25%, in the 1970s in different media there were 35%, in the beginning of the 1990s they accounted for 37% (Svitich 2000, 182).

The study examines the influence of *gender* in four issues, recruitment to the job, professional career, income, and specialization. Although the question about gender was unaccustomed for the respondents, some of them (mainly the males) confessed that never before had they thought about the role of gender in the occupation. The influence of gender emerged in every issue examined with its decisive role in making a career. In the other issues this influence was relatively moderate. Meanwhile the males reported only positive influence from gender while the females had different experience, both positive and negative. The respondents were offered three alternatives for responses; gender helps, hinders, makes no difference.

In *recruitment to job* every third noted the role of gender. The males had solid support (the media needed male journalists), the females had different experience, thus, gender helped (feminine attractiveness), it caused serious troubles to others (a lack of trust in a female as a reliable worker):

I was not yet married, and the editor said strictly no children in the next 3 years at least. During the engagement to the newsroom the conditions of work were set. And a promise was extracted from one female not to have children for five years (R.14).

In the Constitution we have equal rights, but nevertheless other things being equal preference is given to males. It is something unwritten. I had to argue my right to staff work long enough (R.1).

The feminisation of the occupation is going on through surmounting the obstacles. If in the Soviet time the difficulties were caused mainly by the state policy realised by the party committees, which

in turn, recruited preferably males, party members in the editorial offices, in the last decade this function belongs to the founders of media. They usually delegate recruitment to the editors-in-chief. However, as a female respondent noted if the choice is between a male and a female, undoubtedly the male will be chosen (R.28). The other female respondent occupying a managerial post confirmed this judgement:

Preference is given to males, because a correspondent must be robust, fast, with "long legs", mobile, not burdened by big family or everyday problems. On the other hand a lot of females work in journalism and they work better than males in the many respects. They more often lack masculine vices (drinking), they relate to the job more responsibly. They are committed to their own family and understand that they are answerable for the material prosperity of the family. In this sense it's easier to work with a female (R.1).

That is, the traditional thinking about the journalist as a male remains in spite of the tendency that females are actively entering the occupation. According to the inquiry conducted among St. Petersburg experts in spring 2001 now more females than males are journalists in the city. In this case one could presuppose that St.Petersburg performs as one of advantaged regions of the Russian Federation in the feminisation of journalism.

In making a *professional career* half of the male respondents had support from gender, the other half did not have cause to think about it. They stated that the lack of males in the media weakens the competition among males and therefore males find it easier to make a career (females are not taken to be compared with males), the access to information is not limited for them, often workload demands physical robustness like a sprinter. The males consider that journalism is rather a masculine occupation demanding asceticism, manliness and complete commitment to the work that is hardly practicable for females:

Females are not allowed to enter a bus leaving with a male sport team. It is said, it is a bad sign. It is not the same thing for male correspondents with a female team (R.19).

It helps to bear heavy loading. Girls endure such a tempo only a half of a year, and then they ask for mercy or go away from the newsroom (R.11).

Journalism is a profession demanding much self-denial. As a rule girls seldom make the sacrifice. They considered that journalism is such a 'get-together' to communicate, to meet with interesting people (R.12).

In contrast, the female journalists do not share the masculine view of the occupation and consider that they can successfully work although there are definite difficulties. The majority emphasised the

key role of feminine fascination as predisposing in the communication with VIPs and functionaries, the majority of which are males. At the same time feminine fascination stimulates less confidence in a female as an equal partner of a male and caused obstacles in the job and career; female's innate resources and family commitment act as a restriction to competing with males. The notion of family for females does not necessarily include the presence of a husband, but it does include a child as well as mother, father, grandparents, those with whom the female preserves close kinship bonds:

Family, children, household chores influence the job of any female, naturally. The male is more free. Males are easier in any profession, because they have another psychological mentality (R.4).

It's clear that you need to be 20 times cleverer than a male in order to be perceived in the same way as he. And even when it is so and the people are satisfied with my work, nevertheless they avoid me or they greet me reluctantly. But to my colleague, the male, who writes worse, less and works in an information agency, that is, his material is not seen on paper as is mine, they shake hands with him: "How are you? How is your family?" And in my case they change their seats by a row. I think, maybe sometimes they are afraid to compromise themselves with regard to a young and not unattractive woman (R.20).

Although fixed officially, salary is the same both for male and female, in practice, as the respondents (both the males and females) noted, the male earns more than the female. Firstly, the male is freer, more mobile and works more than the female. Secondly, there is the opinion that the male must feed the family and therefore he should earn more, as a result he is published more often and his texts are less reduced. Thirdly, as a rule, males occupy managerial posts more often than females:

...in our editorial office all correspondents are females and all editors are males (R.8)

Females are more engaged in household chores. If a month is taken at 100%, females devote half or 1/3 of the time to the job. Males earn more (R.11).

*Specialisation* does not depend on gender, the current work forces the journalist to take any urgent topic. However, usually in the newsroom there is division of labour and every journalist has his/her range of topics. Often this range of topics is formed on account of gender when the most important topics (politics, economy, strikes) are given to males, and easier topics (culture, family) to females. Such topic division was traditional for the Soviet media and it is retained in the present, maybe owing to stereotypes based on the working experience that females gravitate rather to the social and cultural topics while males are interested in politics, economy, military and sport. In addition the editor can take account of psychological factors:



I try not to send female correspondents to the army. You come to a barracks, and there is only a male toilet and even that does not close (R.1).

**Table 6.1. The role of gender in recruitment, career, salary and specialization**

<b>GENDER ROLE IN:</b>	<b>MALES (15)</b>	<b>FEMALES (15)</b>
<b>recruitment</b>		
in no way	13 resp.	10 resp.
helps	3 resp. others and self	3 resp.
hinders		4 resp. others and self
<b>professional career</b>		
in no way	7 resp. they never thought	
helps	8 resp: lack of males in media, advantage in access to sources, physical health	5 resp: feminine charm in communication, feminine socialization: more trust in social questions
hinders		3 resp: feminine charm: less confidence, fear of males being compromised near female, physical health, family commitment
helps and hinders depending on situation		7 resp: helps thanks to feminine charm; hinders in career advancement, in choice of topics, in communication with females
<b>salary</b>		
in no way officially	15 resp.	15 resp.
helps unofficially	1 resp: males devote more time to job and earn more.	
hinders unofficially	1 resp: females write longer texts and earn more.	3 resp: female is less published, does not advance to higher post, she is more engaged in household chores
<b>specialization</b>		
in no way	10 resp., 1 resp. could not answer	12 resp.
traditional division	4 resp: important topics: politics, economy, army, strikes	3 resp: easy topics: social, cultural, family questions

In summary, one should say that gender does not have a decisive role in the questions of recruitment, income, and specialising. There are other factors determining the journalist's position, such as recommendation for entrance to the occupation, stringer work, quality of journalistic materials, personal qualities of character, capacity to get the job done, the journalistic interest in the topic. In this case one can argue that the occupation remains significantly open and attractive to females and correspondingly it has the potential for further feminisation.

However, the influence of gender is decisive in the professional career with obvious preference in favour of males. Moreover, gender gives solid support for males in the occupation when the male is perceived as a more productive employee and so he usually gets the best opportunities in the present and for the future. Females have to prove their right to work in journalism although gender brings them problems caused by inequalities in the division of household chores and care of children, restrictions in access to information and also subjective decisions by employers (often males) regarding them.

### **6.3. Motivation**

The Soviet practitioners mainly assess journalism as a dream and vocation. Their choice is based on heartfelt interest in the occupation, having a romantic image of public service and writer's labour. Almost all of them chose journalism while still at school or straight after school. On the contrary, the majority of the post-Soviet practitioners of the 1990s came into journalism often being educated and experienced in other professions, their motives being rather pragmatic. Every fourth wanted to earn money or to land a highly paid job through journalism. One third was engineers; the beginning of the journalist's career clearly coincides with the hard period of 1992-1995, when many enterprises worked under capacity or were in standing idle and the engineer's labour and salary fell dramatically.

For instance, one of the respondents for 15 years worked as a gaze-electric welding worker in the factory. He had a very good salary but at the beginning of the 1990s the factory broke down, no salary was paid or it was delayed long time. He had a family of two children and a wife and in order to earn a living the respondent decided to get a job in the newspaper. Moreover, as he said, he always dreamed of being a teacher. However, without special education and the diploma of a teacher it is impossible to get a teacher's job, but it is possible to get a journalist's job. In such a way the respondent became a stringer of the newspaper and now works as a staff journalist.

Developing as an accessible and fashionable business in the 1990s the post-Soviet journalism attracted different people able to write stories and striving to find new life perspectives. The homogeneous generation of the Soviet romantics was diluted by the heterogeneous generation of the post-Soviet pragmatists (from a worker to an academic lecturer). Although there were cases of coming to journalism through family tradition, friend's advice, search of him/herself or professional interest (needs of theatrical critics to be published) in both generations. That is, the period of liberalisation has brought deprofessionalization of the journalist community on the one hand, making the occupation completely open and accessible to dilettantes, and on the other hand bankrupted the idea of Soviet journalism as the state institution. The new generation perceives journalism rather as an appropriate chance for personal profit than as the state service for the mobilisation of the population to the new national tasks.

However, one should note that the openness of the occupation in the 1990s was mainly caused by intensive development of the media market owing to the adopted laws about mass media and voluntary organizations, the appearance of numerous media was like an explosion. Everyone could become a journalist easily enough. The study sample represents only the situation occurring in the 1990s. Before in the Soviet time journalism was a fairly close occupation, the preferences were given accordingly to a worker's origin and to those of a major nationality because it was responsible ideological work. Nowadays in comparison with the 1990s the occupation is again becoming rather close, the media market is relatively formed, editors prefer to employ professionals, competition for entrance to faculties of journalism of universities increases.

#### **6.4. Membership**

The majority of the Soviet practitioners maintain membership of the Union of Journalists since the old times perceiving the Union as an integral part of their professional life, as the inner need and their right to be in the Union. At the same time many of them are not satisfied with the present work of the Union as not effective enough in the defence of professional interests:

The Union of Journalists gives a lot for the normal journalist. It is a continuation of the professional education: there are sections of reporters, journalists specializing in industrial subjects, culture and so on in the Union. Finally there are elements of a club, where it's possible to communicate with colleagues. I am not a member of any other professional organization. It's enough to be in the Union of Journalists (R.1)

The Union must defend the journalists' rights, for the time being I do not see it (R.16).

In contrast, the majority of the post-Soviet practitioners do not see the necessity for a Union at all:

"membership gives nothing"; "I do not see the necessity"; "I was already offered membership, but I do not see a sense". They also reject the present Union of Journalists as the heritage of the past, imposed unnecessarily and not bringing any benefits. Some of them join other associations such as AIBS (International Association of Sport Journalists), membership of which provides free admission to international matches, or accordingly to narrow professional interests (the Union of theatrical artists), or accordingly to hobby (the association of felinists).

However, among of non-members of the Union some young journalists are going join the Union, two of them felt membership as an inner requirement to belong the community, one journalist had pragmatic interest:

It is necessary to join, because even after dismissal for a member of the Union his/her unemployment time is registered as working experience for accounting a pension. A new privilege was introduced half a year ago, in 1998 thanks to Igor Sidorov, a chairman of the Petersburg's Union of journalists. The financial crisis of 17th of August 1998 we had it easy in comparison with the Moscow journalists, a lot of which lost a job. We have less the unemployment (R.11).

In summary, one can suggest that the old and new generations have completely different expectations of journalism (public service versus personal profit) and correspondingly different needs for professional socialisation (membership versus non-membership). Such a polarity in the perceptions of journalism does not contribute to the emerging common ground for solidarity of generations and the natural conveying of the experience by the old generation to the young generation.

### **6.5. Party affiliation**

Both the Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners abstain from party membership, even when it is offered (there were the cases with the parties of Free Democrats, Democratic Russia, Yabloko). Party membership no longer gives any advantages in the professional career and it can even be harmful if it diverges from the political interests of the media owner. Neutral status allows journalists to manoeuvre in political streams adapting constantly to a new situation. However, the journalists themselves are far from neutral:

I hold a definite political orientation. I am not on the side of 'the family' (Kremlin family) and our ruling elite (R.28).

...it is a habit from Stalin's time that a journalist - he/she is a politician (R.13).

I am not a political figure of a kind of party, but I am a political figure in this sense that I propagandize today, develop, untwist, inform on that policy which is made by the City government in our region. Naturally, I am a political worker (R.10).

Half (the majority of Soviet practitioners) considers journalism a political profession in Russia, the others think that it is partly a political job and only some separate journalism and politics:

Unconditionally, political profession, also as the profession of a poet, artist. It was, and it is, and it will be for a long time, because Russians cannot arrange a normal life for themselves, however hard they try to do this. And a journalist is a man, who tries to answer these questions, to give people the answers to questions: what is happening? Why it is happening? And what to do? (R.6)

Before it was a political profession. Now it is a good way of earning money (R.14).

### **6.6. Generation**

According to Svitich (2000, 183) "The second revolution" at the beginning of the 1990s when the amount of print and electronic media significantly increased did not lead to the same sharp shift of the journalists' corps as after the October revolution. An intake of new journalists never worked in the editorial offices increased but nevertheless the new media staff was mainly filled with professionals. At the beginning of the 1990s an average journalist's experience of the Russian media workers was 17 years, and 60 % of the journalists had working experience in a given media (quite often newly established) not exceeding 4 years".

This study is based on the sample of respondents chosen in the eight basic media of St. Petersburg at the end of 1999 and representing two generations in contemporary journalism. The identification of a respondent as a representative of the old (the Soviet) and the new (the post-Soviet) generations is made not on the basis of the age of the respondent, but the time of entering journalism. Thus, whoever came to the occupation before 1990 is classified as a *Soviet practitioner*, they are 14, educated mainly in journalism. Whoever came to the occupation in 1990 and later is classified as a *post-Soviet practitioner*, they are 16, the majority came from other spheres such as education, industry, and the army. The time of coming into journalism varies in the range of 33 years, 1963-1996, the point of starting is taken to be commencement of stringer work.

Half of the respondents came to the city media from no journalism school. Nevertheless, all of the respondents are highly educated. Thus, fourteen respondents (the old generation) have high journalism education, of those twelve graduated from Leningrad/ St. Petersburg State University. Sixteen respondents (the new generation) have other academic education, philological, theatrical,

cultural, engineering, military, party, and of those, two respondents have two degrees and two are post-graduate students in political science and theatrical production.

One can say that openness of the occupation in the 1990s is the new phenomenon for Russian journalism. Thus, for instance the studies of the 1920s testify that press workers had mainly a party background. Later the studies of 1960-1980 testify that previous experience of working journalists became rather diverse, they came from industry, education, the party and Soviet work, the sphere of culture. According to the recent research the media prefer to recruit graduates of journalism and other schools, who have worked nowhere except in the editorial office (Svitich 2000, 183).

Of the respondents of the study practically everyone began a journalist career as a stringer working from 1.5 months to 2 years in the editorial office, some of them worked simultaneously in several media. Only two journalists were taken straight onto the staff, in 1966 and 1970. In the first case the university rewarded the best graduates of the philological faculty with a special certificate (*napravlenie*) for a job in the newspaper. In the second case the graduate of the philological faculty of the university on her own initiative came to Leningrad television and was taken onto the staff in the post of a junior editor of the agricultural section. According to this study the Soviet stringer began at age 14-19 while the post-Soviet stringer began at age 20-44.

In summary, one should note that the Soviet practitioners began a journalist career far earlier than the post-Soviet ones. Their professional mentality was formed in the frame of the state policy realised through a single system of highly specialised political education inextricably connected with the tasks of the state media. By contrast, the majority of the post-Soviet practitioners did not have such ideological loading in their former education and training, they learnt journalism on the move when the state media were reforming into private media and completely new private media emerged. Two generations in post-Soviet journalism at the end of the 1990s are represented in Table 6.2. below:

**Table 6.2. Two generations in Russian journalism at the end of 1990s**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Soviet practitioner (14)</b>	<b>Post-Soviet practitioner (16)</b>
<b>Age on entering journalism</b>	14-19 years	20-44 years
<b>Education</b>	Mainly University/Journalism	Various: engineers, economists, managers, teachers, chemists workers and graduates of Faculty of Journalism of University
<b>Motivation</b>	dream, vocation	to earn money or to land a highly paid job through journalism, to satisfy creative ambitions, to find new life perspectives
<b>Way to journalism</b>	stringer work	stringer work
<b>Membership</b>	practically everyone	practically nobody
<b>Ownership</b>	only 1 resp. has shares	nobody has shares
<b>Political profession</b>	10 resp.- yes, 3 resp. - partly	5 resp. - yes, 7 resp. -partly

Drawing the portrait of St. Petersburg journalists it was interesting to find the description of a journalist from another region. One of examples was found from a teacher of the Amurskiy State University, V.P. Kobzar, who characterised a journalist of the end of 1999 from Amurskiy region as highly educated (former teacher, party worker, producer and so on) who came to journalism to earn money, to get more comfortable job conditions, to achieve an elite status in society and to satisfy his/her ambitions. The journalist has no high professional level and lack of ethical knowledge in the occupation as well as no desire to learn the code and observe the norms. Having an extra active position in life the journalist does not share the corporate interests of the professional community. In the region journalism became a mass profession, out of 60 operating media, 50 media had no workers with special education (Kobzar 1999, 11-12).

## **PART THREE: ATTITUDES TO JOB**

The third part, Attitudes to Job, describes how journalists work and what aims they have. The chapter Practices covers journalists' working methods and roles perceived by journalists and roles emerging as consequences of their perceptions on roles, applied strategies and circumstances under which they act. The chapter Tasks show what functions journalists implement in the work, what position (involved/ neutral) they take in the writing process, what roles emerge as consequences of journalists' perceptions of functions and employed position in the writing. The chapter News Criteria includes journalists' criteria for selecting information to be publicised, sources of information and needs for verifying information. The chapter Genre describes the attitudes of journalists to factual and opinion journalism, to own comment in the text and to plural reporting. The chapter Audience represents journalists' attitudes to the audience and role perceived by them and also finalises the third part of the study by summarised index table on journalists' attitudes in job.

### **7. Practices**

Everyone was openly questioned how he/she practices the job, what methods are usually used and what are not, and why. In the words of the respondents the job includes the communication with the people, interviewing, the observation including observation, the gathering and the verifying of materials, the specialising in topics, the implementation of editor's tasks. Meanwhile the respondents gave totally different descriptions about how journalists work.

For the analysis of the data I used the procedure of coding of grounded theory, that is, I conceptualised and categorized data. All responses were compared each to other and the analysis revealed five extreme cases, which differed most of all. According to their content the cases were associated with five journalists' attitudes to the job as, *personal decision-making*, *ethics*, *creativity*, *hack-work (khaltura)* and *intellectual*. Every attitude was taken as a category and included concepts corresponding to it (indicators establishing the attitude) and pertaining to the indicators' valuable criteria. For instance, the attitude personal decision-making was based on independent selecting of news on such criteria as, importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, dramaturgy and concept of media. The amount of the respondents sharing every attitude was calculated with the identifying variable of generation. When producing material a journalist certainly can proceed from several attitudes. The results of the analysis on journalists' attitudes to job in the open asking appear in Table 7.1.



**Table 7.1. Journalists' professional attitudes to job**

Professional attitudes	Indicators and criteria	Respondents
<b>Personal decision-making</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. selecting news (importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, drama, concept of media)</li> <li>2. selecting sources of information and topics (the journalist's interest, taste)</li> <li>3. selecting strategies to obtain news (feminine charms, masculine aggressiveness)</li> <li>4. selecting purposes of influencing (to help the people, to attract a reader)</li> </ol>	21 respondents: 12 Soviet practitioners 9 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>Ethics</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. refusal to accept violation in job</li> <li>2. refusal to accept illegal methods (hidden advertising, ordered article)</li> <li>3. concern for an interviewee (respect for man and privacy, not to harm an interviewee)</li> <li>4. observing common moral principles</li> </ol>	15 respondents: 5 Soviet practitioners 10 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>Creativity</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. feelings (love of journalism, vocation, the journalist's interest in the topic)</li> <li>2. resourcefulness (talent, skill for exclusive work)</li> </ol>	9 respondents: 4 Soviet practitioners 5 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>Hack-work (<i>khaltura</i>)</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. editorial routine (a bad quality, urgency, 'obligatory' news, plagiarism, unpaid salary, indifference of a journalist)</li> <li>2. extra work (ordered material, indifference of a journalist to the topic but not to the client, any methods are acceptable)</li> </ol>	9 respondents: 4 Soviet practitioners 5 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>Intellectual</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. gaining knowledge (self-education, competence in media agenda, keeping the journalist's archives)</li> </ol>	5 respondents: 4 Soviet practitioners 1 post-Soviet practitioner

The attitude *personal decision-making* to the job is inherent in the majority of the respondents, of those 12 Soviet practitioners and 9 post-Soviet practitioners. *Personal decision-making* includes the selection of news for publishing on the basis of the journalist's decision over such criteria as importance, interestedness, exclusivity, sensationalism and drama. The journalist also selects news taking into account the concept or style of the media. He/she decides what interviewees and topics

should be taken managing by criteria of personal interest and taste in the topic and the interviewee. The journalist chooses the strategy for obtaining information, feminine charms (females) and some aggressiveness (males) to confuse the interviewee, to muddle him/her for up the sake of getting information. The journalist decides what level of pressurizing on the situation should be done by means of the publication in order to influence it, for instance to help a reader in a concrete complaint. The journalist tries to make the material interesting in order to attract readers/viewers. The excerpts from the interviews illustrate the personal decision-making of journalists:

I do not catch any compromise materials, at once I begin to analyse why this information leak happened and why it is thrown off to me. I try to take only the most important information that decides the fortunes of many people, what concerns the health of people, their security, some damage (R.30).

I select a fact, use some facts and do not use others, it depends on the dramatic plot of the text, how much it is interesting and not interesting, how it is been constructing into the general line for the text's core (R.15).

My first method is sincerity. For a long time I confessed such a principle - to work only with the people which are interesting and sympathetic for me, because if a person is not sympathetic I can painfully hit him/her by my material. I can refuse to create material if I do not like the person (R.24).

In journalism you need to work as long as you are interested in that what happens in the city. While this feeling persists, you need to work although you are 120. If you lose this feeling, you have to go away (R.10).

I have to help the people very much: to repair the roof for somebody, to call by phone, to direct a letter, to make an inquiry or to apply pressure... I consider it my work. For a long time we were a single newspaper that had the public reception room and we helped many people. But this was gradually eliminated, but the need remains very big now when the people need the juridical consultation or simply a good relationship, sometimes the people need to speak out. I feel and know about this from my contact phone. Our city is an old city - 1 million 300 000 pensioners, not all of them can come to the newspaper, they are poor, so such a contact with the editorial office by phone is a blessing for them (R.21).

The attitude *ethics* to the job emerged from half of the respondents, of those 5 Soviet practitioners and 10 post-Soviet practitioners. *Ethics* includes no approval of illegal methods and violence, observing moral principles and responsibility to an interviewee:

I do not accept the methods that are contrary to ethics common to all mankind. Professional ethics do not exist, but common to all mankind... for instance, it is impossible to take an interview from the man who saw the death of his/her relative (R.11).

I do not accept a method of payment for the material. One thing when an ordered article is paid for officially and it goes as advertising. Another thing when my colleagues demand money for the material from the people. I was offered payment many times, but I refused this (R.21).

The attitudes *creativity* and *hack-work* (*khaltura*) are shared by almost one third, of those 4 Soviet practitioners and 5 post-Soviet practitioners. Some of the respondents try to practice journalism only as creativity, others combine creativity and hack-work. *Creativity* is based on love of journalism, talent, the journalist's interest in the topic and the skill to obtain exclusive material:

I do not have the western variant of materials. As I understand the western materials are more technological. There the technology is the basis. I do think that talent, the personality of the journalist is the basis. If the journalist is talented, he/she will be read not as simply news, but as the material written by the journalist. I myself read only materials written by journalists who are personalities. In order for material to be read there must be something that is absent in other materials or newspapers. They are new materials. If you write, so write about what is known to nobody or write that is known to everyone but in such a way that nobody else is able to write (R.6).

*Hack-work* comprises two meanings. The first one is bad quality work caused by everyday routine in the newsroom, urgency of preparing materials, unpaid or low salary and obligatory covering some topics for the media agenda. The journalists often do not have any interest in those tasks but they have to submit to the demand of the editor. They are not anxious about quality and use plagiarism for faster implementation of the task. The excerpts below belong to a Soviet practitioner (first), to a post-Soviet practitioner (second):

It is unacceptable for me that the contemporary generation makes without ceremony- using whole paragraphs from electronic mail, information agencies without reference to sources. We were trained, in journalistic ethics was, you do not have a right, God forbid! Some plagiarism, a journalist was dismissed from the Union of Journalists. Now nobody controls this. I, for instance, read my materials in other newspapers (R.14).

Now I write material re-writing from someother newspaper, because we do not have this information – drive hack-work openly. Really, we have a lack of information in the newspapers, only the TASS tape of the information. But when I write good material, exclusive that I obtained, I use all means, I try to do my best. But now it is routine information who beat whom, the same thing relates to the city's events - no interesting topic, therefore hack-work although my boss assures me that he works badly because the money is not paid (R.19).

*Hack-work* has the second meaning as making extra work, and is associated with writing ordered articles. The journalists implement the order to earn additional money because they have a low

official salary in the media. In this case the journalists also often have little interest in the topic, they are cynical and use any methods:

I do it. It can be said everyone does ordered materials here. It's another matter, that it is turning into the policy of the company. The company does not have an opportunity to pay a salary and we are told directly – "do *zakazukhu*" (the ordered material), but no politics. But when an election campaign begins, so nowhere you put yourself. And about it I already said, there are journalists who accept money from everybody, there are other journalists who accept money from nobody (R.3).

The attitude *intellectual* was shared by some respondents, of those 4 Soviet practitioners and 1 post-Soviet practitioner. *Intellectual* includes constant gaining of new knowledge for the job, such as reading literature on the topic, following the media agenda, keeping the journalist's archives, being up to date with current events:

I have to prepare, read a lot, I have a specific topic (questions on religion). However, proceeding from my experience I can say that the clever people became less than they were before. If 10 years ago we went for a word to a man and we did not have enough dictaphones and everyone tried to acquire them because the people said clever things, so now the necessity for recording vanished. The people speak badly, and I have to provoke the thoughts for them (R.16).

Here is the card-index with all the names, this is in the work constantly. See what addresses are here. Here is everything, the whole city; moreover, I have such addresses in my archives where a journalist never come. I also have the archives of all my publications in 30 years of my work as a journalist and I use this in my work today (R.10)

Identifying five basic journalists' attitudes to the job should it be noted that personal decision-making is inherent in the majority, ethics is found in every second journalist, creativity and hack-work is found in one third and intellectual is in some. Personal decision-making emerged as the most powerful attitude to the job and a hypothesis arises that the journalists are professionals making independent decisions in their professional activities. That is, they have autonomy in the job. To validate the hypothesis one should explore working practices of journalists pursuing the aim to know more precisely what constitute the autonomy of journalists. That is, it should verify the attitudes revealed and the dominating position of personal decision-making. Everyone was asked on working methods, whether the respondent accepts the method or not and why.

### 7.1. Working methods

The respondents were presented with a list of thirteen methods employed in practice. Although it is obvious that all methods are questionable, nevertheless the idea was to know which of these methods are accepted and which are not, by whom and why. On the one hand this information sought to complete the previous information about how the journalist works and on the other hand it was intended to be empirical for verification of the attitudes revealed in the open inquiring. Table 7.2. presents responses treated under the division 'yes', 'not' with 'why' and identification of Soviet practitioner (S) and post-Soviet practitioner (P).

As it appeared, the respondents use all the proposed methods. However, they have different perceptions of the same things. For instance, who are *suspicious sources*? One half considers everybody except officials to be suspicious sources, another half considers criminals, people impossible to trust, rumours and gossip as suspicious sources although practically everyone is unanimous in the trust for officials. That is, the notion suspicious source remains a vague enough term for the journalist and at the same time the notion *reliable source* is firmly tied to officials. In this case one could presuppose that the journalists perform rather more like state workers, Soviet journalists than new reporters suspicious and critical to the state administration.

The journalist's decision to accept or not some proposed methods is based on individual morality and the concrete situation. Thus, one part approves of these non-ethical methods referring to ethics (suppressing facts not to do harm to an interviewee). Another part rejects them not only because of ethical considerations, but rather because of the impossibility of using them in the media (hidden advertising) or because they are not required in the job (using hidden microphones or cameras).

Rating which of the questionable methods are required by the majority means that they turn into an acting norm, I revealed six methods from thirteen, such as suppressing facts, practically by everybody, publishing unverified information, ordered material, using confidential business and government information without reference and disclosing names of rape victims and criminals. The analysis shows that these methods are mainly required because the journalists and media collaborate with political, commercial and administrative structures. Journalists observe their interests in the coverage of news and rely on them as sources of information. Two methods, suppressing facts and unverified information are also caused by the consideration for journalists' own security (fear of court, criminals and dismissal) and by difficulties in the verifying information, as it needs to be transmitted faster.

**Table 7. 2. The working methods**

Methods of work	Yes: why?	Not: why?
<b>1. Making up facts</b>	<b>8:3S,5P:</b> type of media (yellow ) editorial section (social, culture, letters) a journalist's interest in the topic, time of publication (elections, subscribing campaign)	<b>22:11S,11P</b> unacceptable because they do news, however they see a fact within the structure of their own comment, so can embellish text, invent heroes, a story, an information cause
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>2. Suppressing facts</b>	<b>27:13S,14P:</b> editorial line (interests of founders, sponsors, advertisers); self-censorship (fear of court, criminals, dismissal); ethics; expediency of a fact, concept of media	<b>3: 1S,2P</b> no necessity, because the work does not touch on political issues (letters and culture sections) short working contract
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>3. Publishing unverified information</b>	<b>17:8S,9P:</b> a big information flow, speed of its transmission, trust in a source, intuition, impossibility of checking a source	<b>13:6S,7P:</b> trust in their sources, no need to check, intuition, Soviet school checking
<b>4. Using hidden microphones or cameras</b>	<b>9:3S,6P:</b> to obtain fact, living plot; for personal safety, private interest	<b>18:8S,10P:</b> no necessity, no technique, no conditions, <b>3S:</b> ethics
<b>5. Using suspicious sources</b>	<b>14:7S,7P:</b> suspicious sources: people (non-officials), informants, rivals, internet	<b>16:7S,9P:</b> suspicious sources: criminals, persons impossible to trust, rumours, gossip
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>6. Ordered material</b>	<b>17:8S,9P:</b> editorial line, self-interest, 'friends' with their services	<b>7:3S,4P:</b> nobody proposed, low price, reputation, to avoid problems <b>6:3S,3P:</b> ethics
<b>7. Hidden advertising</b>	<b>8:4S,4P:</b> possibility in the media, to earn money	<b>22:10S,12P:</b> impossibility in the media, only legal form of advertising
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>8. Using confidential business or government information without reference</b>	<b>15:7S,8P:</b> the fashionable style in the media, to protect source, not advertise it	<b>10:4S,6P:</b> their media do not do politics, analysis, investigations <b>3:1S,2P</b> referred to information agencies; <b>2S:</b> could not answer
<b>9. Using personal documents without permission</b>	<b>3:1S,2P:</b> importance and interestedness of information <b>5:2S,3P:</b> the editor's command, the journalist's interest, benefit for people	<b>20:10S,10P:</b> no necessity (they do not do investigations), <b>2S:</b> ethics
<b>10. Payment to source</b>	<b>8:4S,4P:</b> accepted system in the media, individually (money, services, gifts)	<b>22:10S,12P:</b> poverty, no necessity, unacceptable, no system of payment of source
<b>11. Using false identity</b>	<b>14:4S,10P:</b> to get information	<b>15:9S,6P:</b> use official sources
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>12. Disclosing of victims' names autonomous decision (yes-no):2S</b>	<b>18:7S,11P:</b> subordination to <i>militia</i> or media order, public figure, importance of information	<b>7:3S,4P:</b> ethics(rape victims' consent, presumption of innocence) <b>3:2S,1P</b> do not touch this topic
<i>Norm for the majority</i> <b>13. Disclosing criminals' names autonomous decision(yes-no): 4:2S,2P</b>	<b>16:7S,9P:</b> subordination to <i>militia</i> or media order, public figure, importance of information	<b>7:4S,3P:</b> ethics ( after court) <b>3:2S,1P</b> do not touch this topics

Seven methods out of thirteen are not used by the majority: making up facts, using hidden microphones and cameras, suspicious sources, hidden advertising, using personal documents without permission, payment to source, using a false identity. The non-acceptability is due not to the ethical considerations of the majority, but to the absence of need to use these methods. Journalists usually do not do investigations satisfied with official information, and even if they wanted to do investigations, there are no appropriate conditions such as modern technique, regulated system of the given work, good payment.

In summary, one can argue that all thirteen questionable methods are employed in the current practices, six methods out of those have become 'normative journalism' for the majority. Based on the voluntary alliance with the political and financial sponsors this 'normative reporting' provides the journalists with a unique chance to combine serving the powerful elite and satisfying their own interests. This selection of the methods responds best of all to the journalists' purposes revealed in their responses as, to get and transmit information, to earn money, to convey the clientele's and their own ideas, to attract a reader. The close collaboration with the officials makes the present journalists hardly different from their predecessors when both prefer to be rather 'agents of power' than agents of the public. That is, it can be noted that in spite of the abolition of the party management in 1990 the relationship of journalists and power has changed little.

### ***7.2. Attitudes in the working methods***

The next phase is the verification of five attitudes identified in the job. For this aim I applied the procedure of open coding of grounded theory. That is, I returned to the primary data on thirteen questionable methods, made comparisons of every response with those concepts (indicators), which establish five basic categories (attitudes) and coded the data in the new order. In this way I strove to find in what working method the attitudes identified emerge and what position personal decision-making has. At the same time I examined whether there are new concepts of the attitudes and new criteria of the old concepts pertaining to the attitudes. When I found it I identified it according to its meaning and added to the old concepts identified before. Thus, I saturated the categories with the new criteria and concepts.

The results of the analysis are tabulated in Table 7.3. as journalists' attitudes in the working methods, indicators pertaining to them and criteria determining the indicators. The new indicators (concepts) and the corresponding criteria are italicised, the indicators identified before are complemented with new criteria italicised.

**Table 7. 3. The journalists' professional attitudes in the working methods**

Professional attitudes in the job	Criteria and indicators	The working methods
<b>Personal decision-making</b>	<p>the journalist's interest in the topic (indicator 2)</p> <p><i>editorial line (interests of founders, sponsors, advertisers)</i> (indicator 1)</p> <p>concept of media (indicator 1)</p> <p><i>expediency of fact</i> (indicator 1)</p> <p><i>self-censorship (fear court, criminals, dismissal)</i> (indicator 1)</p> <p><i>the editorial line</i> (indicator 1,2), <i>self-interest in additional money and services</i> (the new indicator 5)</p> <p>interestedness and importance of information (indicator 1)</p> <p>the editorial line (indicator 1)</p> <p>benefit for people (indicator 4)</p> <p><i>protecting sources</i> (indicator 2)</p> <p><i>encouraging sources</i> (indicator 2)</p> <p>importance of information (indicator 1)</p> <p>editorial line (indicator 1)</p> <p><i>to teach the people, to punish perpetrators</i> (indicator 4)</p>	<p><b>nine methods:</b></p> <p>making up facts</p> <p>suppressing facts</p> <p>ordered material, hidden advertising</p> <p>personal documents without permission</p> <p>confidential information without reference</p> <p>payment to source</p> <p>disclosing names of victims and disclosing names of criminals</p>
<b>Ethics</b>	<p>refusal from lies (indicator 4)</p> <p>refusal from amoral methods (indicator 2)</p> <p><i>reputation of the journalist and media</i> (the new indicator 5)</p> <p><i>fair and transparent conditions for advertising work in the editorial office</i> (indicator 5)</p> <p><i>rejection of untrustworthy sources</i> (indicator 5)</p> <p>respect for man and privacy (indicator 3)</p> <p><i>observance of presumption of innocence</i> (indicator 1)</p> <p>concern for an interviewee: not to harm (indicator 3), <i>to observe the victim's request</i> (indicator 1)</p>	<p><b>Eight methods denied, one supported:</b></p> <p>making up facts</p> <p>ordered material, hidden advertising</p> <p>suspicious sources</p> <p>personal documents without permission</p> <p>disclosing names of criminals</p> <p>disclosing names of victims</p> <p>using or not using hidden microphones</p> <p>suppressing facts is supported</p>



<b>Creativity</b>	<i>inventiveness (facts, stories, persons, information causes)</i> (indicator 2) <i>embellishing texts, genres of publicistics and hoax</i> (the new indicator 3)  <i>intuition</i> (indicator 1) <i>technique for plausible presentation of news</i> (indicator 2)  <i>inventiveness (of self)</i> (indicator 2)	<b>three methods:</b> making up facts  publishing unchecked information  using false identity
<b>Hack-work</b>	extra work for yellow media (indicator 2)  extra work for a client, <i>friends</i> (indicator 2)	<b>three methods:</b> making up facts  ordered material, hidden advertising
<b>Intellectual</b>	<i>intellect (the journalist's ideas and thoughts)</i> (new indicator 2)  competence in media agenda (indicator 1) <i>experience</i> (indicator 1)  <i>rationality (avoiding conflicts and troubles in the workforce, public career)</i> (new indicator 3)	<b>four methods:</b> making up facts  publishing unverified information  for and against ordered material and hidden advertising

The attitude *personal decision-making* emerged in nine proposed methods. Thus, the journalists can allow making up facts if they are interested in the topic. The majority suppresses facts observing the political and commercial interests of their media, some journalists are afraid of court, criminals and dismissal from the editorial office:

I had to fall silent about facts especially when I worked in the political room. When I went to Legislative Assembly (*Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie*), the first deputy editor instructed me: "do not show it!", "we shall not write about it". Whole lines, paragraphs were taken off. That is, the instructions were always. I can not say that now there is more freedom than in the time of the party system. Before it was clearly the obkom's influence, but here now some private interests are pursued and any cuts are possible in the material (R.14).

Because of self-censorship I suppress some facts because our newspaper depends on the city authorities. Concerning personal friend's interrelations of the authorities and the editor-in-chief, here are persons beyond critical review, you can only praise or inform but not to discuss. (R.22).

It happened, all journalists passed through it, when it is not understood, as a rule, the reasons are not explained. If now it is accepted, who pays, he orders music (or he who pays the piper calls the tune), unconditionally it influences, because journalists are also people who need to earn their bread (R.28)

The journalists suppress facts taking into consideration the concept of the media and also defining by their subjective decision the expediency of the facts for the public. The post-Soviet practitioners were two times more numerous than the Soviet practitioners controlling the expedience of fact:

There are a lot of facts and every day you have to suppress facts, to choose in your opinion the more important ones. I suppress facts every day and it is connected with a choice of a fact (R.26).

I beware of the information going on the Chechen channels even if there is written Time Press agency that has spotted itself by false journalism. I avoid giving as a fact the events which are declared by the Chechen side because as the practice shows there truth is not worth a brass farthing (R.24).

Sometimes I do it consciously, because if we begin to fight against some phenomenon and make some fact public, we get the reverse effect. If we, for instance at the beginning of perestroika had begun rapidly to fight against prostitution and told about the hard life of prostitutes, how much they earn for a night, that they perish sooner than the rest of women, an unusual explosion of prostitution happened. Young girls were attracted by the prostitute's salary, but they did not notice what a hard life prostitutes have. Or I suppressed facts when we had a deficit of food in order to not to provoke stockjobbing demand (*azhiotazh*). For instance, when the specialists told me that in the city stocks of meat would last only for two days, I did not give out this information, because there is no difference when meat will be bought for one or two days (R.30).

The majority writes ordered articles (*zakazukha, jeansa*) and some make hidden advertising (in those media where there is no rigid control) in order to get additional income and useful services and to implement the editor's command for promoting the interests of important media clients:

It happens considering non-payment of the salary. Such barter agreements exist. One English school the "Benedict school" bought the time from 9 to 10, had live broadcasting and then said that this time is not suitable for them. They wanted to get time an hour earlier, but a difference in money is sufficiently big between one and the other air. They proposed not to pay additional money for a new time, but to take our journalists for study. In this way we agreed, we study English, and they get a time more suitable for them. There are cases when some material was done on personal contacts. My acquaintances called me and said it would be good to report about this event (R.4).

The journalists use personal documents without permission even if a man is not a public figure but if it is approved by the editor, if in their opinion it brings benefit for other people, if it is interesting or important information for the public:

If the boss orders, so certainly I would use such documents (R.8).

Answer: If it is a scandal and if we had shot this and shown the picture of this document, I gave this. If I have video and there is no permission for the plot sufficiently scandalous but this is important for the

plot, certainly I gave it. Of course, after it some frictions can appear, I consider this a normal thing, we exist for this, not in order to expose somebody, but if it is important for the topic.

Question: If these documents do not concern a public figure, but an ordinary person?

A.: Everything depends on the situation. If it is important for the plot topic and this is shot on video and this has the meaning, so certainly I give it (R.28).

When the journalists use confidential information without reference to sources (every second) and pay money to the source for the information (one third, mainly post-Soviet practitioners) they make this to keep their source or in order to not to promote superfluous advertising for the source (promotion of free political advertising to deputy). The journalists can choose a form of payment and themselves construct their relationship with the source. They actively develop anonymous journalism not indicating from where they obtained information and in this way representing themselves as a competent source:

Now it is accepted, we try to keep the fashion. In this sense we have the advanced newspaper *Kommersant*, there this is almost in every material. We all write "according to reliable sources" as if this is the case. The same thing is spread in the West, for instance to take a story with the bills of the Bank of New York. There the straight sources are indicated? No. What is the main thing for the newspaper? Interest. *Il Corriere de la Sera* already has a circulation of a million copies (R.12).

In the Legislative Assembly (*Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie*) in the lobby it is possible to know something and then to write these rumours without reference to anybody. But sometimes and in order to not refer to some deputies. He tells the truth or an untruth, but it is not necessary to mention his name and to make him a very popular person. Everything depends on the press (R.14).

Last time I wrote about a family where the husband was older than his wife by 53 years. They asked money for the interview and the editor gave me the money and I gave to them. But usually payment is symbolic as gifts. In the budget of the editorial office such money is named *predstavitel'skie* (representative) money. If the source is a female, it is a box of chocolates or something else for her, if it is a male, a bottle of good brandy is bought for him. This is used constantly (R.8).

Almost half are under the militia and the media order in disclosing names of rape victims and criminals and therefore they need not to think about that how to act. One third of the respondents rely on their personal decisions in which cases to disclose and in which not to disclose the parties to crimes and accidents. These journalists have pedagogical motives to punish or to caution others against possible crimes and if it concerns to a public figure they disclose the name:

This depends on the newspaper. Here I published material about the suicide of the sportsmen and the circumstances, the people were named. In one newspaper I disclosed everything till the court decision

and the material was published. Then I gave this material to another newspaper and a lawyer proposed putting fictitious names to the text. I had to agree with him (R.12).

I disclose if a thief climbs up a telegraph pole and begins to cut wire to steal it, and he was burnt. If a child ran cross a road and a car ran him down, I consider it not ethical to name him. Another matter, when now I have a list of the people called about false explosions. Among them a schoolboy. I write about him in order for the people and the neighbours to know what a scoundrel caused a damage. In order that they feel...(R.10).

The attitude *ethics* denies eight methods and supports one, suppressing facts not to harm an interviewee. The majority does not accept making up facts, half of the respondents do not use suspicious sources such, as criminal or dark sources, dubious persons, rumours and gossip. One third do not disclose the names of rape victims and criminals observing the presumption of innocence and the rape victim's will. Some of them do not use hidden microphones or cameras for ethical considerations but if they use them, only with the aim of obtaining information without causing harm to the person secretly recorded. Some of them do not write ordered articles, some recognise only legal forms of advertising and do not use personal documents without permission:

I do not use dark sources, although I consider it necessary. I am almost 40, I belong to that generation and I cannot cross the line... I try to get information through mediators and then I am indebted to these mediators, but myself I can not connect straight with them because it obligates very much... (R.17).

Personally I relate to this badly. To use the documents without the permission of the source – no. The ethical moment is important for me (R.2).

I relate to it badly. A man has a right to a private life. I did not use it, but on our TV there are such people who love to use hidden recording in the programs, for instance a moment when a man picks his nose (R.1).

I refuse to produce ordered materials, this is a question of Ethics. I know that many journalists do this, but I consider that the newspaper is not my home's joy (*domashnyaya radost*) where I can do what I want. It is not my edition, I am not its owner, I do not administrate my working place (R.16).

The attitude *creativity* emerged as a basis in three methods, making up facts, publishing unverified information, using a false identity. The journalists make up facts if they write material for yellow or semi-yellow editions and if they work in the sections of culture, social and of letters. The making up of facts has been required when the election and subscribing campaigns begin and when the new media wants to make claims about itself in the market:

In the beginning when our newspaper appeared the deception was given at face value. The editor put an impracticable task for the journalist. The journalist scratched his/her head, it is better to be at home and to invent something than to go anywhere. Now I am glad that we use real facts (R.7).

Here its possible to make up literary stuff, to write beautifully. Sometimes I envy the colleagues from the culture room, social room, they can lie on the sofa and make up a story (R.20).

Now the subscription's company is still going, we opened a section where the readers could report their stories connected with our newspaper. The section is published every day, the matter is new and all stories are needed to be fabricated in order to untwist it (R.21).

Those journalists who deny the making up facts, nevertheless see facts in the structure of their own comment, prognosis, version of the event and the story, that is, they perceive journalism to some extent as literary creation with genres of publicistics and hoax. Therefore such methods as to embellish a text, to invent heroes, a story, an information cause are habitual professional tricks:

I invented plots based on some detail, a life story, the architectural monument for educational aims, for instance the story of the yard, the city, it was like an essay (R.30).

Sometimes I invented non-existent persons without reference to a concrete work place in order to put into their mouths these facts that were in the concrete factory or organisation. Never did I give false facts. But, for instance to report about poor life in the nomad camp or bad ecology I put those facts that I had known and seen into the mouths of the evenk (minority northern people, like Lapps) who did not exist in reality (R.6).

*Creativity* appears when the journalists work on intuition, for instance to publish or not to publish unverified information (one sixth), when they use a false identity (the majority of post-Soviet practitioners) mainly, from press and TV:

Here is already a question of intuition. When there is no opportunity to check the information then I rely on what is inside myself, on my own experience, the knowledge of the subject: it is could be or not. The error exists, there is a risk of making a mistake (R.24).

I did no a big investigation on the bank. At the beginning I called several banks presenting myself as a Petersburg journalist and saying who I am. Then I called as a client as if I want to do some banking. It is interesting that the answers were different. I used it in the text how I asked the questions officially as a correspondent, and what the answers were when I asked as a potential client (R.15).

If I reach into some factory due to my sources and they asked me not to say where from I am, I present myself as a worker of the firm that helped me to penetrate there or as somebody else (R.11).

The attitude *hack-work* appeared in three methods; making up facts, ordered text and hidden advertising. The journalists apply these practices in the frame of the editorial line and outside when they do extra work in order to earn additional money and get useful services for themselves:

I still have hack-work in yellow editions and there I allowed myself to make up facts, because I implement the orders (R.17).

I wrote such materials for the sake of money. On this money I could live well and even travelled abroad before the crisis (August 1998). But then ... It is very difficult to earn money in journalism here. Everyone strives to write for Moscow editions, some journalists even go there, there are a lot of newspapers and the money is incomparable. And here is a province. Many journalists of the older and middle generation do not have any other possibility but to write ordered texts to earn money. In Petersburg it is impossible to grow in the professional sense. It is very rare for a professional journalist to be in Petersburg, here there are no edition, which pay you adequately. On average the journalists earn \$100-200 from ordered materials (R.12).

I do it only for these people whom I know very well and want to help (R.23).

One third perceive ordered material and hidden advertising as the same thing. However, the majority clearly differentiate these practices each from each other. Thus, characterising ordered materials the majority mentioned existing enemies and friends of their media, their personal and somebody else's interests, interests in pre-election campaigns and the current situation when such materials are required. The respondents characterised ordered materials as being able to influence political and commercial business. Materials ordered on the purposes ordered materials can be both destructive or eulogies. The journalists produce them in the frame of the editorial line and as extra work for their clients. If this work is done as the editor's task, it is also paid officially like other journalists' materials in the media. If the journalist produces the material for his/her client, the journalist personally received money or services from the client as hidden income. The journalist publishes such ordered article in his/her media or other media. The journalists witnessed the tolerant attitude to producing ordered materials both from the side of colleagues and from the side of the editorial top:

Answer: I had to make such materials, but never I put my name on these materials.

Question: Accordingly you get payment?

The journalist began to say in a low voice: Answer: No, everything is being done by the editor's order. I am given the task and I do this. Because there are friends and enemies in any company (R.28)

I have such a principle, I do not investigate these questions, it is an internal matter of the editorial top. I must implement a task, to bring definite information, and how it goes as advertising or...I defined for

myself for ever that I do not concern myself with financial questions, they are editorial. I have a task that I must implement. If it is contrary to my principle, I can turn down this proposal (R.9).

Characterising hidden advertising the journalists used such notions as internal rules in the editorial office, control, discipline, punishment, the commercial section organising advertising in media. The majority confirmed existing orders for making advertising only in a legal way through official proposals to the journalists from the commercial section in the media. The journalist receives an assigned percentage for the work done. The journalist can be dismissed for hidden advertising and therefore the majority prefer not to take risks and do it the legal way. The journalists also blamed their colleagues for hidden advertising. Firstly, because those journalists had double payment for one material: illegally from the person who ordered this advertising and legally as an honorarium for the article published in the media. Secondly, the journalists making hidden advertising seize the clients from the media and those journalists who could do this advertising legally and earn their assigned percentage. That is, in the organisation of advertising the journalists prefer transparent and fair conditions. However, there are the media where the journalists and the editorial top are tolerant about hidden advertising. As a whole the respondents estimated the work over producing ordered materials as rather complicated demanding brainwork whereas hidden advertising, as a rule, lauds something or somebody, such an article is not interesting for a reader and the journalist has little creative interest in such work:

It is impossible to do this. This will be unmasked in our media. One journalist attempted to do hidden advertising, and at once he was dismissed from the work, it is better not to attempt it (R.20).

I know many journalists rake in big money... you are invited to a banquet, you drink a lot there and after that you must write a nice text, as the majority of journalists does. ... the rotten information that nobody will read (R.19).

This is ordered material because we are heavily dependent on financial things. I have this and I know that my colleagues simply seek such the variants. And now when my subordinate journalists do hidden advertising I close eyes because I know about their hard financial state (R.2).

The cost of official advertising work is almost the same in different media from 5% to 15% of the cost of all advertising material. Thus, in the press journalists receive 10% of the cost of advertising material (the dailies *Smena* and *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*), 10-15% (the daily *Vechernii Peterburg*). In editorial offices there can be unequal opportunities for doing advertisement for different journalists. Somebody is allowed to do official advertising and in this way to earn more money than other journalists who are not allowed this:

In our media there is a clear division where hidden advertising can be. Sometimes there is no hidden advertising in the text, but the material is taken off. Moreover, in the editorial office there is such a caste of people who are allowed to do advertising and who is not allowed it. Mainly, the veterans and the young bosses took everything in their hands. Somebody can do advertising, somebody can not, somebody can go to the presentation and receive a gift there, but somebody can not. Thus, even if I would like to promote something, I may not, it will not allowed to me (R.14).

The attitude *intellectual* emerged in four methods when journalists make up facts and publish unverified information, when deny producing ordered texts and hidden advertising. Thus, to convey their ideas and thoughts regarding the question covered, journalists make up something such, as for instance, a relevant topic or person. They use their previous experience and knowledge and professional tricks with the aim of presenting news as plausible when publishing unverified information. Some of them avoid producing ordered articles and hidden advertising in order not to have conflicts and troubles in the editorial office, to save their reputation for promoting their public career:

I think later I can achieve such influence that I shall not need to do hidden advertising and so on, that is, I can influence either editorial policy or the situation in the city (R.11)

It's possible to make up to report my own ideas, thoughts, but I cannot always take the liberty of reporting these ideas. Who I am to declare... I can invent a man, for instance an American sociologist or whoever and can write 'on evidence of specialists' (R.18).

Probably I did not use unverified information, usually official and big troubles were not. But if something such..., so usually we cover ourselves with the phrase 'on somebody's words' (R.20).

I publish unverified information in such a way that it is impossible to accuse me. I take some basic things from information that seem trustworthy and then publish it (R.11).

In some situation I proceed so that it can be and then I consciously seek facts that confirm my presupposition and I try to support my version with facts from real life (R.11).

In summary, all five attitudes appeared in the working methods. The results of the analysis on the open inquiring about how the journalists work (Table 7.1.) gave a cause to advance the hypothesis that the journalists are like true professionals with independent decision-making in their professional activities. Because of the dominating state of the attitude personal decision-making predicted autonomy of the journalists in job. Undertaking then the analysis of the working methods and the journalists' attitudes it remained to validate the hypothesis. What arguments appeared in support of the hypothesis or, contrast, in rejecting it in this stage of research?



The results of the analysis (Table 7.3.) suggest that the journalists develop personal or as expressed in Russia author's (*avtorskiy*) journalism. Personal decision-making is the basis for the majority of the working methods. Could it be identified as *professional autonomy* of the journalists that establishes or at least strives to establish reporting defended from external interference?

The analysis of the working methods (Table 7.2.) reveals the close collaboration of the journalists and media with the local authorities. This is not surprising, the city's and regional governments, the city's council were co-founders of five leading informational media of St. Petersburg out of eight media presenting the study sample. Other media, in the words of the respondents working there, support or do not quarrel with the governor.

The attitudinal analysis of thirteen working methods (Table 7.3.) discovers that personal decision-making occupies a dominating position but it is restricted to editorial line (interests of media founders, sponsors and advertisers) and self-censorship (a fear of court, criminals and dismissal). In the other words, the *autonomy* of the journalists revealed on the level of personality turns into *co-ordinated autonomy* on the level of media organisation when the journalists adapt personal decision-making to the editorial line and to those circumstances under which they work. However, journalists can act autonomously outside to their staff job when earning money in their own time in other media and commercial organisations.

The introduction of the market reforms at the beginning of the 1990s led to two types of professional conduct of journalists and caused to some extent the split of the professional consciousness. The analysis reveals such antinomy that on the one hand the professional consciousness of journalists changed little and on the other hand, it changed radically. Thus, on the staff job they still perceive themselves rather as state workers orienting to the official sources of information and relying on them as on reliable sources in their work. They still prefer such practices which would be relevant in their 'friendship' with officials and provide journalists with an access to official circles. They are still satisfied with the media agenda formed to a great extent in favour of the present political authority (legislative, executive organs, militia, army and other bureaucratic institutions). Their professional goals changed little as far as they want to participate in deciding social questions interfering as Soviet journalists in the activity of different official instances and forcing them to change the situation in order to help people. They formerly perceived themselves in the role of a teacher and a judge for the audience keeping the perception on it as the passive object under their influence.

On the other hand, their professional consciousness changed crucially when they use market alternatives for performing journalistic services in society. In this case they pursue self-interest in increasing personal income and personally profitable services. In such outside jobs the journalists perceive themselves to be free employees who sell their skills and earn good money. They make strictly ordered type of production and strive to satisfy a client and to receive new orders. They identify this labour as hack-work, which they do not consider to be real journalism. They are indifferent in this work if it is not an election campaign where they act as paid propagandists sharing or not the political views of their clients. Although journalists do not respect hack-work they do this because in the present conditions the work given is often a single stable source of income (in staff jobs the majority of the respondents had low and unpaid salary for the last years).

In summary, one can say that *co-ordinated autonomy* of the journalists is a somewhat transitional form in the development of their professional identity from the state toward market mentality. They still keep the old perception of journalists as state workers obedient to the authorities and at the same time they already gained new experience provoked by their new perception of journalists as free reporters independent and self-asserting in the labour market. The co-ordinated autonomy could be seen as a new strategy combining in-staff and out-staff jobs, both keeping the old and adapting new roles.

The results obtained from the analysis done on open (Table 7.1.) and closed (Table 7.3.) inquiring and on the working methods (Table 7.2.) are tabulated into an index (Table 7.4.) of the journalists' attitudes in the job. It presents the attitudes revealed, verified and refined, the indicators establishing the attitudes and the criteria pertaining to the indicators of the journalists' attitudes. In the research the index (Table 7.4.) is applied as a measuring tool for further analysis of the journalists' attitudes in other contexts of their professional practices. However, it is not a rigid scheme, in contrast, it is open to new characteristics which can emerge as pertaining to the journalists' job and which should be identified as properties of the attitudes. Therefore the attitudinal analysis will be finalised in a revised (Table 11.2.) at the end of the third part of the study.

**Table 7. 4. The journalists' professional attitudes in the job**

Professional attitudes in job	Indicators of attitudes	Criteria of indicators
<b>Personal decision-making</b>	1. Selecting news  2. selecting sources of information and topics protecting and encouraging sources  3. selecting strategies to obtain news  4. selecting purposes of influencing  5. selecting ways of earning  6. selecting working methods	importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, drama, concept of media, editorial line (interests of founders, sponsors, advertisers), self-censorship (fear of court, criminals, dismissal), expediency of fact  journalist's interest, taste and trust, editorial line  anonymity and payment of sources  feminine charms, masculine aggressiveness  to help people, to attract a reader to teach the people, to punish perpetrators  work in several places (media, PR services of organisations), ordered article, hidden advertising  situational factor, individual morality, editorial line, self-censorship
<b>Ethics</b>	1. refusal to accept a violation in job  2. refusal to accept illegal methods  3. concern for an interviewee  4. observing common moral principles  5. observing professional morality	observance of presumption of innocence, observing a victim's will  hidden advertising, ordered material respect for man and privacy, not to harm an interviewee refusal to lie  reputation of the journalist and media, fair and transparent conditions for advertising work in the editorial office, rejection of untrustworthy sources
<b>Creativity</b>	1. feelings  2. resourcefulness  3. literary methods	love of journalism, vocation, the journalist's interest in the topic, intuition  talent, skill for exclusive work, technique for plausible presentation of news, inventing facts, stories, persons, information causes, self  embellishing texts, genres of publicistics, hoax
<b>Hack-work</b>	1. editorial routine  2. extra work (second job)	urgency, 'obligatory' news, bad quality, plagiarism, indifference of a journalist in the topic  market promotion of the interests of other media and organisations, private clients, friends; any methods including ordered material and hidden

		advertising; indifference of a journalist to the topic, but not to a client; self-interest
<b>Intellectual</b>	1.gaining the knowledge  2.intellect  3. rationality	self-education, competence in the media agenda, keeping the journalist's archives, experience  journalists' ideas and thoughts  avoiding conflicts and troubles in the workforce, for promoting public career

### 7.3. Roles

The study was undertaken with the idea of ascertaining what roles contemporary journalists have in society and how much the western roles of the disseminator, the interpreter and the adversary are relevant to role perceptions of Russian journalists. To clarify these questions I explore journalists' perceptions of roles in working methods in this subchapter, in functional frame (chapter Tasks), in journalists' attitudes toward the audience (chapter Audience). The aim is to identify emerging roles and to describe their content, to discover what professional values are underlying these roles and what circumstances influence forming the roles. This subchapter has two tasks, to explore journalists' perceptions of roles in the working methods and to test how much they are relevant to the roles of the western journalists and to the revealed strategy of co-ordinated autonomy of Russian journalists.

The analysis uses the definitions of the roles from Weaver (1986, 112-115) and takes these roles as somewhat ideal types. *Disseminator*, the journalist who conceives his/her role as that of getting information to the public concentrating on the widest possible audience. *Interpreter* who analyses and interprets complex problems, investigating claims made by government and discussing national policy while it is being developed. *Adversary* who distances him/herself from official sources, particularly the government and economic power.

The procedure of axial coding of the grounded theory helps me to make the analysis of the journalists' perceptions on roles in the working methods. I return anew to the primary data on thirteen methods and put back the data in new ways breaking up their order after open coding. I am focusing on the journalists' perceptions of roles not rejecting emerging perceptions on unknown me roles and identify them in terms of conditions, which give rise to the journalists' perceptions. I denote these conditions as predictors of roles. I denote the context within which these perceptions emerge and strategies (working methods) which the journalists use in order to attain their ends. Finally I identify results - the roles, which emerge as consequences of applied strategies within the

existing context, those circumstances under which the journalists work. Table 7.5. brings together perceptions of roles, their predictors, circumstances, strategies and roles as consequences.

**Table 7. 5. The journalists' roles in the working methods**

<b>Journalist's perception of role</b>	<b>Predictors of perceived role</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Strategies</b>	<b>Consequences: emerging roles in practice</b>
<b>disseminator</b>	to obtain and rapidly to get any information to the audience using any methods for its receiving	a big informational flow, speed of its transmission, the trust in sources, difficulty in access to information and its verification - closeness of official institutes to a journalist, observing editorial line (suppressing facts), self-censorship	<u>9 methods</u> hidden microphones and cameras, suspicious sources, personal documents without permission, payment to source, false identity, disclosing names of rape victims and criminals, confidential business and government information without reference, publishing unverified information	<b>propagandist (disseminator of information, misinformation and incomplete information)</b>
<b>entertainer</b>	to obtain living interesting plot to shock the audience, to convey journalists' ideas	the competition in information market in order to attract the audience and to gain profit	<u>3 methods</u> making up facts, hidden microphones or cameras, personal documents without permission	<b>entertainer</b>
<b>collaborator</b>	to develop collaboration with officials, to satisfy a client, to protect self	observing the editorial line, the journalist's self-interest, collaboration with officials (trust and no detachment) avoiding investigation, self-censorship	<u>8 methods</u> suppressing facts, publishing unverified information, using suspicious sources, ordered material, confidential information without reference, not-using personal documents without permission, disclosing names of victims and criminals	<b>propagandist</b>
<b>social organizer</b>	to educate a man to bring up a man to punish the guilty	the ideology of the social activist in the traditional media	<u>3 methods</u> making up facts disclosing names of victims and criminals	<b>social organizer</b>
<b>information killer</b>	to defeat a political rival, to propagate in somebody's interests, to satisfy a client	observing to the editorial line, journalists' political leanings	<u>3 methods</u> ordered material, making up facts, personal documents without permission	<b>propagandist</b>

The journalists' perception of the *disseminator* role to obtain information and to get it to the audience faster was revealed in nine practices as obtaining and transmitting any information, trustworthy or not, using any methods. For this purpose the journalists use hidden microphones or cameras (some), suspicious sources (every second), personal documents without permission (some), a false identity (every second, mainly post-Soviet practitioners), pay to source (in every media), disclose names of rape victims (nearly one third) and criminals (some), publish unverified information (the majority) and confidential business and government information without reference (every second). The official institutes hardly contact journalists, conceal information and make various obstacles.

The respondents listed places where journalists are forbidden to do recording: companies-monopolists, factories, metro, closed sitting of court, accidents (fire, murder), scandals and conflicts in organisations. In the Soviet time hidden recording was sanctioned for critical articles, for instance one respondent remembered making a hidden recording to establish the guilty of book speculators selling books on the black market, other respondents testified the present problems of access and verification of information:

By telephone I often recorded information from the interviewee and then said to him/her that the talk has been recorded. If the person objected strongly then I called the obkom (party committee) and asked permission and if the obkom said "yes", I gave the information for broadcasting. In the Communist time it was very easy to give information on the air (R.30).

It is difficult to get trustworthy information from the militia, I cannot verify it (R.17)

If you say that you are a journalist, you will not get information (R.7).

If it is impossible to verify information, I try to do clear journalistic comment and to avoid acute angles. For instance to write "on rumours", something streamlined. If I know that information is true, I publish but without the source's name, I refer to the source only with his/her permission (R.12).

The journalists perceive informing the audience as a professional value although they are not greatly worried regarding trustworthy information. The high-risk work compels the journalists to suppress facts and not to disclose names of criminals for the sake of their own security. They also have to observe the editorial line suppressing some facts and writing ordered articles in the interests of the media founders, sponsors and advertisers and also in the interests of their 'private' clients. That is, in the present circumstances the journalists combine informing, misinforming and incomplete informing:

Have you heard? Today the next deputy was detonated. I was in conflicts especially when worked in *Smena*, I had conflicts and threats by phone. I understand why people have been killed in our society. There is a threshold of damage that you can cause somebody. If you cause the damage under \$1000, you will not be killed. But if it is tens, hundreds of thousands of dollars, you understand you can be killed (R.12).

I recorded it by hidden microphone to have the confirmation that I did not think up this because it was impossible to give that information on the air. I secured myself by this recording (R.3)

The search for the journalists' perception of the *interpreter* role were unsuccessful, the journalists did not have investigations on serious problems or claims made by the authorities. However, the analysis revealed other journalists' purpose as to obtain a living plot, not an ordinal fact, a sensation, to convey the journalists' own ideas and thoughts. That is, the *entertainer* role emerged in three methods such as making up facts (one third, mainly post-Soviet practitioners), using hidden microphones (some) and personal documents without permission (some, mainly post-Soviet practitioners). The professional value is entertaining the audience. The role emerged as the response to some market competition among the media to seize the audience and to gain profit:

It is a norm to invent an interesting story, it does not pretend to the truth, it is not important whether it is invented or not, some typical situation without photos and concrete names (R.16).

...when shock texts are publicised, when they force a reader to write a letter to the media, to think about something, for instance, a shooting of soldiers in the army, a murder by children of their friend, such texts shock. I would like very much to have more such materials, I stop myself, behind any good text there is a personal tragedy. I worked in journalism four years, my best text was the text when a boy was burnt alive in the barocamera in the hospital before the eyes of his mother; this was a very drastic text (R.17)

The journalists did not have the perception of the *adversary* role, but there are circumstances promoting the *collaborator* role. Thus, the journalists write ordered articles and suppress facts obeying the editorial line, they convey their political leanings and obey their personal networks (nearly two thirds). Some are afraid of court and criminals and avoid publicising facts:

Constantly it happens. There is no evidence although the fact is punishable by the criminal code. Many people told me about the fact because they saw this, but they will not go to court and I shall not prove my material (R.19).

If it concerns the founders, so it is. The boss comes and says, "we do not give this out, we do not say about this. It is needed to do by this way (R.3).

The journalists do not distance themselves from official sources, they trust officials and do not see it as necessary to verify this information, therefore they publish unverified information (one third). One third do not use confidential business and government information without reference to sources because they do not touch such the things as politics, analysis, investigating. Some do not use personal documents without permission because they do not do the investigations in the work:

Practically we do not do this, because our station is the information station, we hardly have an investigating job (R.26).

The journalists observe the interests of militia investigation and their good relations with the militia as with an important information source, therefore they co-ordinate their actions and texts regarding victims and criminals (one third). In particular, broadcasting journalists more often co-ordinate their materials with the militia than print journalists. The professional value, informing the audience is indivisibly connected with the collaboration of the journalists with the officials as sources of information.

The journalists' perception of the *information killer* role emerges when the journalists use such methods as ordered material, using personal documents of others without permission and texts, which are offered and paid by outside interests holders. Their publications are intended against the political rivals of the media and the journalists have to implement the editor's task, but they can also participate relatively autonomously in different election campaigns lobbying in the interests of their political 'friends'.

The perception of the role of *social organizer* was revealed in three methods; making up facts, disclosing the names of rape victims and criminals. Using these practices the journalists pursue the habitual aim for Soviet journalism goals - to educate, to bring up the people, to punish or to caution others against possible crimes. In this case the journalists strive to be of use, to do good for the people. The professional value is participating and affecting social events and the reader's perception of the event. The role is inherent in the Soviet school of journalism adapted from Stalin's famous lesson:

To teach them some minimum of techniques of journalism is of course needed. But the basis is not this. The basis is that in order to they will work up the flair of a journalist - social activist in self without which a correspondent cannot implement his/her mission and this cannot be inoculated with any artificial methods of teaching (Talovov 1990, 40).



The results of the analysis suggest that the journalists perceived five types of roles; disseminator, entertainer, collaborator, social organizer and information killer. In practice they successfully integrate partisanship to the authorities (propaganda), market promotion of media clients' interests (clientelism) and their claims at governing the audience (personalization). In practice they perform rather as *propagandists, entertainers, social organizers*. Such a setting of the roles is relevant enough to the strategy of co-ordinated autonomy of contemporary practitioners. The journalists combine the old roles of propagandist and social organizer with the new roles of entertainer that reveals their striving on the one hand to influence the audience as before and on the other hand, to satisfy the interests of two target strata, the powerful elite and mass audience.

This setting of the roles reveals its complete irrelevancy to the setting if taken as ideal roles of the Western journalism (disseminator, interpreter, adversary). The perceived role of the disseminator appears as pseudo-disseminator role when journalists combine information, misinformation and incomplete information. The perceptions of the other roles: interpreter who analyses and investigates claims made by officials and adversary who performs the opponent to power are not revealed at all.

## 8. Tasks

Everyone was asked to say what task he/she considered the most important in the job. The comparative analysis of the responses revealed four basic tasks which the respondents perceive as priorities: to bring information to the audience fast, to make material interesting for a reader, to be useful to the people, to satisfy personal ambitions. According to the responses the respondents were classified into four groups identifying everyone regarding generation, gender and type of media.

One third, 3 Soviet and 7 post-Soviet practitioners, both males and females, the majority from electronic media, considered that the most important task was *to bring information to the audience fast*:

To bring trustworthy information to the wide circle of readers (R.17).

The other group of 10 respondents, 4 Soviet and 6 post-Soviet practitioners considered that the main thing was *to make material interesting*, that is, to write an entertaining story (the yellow paper) or an analytical commentary (the white paper). Among those were males and females of different generations, but practically all of them worked in the press:

The main thing is interesting writing. Sometimes I would like to write serious analytical material, but this is not suited to our paper. Our reader needs "sweet" that he/she will swallow, he/she is bored with analytical material (R.7).

The aim is to make material interesting. For me it is literary reporting, saturated information, energy, not only the information, but also a comment. I am an admirer of *Kommersant*. In the material I like news and brief comment. This is the saturated material where there is everything, both the journalist's opinion and the information. I myself try to make such material. *Smena* is a very lax paper, a lot of water, the information sinks there. We have another extreme - much primness. Everything is maximally stripped, only bare information remains and sometimes it is still further reduced (R.12).

The third group of 9 respondents, 7 Soviet and 2 post-Soviet practitioners considered that the most important was *to be useful to the people*, that is, to educate, to bring up, to help in deciding on concrete problems. This task is inherent mainly in females (8) from the traditional media:

Before writing a material, I always write a line for the sake doing this. As a rule, this is to help, to fight against some unfairness (R.27).

In order for a reader to derive use from the material. In order that he/she would be brought up after the reading. The role of a newspaper is not an organiser and a propagandist, but educational. I do not speak

against negative information in the newspaper. If in Chechnya the slaughter is going on, let it be said. But it seems that a man becomes better and kinder, not because that he/she reads about endless murders, but when he/she reads something kind, good and even if there is a serious problem it can be represented differently. We are evil media, any newspaper, we like sensations, roast facts. But we do not write essays to discuss about humanity. In the last five years the essays have disappeared. I do not know if this is needed now or not. On the one hand this was professional journalism, the journalists were able to do this, they tried to think and to learn about the hero of the publication. The material was rather deeper than a question and answer (R.16) .

Some journalists, mainly males, both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners, stressed the priority of *personal interests* in the job, to earn money, to be first among "the pens", to make the material interesting for himself:

I do that what is interesting for me and try for it to be interesting for the people. This niche has been worked up well, everyone proposes similar things and so I try to operate differently from others (R.26).

Answer: It is important for me to earn money. If I am paid, it means I am a good journalist. When I come to cash-desk and see – oh! What a lot of money I earned, it means I am rated. Now for me this is exceptionally money. I need money, such an age – I have to create a family.

Question: Personally what task do you see?

A.: Personally I see just money. Generally, if we take the journalists, this is to bring information to readers. This is like a sieve, you gather so much information, but then it turns out that it is impossible something to publish it, it is impossible to verify, you reject something yourself, the other things should not to be written because it is better for you. As a result you bring some crumbs (R.19).

Some journalists consider several tasks as the most important in the job.

The main thing is to help the people or to entertain them (R.15).

That is, the journalists' perceptions of the roles can be identified as, disseminators, entertainers and social organizers that coincide with the role perceptions of the journalists revealed in the analysis of the working methods. The influence of the variables of generation, gender and type of media appeared in the role perception of the journalist. Thus, the function of informing is inherent mainly in post-Soviet practitioners working in the electronic media. The entertaining function directs the job mainly of the press journalists. Depending on the type of paper in which they work the journalists produce intellectual reading for the readers of the quality paper and slick for the mass readers of the popular paper. The function of a social organizer is taken mainly by the Soviet practitioners females from the traditional media established in the Soviet era. For them journalism is social work. One could presuppose that those journalists, mainly males who reveal self-interest,

strive toward self-assertion through journalism and can realise any of revealed functions and also maybe other unknown function relevant to gaining profit and satisfying intellectual needs.

Three functions, informing, entertaining and advocating emerged almost in equal proportion. What character do these functions have when the journalists realise them in practice? Or more precisely, is the informing of society by journalists rather biased or rather neutral? In the previous chapter, Practices, the analysis of roles in the working methods (Table 7.5.) revealed that the journalists perform as disseminators of information, misinformation and incomplete information. That is, they perform as rather pseudo-disseminator in society, suggesting they are propagandists.

To verify this assumption and to bring new data in support or against this I take the next phase in the exploration with the focus on the journalist's concern in the material. The principal question is if journalists are rather involved (partisans of political and economic groups) or rather neutral (informers of the audience) when they produce material. What circumstances influence the journalist's concern? What criteria and indicators pertaining to the journalists' attitudes predict establishing the journalist's concern? For the analysis I use the theoretical tool developed in the attitudinal analysis done in Chapter 7 (Table 7.4.).

### ***8.1. Engagement***

The close dichotomous question: do you prefer to be neutral or involved when you make material was given for everyone to reflection on. The respondents denoted three states as, involved (half), mixed (one third) and neutral (some). According to the responses I classified the respondents into three groups with the identification of everyone regarding generation, gender and type of media.

***Involved*** concern is inherent in almost half, 6 Soviet and 8 post-Soviet practitioners, both males and females, mainly from the press (11):

I cannot be in neutral because I myself choose about what to write and want to write in this way in order for people to understand what I want to report. Of course, this is an involved position. I attempt to affect not only on the mind, but on the emotions, to decorate the text, because through the emotions this influences better (R.23)

Naturally, my position appears. But I try to be at some distance. I have to take into account the editorial politics, the persons' interests, who gave this material and the radio listeners' interests – 3 sides (R.5)

On the one hand you report the facts clearly as they are, but at the same time you, of course, insert your relation into the understanding of the situation, if you want it or not. It is always different. It does not mean that I always accept the point of view. Usually in conflict situations the people are very active,

they think less and splash out more emotions, their actions are little considered. If I appeal to these things, it will bring nothing good. One needs to rise above this, and here my personal relation appears (R.16)

I try to hold the newspaper's position. I attempt to state my opinion in the material. The bridge has been opened after the restoration. The road is closed. I wrote that it would be good if GIBDD (the State Motor- Vehicle Inspectorate) thought beforehand about the traffic organisation in this place (R.10).

The analysis revealed that the journalists have three basic reasons to establish involved concern, namely the necessity for observing the editorial line, the necessity for observing interests of clients and personal aspiration to influence the audience. In the terms of the attitudinal analysis the involved concern was supported by four attitudes, personal decision-making, creativity, intellectual and hack-work. The journalists selected news, topics, working methods, purposes of influence managing by such criteria as concept media, editorial line, self-censorship, the journalist's interest. They employ the attitudes of creativity (feelings, literary methods) and intellectual (intellect: the journalist's ideas) in order to influence the audience. They do market promotion for their clients. The interplay of attitudes provides the journalists with the ability to cover the interests of all involved in the material sides, editorial top, media or journalists' clients and journalists.

One third share *mixed* concern (*involved & neutral*), 6 Soviet and 5 post-Soviet practitioners. They were both males and females and worked in various media. Their choice to be involved or neutral depended on the journalistic genre (publicistics versus news), the concrete event, the journalists' interest or indifference regarding the topic, the journalist's status in the media. Thus, the journalists tried to establish the neutral concern in news and conflict materials and to take an active role in publicist texts. They remained neutral in the topics no interest to them or in ordered articles because those were not written on journalists' initiative:

If there is some conflict, it is a neutral position, because one needs to show two sides and to do so in order for viewers to draw their own conclusions. But if the material is an essay, in this case there is my interest in the concrete personal life (R.30).

In the publicistic materials, the author's materials I can state my position, in the news - no (R.1)

This depends on the material. If I am interested in the topic, it is difficult to abstract myself. If the topic is not interesting for me, I simply write the information. If this is ordered article, I report the idea ordered idea, because I do not have my own ideas on this topic (R.18).

The journalists are neutral when working as information editors and they are involved when working as journalists:

When I am an information editor, unconditionally I take the neutral position, when I am a journalist, I take my author's position (R.24).

Neutrality is not a professional value, in contrast, neutrality is a recommended strategy for the beginner in journalism who suffers from a lack of competence and professional experience:

I try to be neutral, but sometimes the fact is so extreme and there is evidence against somebody that then I write how I feel and know this. However, many journalists of older age say that "you, young journalists cannot know everything and must pursue objectivity (R.28).

Mixed concern (involved & neutral) was supported by the same four attitudes: personal decision-making, creativity, intellectual and hack-work. However, the difference between the journalists of mixed concern and the journalists involved was that they managed different criteria in the selecting news when making personal decisions. The involved journalists were focused on promoting information fairly relevant to media policy (criteria of editorial line, concept media, self-censorship) whereas the journalists of the mixed concern pursued promoting new information management on the criteria of its importance, interest and sensationalism.

The indicators of attitudes employed regarding creativity (feelings, literary methods), intellectual (intellect) and hack-work (editorial routine, extra work) were the same in both groups. That is, one could suggest that the premise for establishing the journalist's concern in the material underlies the criteria for selecting news. In turn, it is a question of professional values. The analysis of the involved concern of the journalists showed that it was most important to follow the editorial line, interests of media clients and journalists' interest in exerting influence. In contrast, the data on the group with mixed concern indicate that the most important thing is to promote true news for the audience and to exert influence on it.

In this case one could identify involved journalists as reliable workers of official authorities, rather bearers of the Soviet mentality whereas mixed concern journalists appear as dissidents to the Soviet mentality, attempting to inform society. That is, they are rather professional than involved journalists. One could assume that their manoeuvring between involvement and neutrality is forced strategy in the present circumstances when the media keep their instrumental role in society to establish the interests of the ruling power. Meanwhile, the aspiration to influence the audience remained strong characteristic for both groups.

The analysis of the group with the mixed concern brought up the new indicator for the attitude of personal decision-making as the selecting genres (publicistic versus informational). It is placed in revised Table 11.2. and as the study continues to develop I shall bring up new indicators and criteria emerging in order to fill out and to refine the theoretical base of the data of the journalists' attitudes with systematic verification of the data revealed. This helps to develop the theory of the study. The final results will be represented in Table 11.2. of the journalists' professional attitudes in the job.

Some respondents shared *neutral* concern, practically all of them worked in the press. However, everyone had his/her own perception of neutrality, differing greatly from the others and it raises doubts whether it is indeed neutral concern. In order to clarify the term neutrality existing in the journalists' perceptions I present those meanings of the term occurring. Thus, somebody perceived neutrality as a protective trick used in their media to escape possible prosecution of the journalist address in the publication. Somebody perceived neutrality as mental isolation from real time and space, as "the highest feeling" of creativity. This neutrality was not under the journalist's control, it appeared as a result of the creative unconscious process and it could not be neutrality. Somebody perceived neutrality as the journalist's stand beyond the situation, which the journalist describes:

More often there is the neutral position, but it does not mean that I hold this position. The writing process goes sufficiently fast on an unconscious level, that is, I do not reflect there, I do not reflect how I would put this fact and how it influences the situational development, this would help one person or another person. Usually I do not reflect about this. This has been understood fast. If this is interesting , I write fast. If I feel that this is damaging then I do not write this (R.15)

I try to hold the neutral position, we are educated in this here, as our deputy editor says, in order not to be prosecuted (R.14).

Answer: Neutral is in spite of the journalist being a member of society. In the work one needs to try to rise above the problems and situations.

Question: Is it possible to say about neutrality, when you select facts and put them together in a definite way?

A.: This is a question about my self-censorship and the editorial censorship... I have already learned the editorial demand how to present the material and what to pay attention to, and my self-censorship is thus on the level of instinct. It is difficult to formulate why I take this fact and reject two others (R.11).

In summary, one should note that for the journalists the term neutrality includes two common characteristics, indifference of the journalist in the text and detachment from the content of the text. Nevertheless, the situational factor had such a crucial role in the journalist's perception of neutrality that it caused different meanings of neutrality. These situational factors were the journalist's status

in the newsroom (editor), genre chosen by the journalist (news), the journalist's creative process (disconnection from reality), the journalist's implementation of routine work and the client's order (personal indifference in the content), journalist's self-protection strategies (avoiding conflict in the media and with sources). That is, in the concrete situations the journalists produced rather personal reporting, ordered reporting and incomplete reporting.

The neutral concern was supported by the attitude of personal decision-making when the journalists selected genres, strategy for establishing neutrality in the presentation of the events taking into account the editorial line and self-censorship. Therefore there could be both neutral and pseudo neutral reporting. The journalists with neutral concern in the material also employed attitudes of creativity in writing (disconnection from reality) and of hack-work when they implemented editorial routine and the client's order (criteria of indifference).

Among situational factors the journalists perceived neutrality as the real impossibility in the journalist's job:

I myself try not to comment, but, of course, there is some colour, even selection of materials... it is comment and anybody who is not lazy he uses this. Here and in the West there are the same things although it does not outwardly appear so, but in reality there is some policy and this is always realised. If yesterday in England a scandal flared up regarding the number of victims in Kosovo, reading American, English newspapers, watching TV you feel the policy in the selection of materials, in the perspective on the event (R.26).

There was a perception of neutrality as on the part of scepticism and distrust of the journalist regarding incoming information:

This depends on the event, but rather the position is neutral because this job generated and reinforced scepticism (R.4).

That is, one can suggest that the absence of clear standardised perception on neutrality gave reason to state that neutrality as a professional term remains little known in Russian journalism. The study reveals that the journalists interpret and use neutrality in their own way depending on the situation, either as a convenient strategy for self-protection promoting incomplete or biased informing or as subjective feeling for creative writing or as a totally vain enterprise. For the practitioners involvement and neutrality are not principal considerations, but identical. Both involvement and neutrality have been based on the same criteria for selecting news, editorial line and self-censorship. It reveals that in the present media and society there are few premises for establishing neutrality as a



guarantee of objectivity in journalism. Nevertheless, with the change of the circumstances under which the journalists work and the change of media role toward objective coverage of agenda and with the new educational programs in journalism schools the situation could change, increasing the need for neutral reporting.

In summary, one should say that the journalists perceived three functions in the job, informing, entertaining and advocating. This predicted three perceived roles of disseminator, entertainer and social organizer. The analysis of the journalists' concerns in the job process revealed that practically everyone was engaged, which predicts that informing the audience is rather biased than non biased. However, one further examination regarding content of the roles: for this I shall go into every case in order to clarify what disseminator, what entertainer and what social organizer are in society.

### ***8.2. Roles in the functional frame***

The next phase of the study leads me to the procedure of the verification of every case on two variables in terms of functional task and journalist's concern in the material. Although I have 30 respondents they were taken as 33 cases because 3 respondents indicated two role perceptions and I identified them as independent cases and put them in the corresponding groups. In the every case the data of the journalist's perception on the role (function) were correlated to the journalist's concern with the material. All cases were classified into four groups presenting four types of role perceptions corresponding to every group - the predictors of the roles, the journalist's concern with the material, cases representing the respondents. The results of the correlation of the functional task and journalist's concern served as consequences - the emerging roles in the journalists' practices. The procedure is tabulated in Table 8.1.

**Table 8.1. The journalists' roles in the functional frame**

<b>Journalist's perception of role</b>	<b>Predictors of role</b>	<b>Journalist's concern</b>	<b>Respondents by generation, gender, type of media</b>	<b>Consequences: emerging role in practice</b>
<b>disseminator</b>	to get information to the audience fast	neutral - 1 case involved - 3 cases mixed - 6 cases	10: 3S, 7P 5 males, 5 females 2 TV, 5 Radio, 3 dailies	<b>disseminator involved</b>
<b>entertainer</b>	to make the material interesting for the audience	neutral - 3 cases involved - 4 cases mixed - 3 cases	10: 4S, 6P 7 males, 3 females 1 Radio, 2 weekly, 7 dailies	<b>entertainer involved</b>
<b>social organizer</b>	to be useful: to educate, to bring up, to decide problems, to fight against unfairness	neutral - 2cases involved - 4 cases mixed - 3 cases	9: 7S, 2P 1male, 8 females 2 TV, 1 Radio, 6 dailies	<b>social organizer involved</b>
<b>no role</b>	to earn money, to be first among 'pens', to do the work interesting for self	involved - 4 cases	4: 2S, 2P 3 males, 1female 2 Radio, 1daily, 1 weekly	<b>any role relevant for self-assertion</b>

The procedure of the correlation of the functional task perceived by the respondent and his/her concern in the material revealed that among the disseminators (ten cases) there was only one who perceived his/her main task to be informing as a neutral reporter. The other disseminators were either clearly involved or involved depending on the situation (mixed concern):

I take the position of eyewitness, sometimes it is neutral, and sometimes it is involved, of a co-participant (R.25).

Although the entertainers and the social organizers revealed more cases of neutrality than the disseminators their neutrality was based on self-protective strategies of avoiding conflicts in the media and with the sources and on subjective feeling of disconnection of the journalist from reality. I identify them as involved entertainers and social activists. Self-centred journalists revealed only involved concern predicting that they were involved in any role relevant to the satisfaction of their ambitions.

Formulating the response to the question about the character of informing society one can argue that the present informing was rather partisan, corrupt and personally biased. The engagement appeared as the basis of the journalist's reporting. The central premises of it are the media lobbying in the interests of its political and commercial sponsors, market clientelism approved by media environment and journalists' personal claims to manipulate the audience.

Personal decision-making appeared the dominating attitude in journalists' job. It established the autonomy of the journalist on the level of personality when the journalist served as a free employee in the labour market combining in-staff and out-staff jobs. In the staff job the journalist adapted his/her autonomy to the media policy and turned it into co-ordinate autonomy because took into account the editorial line and self-censorship. However, within the media organisation' frame the journalist autonomously chose professional strategy to be involved, semi-involved and fairly neutral. The analysis of this subchapter shows that the journalist's choice of strategy was based on the criteria of selecting news. The attitudinal analysis (Table 7.4.) identified nine criteria in selecting news pertaining to the attitude the personal decision-making as, importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, drama, concept of media, editorial line, self-censorship and expedience of fact. In the next chapter I continue exploring the journalists' criteria for selecting news and sources of information with the aim of verifying the criteria revealed and in search of the new data on the phenomenon studied.

## 9. News criteria

The respondents were openly questioned on what criteria they used when selecting information to be publicised. Some noted one criterion and somebody mentioned several criteria. By means of comparative analysis I elicited the criteria of the selecting information and classified it according to the degree of its importance in the journalists' perceptions.

***Public interest and prominence of fact*** were the main criteria for half of the respondents, 6 Soviet and 9 post-Soviet practitioners. The public prominence of fact was the important topical information touching the interests of the majority or everyone. It could be maximally interesting or socially significant information for the city-dwellers and it could also be some private case, typical of the others. Selecting such information the journalists tried to be useful to the people, that is, to report the most important and interesting news from their point of view and to put emphasis on concrete problem solving. The majority of those worked in the electronic media, two thirds were females:

The information that covers the interests of a wide circle of citizens...I try to take only the most important information that decides the lives of many people, that concerns the health of the people, their security (R.30)

The main criteria is what a reader needs. There is a situation when one needs to help people... It is very often that a problem would be decided faster if the newspaper publishes information about this (R.16).

The main thing is readers' interest in a material. From me they get the information how to act in the situation. The people do not know about many things emerging recently, for instance about privatisation, questions of inheritance, sharing ownership (R.21).

Their own ***interest in an event, sensationalism, drama of fact*** were the main selection criteria for another half of the respondents, 5 Soviet and 9 post-Soviet practitioners working mainly in the press. In selecting information they relied on their feelings, intuition, taste and experience. Their aspiration was to give the audience an interesting story:

If this is interesting for me (R.18).

My interest in the event and an interlocutor would be pleasant for me (R.24).

The criteria of astonishing... For the article the fact is taken to play for the drama of the text, conflicts, the more conflicts the better, opposite opinions of people on the same question, contradictions, the situation of choice (R.15).

An outstanding event was or spicy details (R.7).

The respondents from the main daily and broadcasting companies mentioned the necessity of taking into account *specialisation, administrative plan and media policy* in selecting the information:

My range of topics has been formed and I can go on this range and cover it. There is an administrative monthly plan for every week in the electronic mail and I see it and take something if somebody had not already taken it (R.14)

We are not independent. We depend completely on the City administration that possesses the majority of the shares of the company and suddenly from the independent agency or the independent newspaper we got unpleasant information about the administration. I probably do not use this information. On other hand the information may be different, maybe a scandal on the local level, somewhat anti-governor information. This is acceptable criticism, that the city is cleaned badly, the people complain. I put this in order for the governor to pay attention to this question (R.2).

Criteria of *novelty, simplicity of making a publication and the opportunity to earn more money* by the publication of this information were emphasised by some respondents, mainly, post-Soviet practitioners from the press:

If this were not covered, the topic would be not discovered (R.12)

What is faster and easier, if I have ways to the source of information. Naturally, at the beginning I do that more simply. Maybe something depends on the honorarium, the cost of publication depends on the size of material. On one fact I write a lot, on another it will be little. One material will be extensive with photos, opinions, another text will be a little notice without any exclusive (R.8).

In summary, the journalists' criteria in selecting information for publicising coincided with eight criteria identified before in the attitudinal analysis, the criteria of the selecting news (Table 7.4.). In addition, the inquiry showed the new criteria to be novelty, simplicity of making the publication and the opportunity to earn more money by publicising the given information. I include them in the final detailed Table 11.2. The formula for being newsworthy emerges as 12 criteria: importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, drama, concept of media, editorial line, self-censorship, expediency of fact, novelty, simplicity of making the publication, profit.

Reflecting on the demands for publicising information the respondents here mentioned nothing regarding the expedience of fact, yet one criterion for selecting information appeared in the analysis of working practices. In particular, when I explored reasons for suppressing fact almost one third noted expedience of fact. According to their statements the fact can be no expedient because of the

concept of media, for instance political news for the yellow papers. The fact can be no expedient for publication if it is not very important in the opinion of the journalist, if it came from a source not enjoying the journalist's confidence, if it is able to have a reverse effect on the audience to what the journalist pursues. Also, if the fact excites the audience, some journalists may suppress it (Soviet practitioners) whereas others (post-Soviet practitioners), in contrast, try to publicise it. Two following excerpts are taken from the Soviet and the post-Soviet practitioners:

Reporting an event simply because it occurs is not quite a right policy. If the journalist specialises in some topic he must see a tendency and feel where all this is going, whether it is necessary to give it to the people, for instance if we write that bread will rise in price, what will be in shops? Similar facts exist in every topic and you have to approach this very carefully. The publication of some private cases, not typical, simply 'roast facts' diverts the people from serious reflections. If the public opinion is still not ready for the perception of some facts we also hold back it (R.16).

There are facts which are not interesting for us. Typical stories are needed. We must find the resonance, because, clearly, the rating of the program depends on how well we raise resonance topics (R.27).

That is, when the journalists argue public interest and prominence of fact as premises for publicising information one should keep in mind that they largely personally define the degree of importance, interest and usefulness of the given information for the people. That is, they act as the owners of information and consider that they as professionals are competent in the interest and needs of society. The majority of the respondents noted that they personally select information for publicising whereas the others, one third, mainly from the press, select information for publicising personally and together with the editor. The respondent described this process as follows:

In the newspaper an editor gives a task to a journalist or a journalist proposes a topic to an editor. If a topic is suited to the boss, it is accepted. I manage by my taste but I try to follow the editorial function, that is, to take information which is maximally interesting. Here in radio the work of the information editor is different, mainly here one needs to implement a PR writer's functions, that is, I summarise the information that comes on the channels, treat it and produce it in digestible form (R.24).

Concluding one could state that the journalists' demands for the information to be publicised proceed from the attitude of personal decision-making based on such main criteria of selecting news as, importance and interest of information, journalist's personal interest, the editorial line and self-censorship. That is, the news value, the journalist's subjective taste and the policy of the media underlie the criteria of selecting news. Such mixing of intentions, objective and subjective coverage, reveals the personal character of journalism embedded in the frame of media policy where the interest of the audience has a marginal place. The journalists mete out information for society rather

enjoying the privilege of the possessing informational resources than taking responsibility for the people. The St. Petersburg researcher Vladimir Voroshilov, for instance, listing priorities of the regional journalists in selecting information for publishing does not find the interests of the audience at all. In particular, the researcher points out that:

Journalists of the regional press take into account political expediency (44%-52% independent of experience), the opinion of the editor-in-chief (21.5% - 40.5%), interests of founders (16.5% -36.5%), interests of the authorities (18% -28.5%), interests of sponsors and advertisers (16% -41%) (Voroshilov 1999, 259)

However, the attitudes of journalists to the audience gradually change when media and journalists begin to pursue gaining profit in the job and look at the people not only as at the passive object of their political and commercial propaganda but and as independent consumers. The attitudes of the post-Soviet practitioners in the study testify to this.

Selecting information is integrally bound to selecting of sources of information. The results of the attitudinal analysis (Table 7.4.) suggest that the criteria for selecting sources of information are the journalist's interest, taste and trust in the source. The analysis of working methods revealed that the journalists trust officials and perceive them as reliable sources of information. Moreover, the journalists prefer such practices (Table 7.2.) which are appropriate for their collaboration with officials in order to not to have problems with receiving information from official circles. The next subchapter takes a look at the journalists' ways of receiving information.

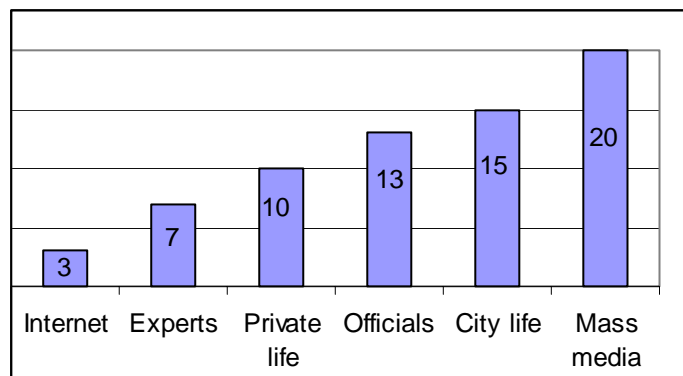
### ***9.1. Sources of information***

The open question, "how do you usually receive information?" brought various responses. Comparative analysis classified six basic sources of information according to the degree of its importance for the journalists. As a rule a journalist uses several sources of information, the classification of the sources includes the amount of respondents with identification of generation, gender and type of media.

Thus, two thirds, - 12 Soviet and 8 post-Soviet practitioners from both television, broadcasting and the press use information from other mass media, information agencies, television, broadcasting, press and they also take information in the media from their colleagues and follow an editorial working plan.

Half of the respondents, 9 Soviet and 6 post-Soviet practitioners, mainly from the press, find information in the city life and from city-dwellers who call in the editorial office. More than one third, 5 Soviet and 8 post-Soviet practitioners from both television, broadcasting and the press rely on their collaboration with official institutions and receive the information from the official persons and press-services. One third, 4 Soviet and 6 post-Soviet practitioners, mainly from the press use personal networks, their own informants, friends and acquaintances. Some journalists, mainly from the press, turn to specialists and experts for information and some journalists use the services of Internet and electronic mail. The sources of information indicated by the respondents as independent cases are presented in Table 9.1., showing sources of information and their priority:

**Table 9.1. Sources of information and their priority among journalists**



The results of the analysis of sources of information and degree of importance of sources among the respondents show that journalists use ready media production as primary source of information for their news most of all. That is, in point of fact the journalists to a large extent produce no news but pseudo-news re-publicising the same events, persons and topics. In other words, being rather rushed inside the media 'cooking' than in the outside world they promote a less diverse and mediatised informational picture of a day. As readers/viewers they complain that the same information circulates on all channels and in the press and that to read and to watch them is nothing. However, as producers of information they choose the least labour-intensive way of production and so many of them get rid of the procedure of verifying the information and relieve themselves of responsibility for its trustworthiness. The given choice in favour of media source of information demonstrates the old journalists' rational in the approach toward the audience as still not a very important client in the sphere of their professional interests.

Using Internet as source of information is insignificant in the journalists' practice, although all editorial offices of the media composing the study sample were computerised by the end of 1999,



when interviewing was conducted, true, with different levels of equipment. Thus, in *Smena* there were quite 'ancient' computers and not everywhere in total wretched rooms for journalists, whereas in the weekly *Petersburg Express* there was everything new, fashionable of western production from the internal editorial office's design and furniture to phones, lamps and computers on the journalists' tables.

The comparison of the journalists' preferences for source of information by generation revealed that Soviet practitioners prefer rather such sources as other media, city life and experts whereas post-Soviet practitioners rely rather on official structures, personal informants and Internet. The preference for the official and private sources of information among young journalists could predict that the new generation tries to combine such opposite sources of information in order to develop investigative reporting. However, the primary data of the interviews testify that there are other reasons, like arranged stable contacts of the editorial office with the local authorities and with the press services of numerous organisations. The journalists use these channels in everyday work. In turn, their friends facilitate the search for information as far as the young journalists can rely mainly on their private networks yet do not possess a wide circle of voluntary informants from various organisations as do Soviet practitioners. The two excerpts below belong to post-Soviet practitioners, the first to a female, the second to a male:

If I have some preliminary information I begin to call to those who may know something, mainly they are official persons. If I have concrete addresses, for instance the house where something happened, I see the data base in the computer, clarify the phone numbers of the neighbours and call them to know about the happening. If I simply sit at the table and want to write something I begin to call my sources about what happened and then go on the first variant (R.8).

I have personal contacts, I do not like official information but use it when *khalyava* goes (official information from the official structures for publicising). If given private information it is impossible to do this as hack-work, badly, it is dangerous. I had such a case. Mainly, I write about hockey, the team SKA is in a state of never-ending conflict, now we are again on the threshold of the court but I think that we will again put a stop to this. I really was wrong, wrote something wrongly, they think whether to go or not to court, but I have as many compromises- scandal materials (*kompromat*) that if the war really begins, they will also suffer very much (R.19).

Maybe, using private sources of information by the new generation could be developed and investigative reporting established if that the concept of media coincides with the aims of investigative journalism. That is, if the journalists have the editorial task to make the investigation on political, economic, social issues important for society. However, the present media do not

reveal such interests, in particular, the study sampling testifies that the leading city media are hand in glove with the local authorities. In five of those the local authorities are co-founders of the media, the three other media wish good relationship with the authorities. In turn, the journalists, mainly post-Soviet, take the role of private detectives for the sake of obtaining scandal or blackmail information that they publish and earn good money. This is not surprising because many of them came to journalism pursuing self-interest in gaining material profit.

The interviews with the journalists revealed completely different styles in the gathering of information among Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners. I identified pro-Soviet style as etatism, collectivism, agreeing with the editorial line and focused on 'a hero of weekdays' (*heroi budnei*), the common man. The post-Soviet style, in contrast, is based on the individual search for information and aimed at obtaining exclusive and sensation. The first excerpt is found a Soviet practitioner, the second excerpt is found a post-Soviet practitioner, both are males and work in the dailies:

I visit all editorial meetings (*planerki*), know what will be in the newspaper tomorrow so topics do not overlap with other journalists. We have the monthly plan in the editorial office. For myself I have planned everything till the end of the year, what I shall write on 25 December, 29 December. There are objects emerging in the city about which I am going to write. When the life brings out correctives, it is another matter. I worked it up since my work in *Smena*. Now there are television sets with 12 channels in the rooms of the editorial office and there is a lot of news. When I worked in *Smena* we had a rigid rule to publish striking (*udarnyi*) material about workers on the first page of every issue.

I had two ways of finding information when I went to the work in the morning by metro and I was always in a hurry. And in the evening I returned home by surface transport. I live in Nevskiy district, Vyborgskaya Zastava, the district is full of factories: chemical, weaving, building, machine industry. And in the evening when I go by tram, by bus, I hear so many topics that simply... "Tomorrow we launch a ship..." In the morning I call the factory. Like that, through *sarafan* radio (R.10)

Answer: there are official channels, press-services send us the information. We can call, but this work like everything in Russia is arranged badly. They can send the report (*svodka*) by the evening, when it is not longer needed. The information agencies help us. We get primary information from them, then we begin to unravel it. That is, in the news sense we are bound by electronic media very rigidly. And some exclusive ... it is how luck will turn. Everything depends on personal contacts. If you have very good personal contacts in law-enforcement agencies, then you can hope for the exclusive.

Question: Do you work only with law-enforcement agencies or do you have a personal range of informants, non-official, from these structures or informants close to these structures?

A.: I have but not enough. These contacts... There are always strong attached

Q.: To pay money?

A.: Yes, not only this. It always obligates to something. Or you need to be a cynical person, to force these people to give the information

Q.: Blackmail?

A.: No, but force them to drop the information. They themselves are interested in pouring out the *kompromat* on the rival. You have to possess a whole information field, then it is possible to obtain an exclusive

Q.: That is, let leak this information to you and you make ordered material free of charge in their interests?

A.: No I, but the Journalist Investigation Agency by Konstantinov works in this way. I would wish that our work would be arranged like Konstantinov, but for that one needs to have a special character. I do not consider that the work of Konstantinov is in the western style of the work of a criminal journalist. We always attempt to bring out our own improvements and always it turns... this Byzantine mentality is not exterminated, these improvements change everything in the wrong way, let you yourself go to Konstantinov and talk with him (R.17).

The given example testifies that in contemporary journalism two complete opposite approaches co-exist to organising and implementing work on news gathering. In the formula of the definitions it could be expressed as, etatism versus market, collective versus individual, planned versus situational, paternalistic-humanistic (focus on the common man) versus self-interested, forcible (sensation). Nevertheless, the practitioners of both generations are no contrast as white against black, often they represent a complicated mix revealing both differences and common properties in the job, for instance in the item of verification of information.

### ***9.2. Verification of information***

The analysis of the working methods of the journalists revealed that the journalists are not in the habit of verifying information coming to the media and to them. Interestingly, responding to the question, "Do you publish unverified information or not?", the respondents' opinions divided almost in half. However, both groups advanced practically the same arguments in establishing that they publish unverified information (the first group) and that they do not publish unverified information (the second group).

Thus, 17 respondents, 8 Soviet and 9 post-Soviet practitioners said that they have to publish unverified information because of a big informational flow, speed of transmission, impossibility to verify it but the need for it be transmitted fast. They noted their trust in the sources of information (information agencies, correspondents, the people, press conferences) and their intuition. They confessed to that they had cases when unverified information proved false after publicising and that they made factual mistakes owing to their inattention to the interviewee or in the process of writing the text.

The other group of 13 respondents, 6 Soviet and 7 post-Soviet practitioners, in contrast, argued that they do not publish unverified information because they use such sources as information agencies, informants, conferences and official persons, whose information does not need verifying. They also noted that they work on intuition and they had their factual mistakes or the source of information gave them wrong information.

Practically, it is not. It always is either from the conference, or from the conversation with a person or eye-witness (R.14).

I was educated yet in a communist newspaper, it was long ago. There was a mass of stories. For instance, my colleague was expelled because she called a "Twice Hero of Socialist Labour" only "Hero of Socialist Labour". We were educated in such a system: everything is precise, to the last detail. Now there is no such education, so they are surprised... The core that was knocked by forged boots, it stayed, unverified information is not (R.16).

Question: Do you publish unverified information?

Answer: What does this mean ? ... I publish the information that one man said to me and do not verify.

Q.: You do not verify, you trust him?

A.: Not anybody, I can feel when a man says diffidently, that is, I try to know information with details, not only fact but what is around it and when I feel that the man is in the know I use this information.

Q.: Did you have *prokoly* (mistakes) when you believed the man and it turned out to be misinformation?

A.: Yes, but rather it was not misinformation but the mistakes of the people, the mistakes of their memory, not intentional (R.15).

Probably I did not use unverified information, usually official and big troubles were not. But if something such..., so usually we cover ourselves by saying "According to..." (R.20).

According to the journalists' revelations one could suggest that the question of verifying information is no principal and does not happen in the journalists' job. Really, if the journalists trust official persons and their informants, in this case they do not have the need for the verification of information received. On the other hand, even if the information publicised is not true, this is no 'tragedy' for media workers, rather this is an admissible thing widespread in the absence of single centralised control over media production. In the 1990s the market of media services was free from state total censorship. Publishing unverified information does not bring the journalists those terrible consequences as it could be in the Soviet time, dismissal from work, deprivation of Party and Union of Journalists membership, the crash of the professional career. On the other hand, the market competition between media is so weak that it does not make rigid demands on media workers and their production. The common tolerance of unverified information establishes this practice as a 'professional' standard in information work. Nevertheless, the habit not to verify information is no

novelty of the post-Soviet market. It comes from the Soviet school of journalism, which on the one hand demanded a journalist verify information gathered and on the other hand oriented the journalist to guaranteed sources of information like administrative and party organs, responsible persons from various organisations whose information was above suspicion.

In the question "Do you verify information coming from official sources?" the majority of the respondents provided a negative response, out of 21 there were 9 Soviet and 12 post-Soviet practitioners. Several reasons explain this. The journalists trust officials. But even if the journalists do not trust them they do not verify information and publish it because it must be published. If the information has a doubtful character the journalists give it to the editor for the decision-making or publish with the reference to the source, thereby relieving themselves of responsibility for facts provided. The journalists do not verify information from official sources including media sources because they do not have time for this and also because it is difficult to verify it. Some respondents argued that verifying information is not their working duty. Only very few respondents verify official information if they have time for it or if they have doubts about its trustworthiness.

The indifference to publishing unverified information gives cause to assume that contemporary journalists do not have stimulus to verify it. The analysis of their role perceptions done in the previous chapters validates this assumption when it reveals that the journalists are not acquainted with adversarial role but then they adopted the partisan role well owing to the collaboration with the authorities.

## 10. Genre

The dichotomous question, "What is more important for you, fact or comment" revealed an obvious tendency of the journalists toward factual reporting. The majority (18), both of those Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners working in various media, considers that *fact* is more important than comment in the material because fact is truth whereas comment is fiction of the journalist or of somebody else:

Fact. Because fact is my own finding (*moye rodnoe*). Comments are my conjectures (*domysly*) or those of somebody or the source of information (R.8).

Almost one third (8) perceive *fact and comment* to be equal value, practically all of them females working in the press. Their preferences for fact or comment depend on the type of material or program, the fact itself and the status of the journalist in the editorial office, whether the journalist is a correspondent or editor:

Equal value, both are needed for balance. A pure fact is not interesting for me, only to run all over the city and obtain information... It is interesting to analyse on the basis of facts. Before I was interested to run, to learn something, then I got tired of running round and wanted other things. Three years went by and again I want to run and to learn. The editor's work is more to analyse. And a correspondent works more with his/her legs (R.12).

Only few respondents (4) regardless of generation consider that *comment* is more important than fact. These journalists specialise in a definite theme and have a strong interest in creative analytical work:

For me, comment is more interesting. We hear facts from Information Agencies or TV and everyone knows it already. Now it is difficult for us in the newspaper to compete with these media. I am a columnist... here it is possible to reflect, present different points of view. I feel it is more fruitful for a reader and it is more inherent in our newspaper and in newspapers as a whole. In my opinion a reader needs comment (R.20).

Comment is more interesting for me than fact, for instance in the analytical program *Panorama* (R.5).

In summary, one should note that the majority is disposed toward factual reporting. It was interesting to know how the journalists produce factual reporting in practice. The question about the place of fact and comment in the text became crucial. The respondents were asked how they produce material, mixing fact and comment or not.

As it appeared in equal proportion, the text can be based on combining up fact and comment, dividing fact and comment and differently, combining and dividing. One third (12), mainly Soviet practitioners, females from the press strive to make a text as a single entity so that it was impossible to understand where there is fact and where there is comment. They make a text as a purposeful message to establish their personal views and to force a reader to see an event or a hero of the publication through their eyes:

A: In my material there are many facts, which I put in such a way in order that the reader will draw the conclusion that I want.

Q: Fact and comment can a reader distinguish or not?

A: I think I mix and do entire material

Q: What conclusion do you want a reader to draw?

A: Differently. May be, I want to laugh at an interlocutor... or in order that a reader would see what a boring person this show star is. It is also the journalist's position when I present the interlocutor in such a way, how I see him (R.7).

The journalists also mix facts and comments to convey the views of various interest groups such as the local authorities, political and financial groups and to form the public opinion in their favour. They consider that indivisibly presenting fact and comment is the quality of a true professional:

A: I consider that comment always is supported by a fact and vice versa. They are interconnected immediately.

Q: But you separate it in some way? A reader sees here there is a fact here there is a comment or he cannot see where there is a fact and where there is a comment?

A: I consider aerobatics when it is difficult to differ, it is the journalist' professionalism, when everything goes as one substance and just this way public opinion is formed (R.2).

When the journalists write the material they usually do not think how they do it. However, they are sure that genuine journalistic material cannot do without the journalist's judgement. Otherwise, it is not the journalist's material. Even in information, they argue, there is the journalist's estimation. They consider that the logic of journalistic writing itself demands mixing fact and comment. Such an approach obviously reveals the heritage of the Soviet school of journalistic genres.

According to the Soviet theory and practice all journalists' materials are divided into informational and publicistics. However, this division is very conditional as far as "everything mainly that is being written in our newspapers and public-political journals is publicistics". "The newspaper from the beginning to the end is mainly publicistics" (Stepanov 1965 ref. Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 259). According to Khlynov "publicistics willingly uses all newspaper genres, between genres there

are no insuperable barriers, they are tightly interconnected" (ibid). In turn, publicistics (*publitsistika*) is "literature on public-political questions. Publicistic materials operate not only facts owing to which a reader himself draws the conclusion, but they include various judgements, generalizations and propose those or other conclusions" (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 677-678).

One third (10), practically all post-Soviet practitioners, males, the majority from electronic media support the division of fact and comment in text. They consider that a reader must have a right to his/her independent judgement formed on the presentation separately of facts and comments. Mixing fact and comment results in distorting reality and facilitates manipulating readers. These journalists orient to Western journalism:

I look at what is going on in the West and what is going on here. There the journalists try to divide facts and comments, there are practically no comments, thus, in the western agencies it is not found. If you read our faxes, there are comments of the correspondents throughout. I consider, probably, it is bad especially for the agencies. Regarding analytical programs, they must be, but they must be declared to be analytical programs. I myself try not to comment, only to give the information in a three minute news broadcast (R.26).

Among them there are young journalists who have a fairly vague idea for the sake of what it is necessary to divide fact and comment. However, they had heard about such a division as a norm and support it:

Usually it fact and comment are separate. To be honest I do not know what separate fact from comment, probably content. I consider that it is always seen where there is a fact, where there is a comment (R.15).

Almost one third (8) of the respondents act differently, sometimes mixing, sometimes dividing fact and comment. The majority of them are Soviet practitioners working in the press. Thus, the males appealed to feelings attached to their situational mood and inspiration. It can also depend on the topic of the material and the concept of the media. The females referred to specific features of journalistic genre, for instance the division of fact and comment in information and the mixing in reportage; to the public prominence of fact, thus if fact is a crucially important (*sudbonosnyi*), it is presented separately from comment. Nevertheless, the journalists confessed that they do not fall to thinking about how they make material because writing is a creative process where subjective things play the decisive role. The final aim is to achieve greater effect on the audience by means of the publication:



It depends on the style and the newspaper. In *Smena*, for instance, such a directive was given – more descriptive text, that is, to gather facts and to report a story without analysis, you only describe the happening. *Smena* is reputed to be more free, yellow, loose, there is no rigid idea; what you saw, about what you write. Here you not only report a text, but and analyse it. You construct a material in such a way as the main idea of the material exists and your task is to load facts into this idea, to support this idea with the facts. Here it is difficult to divide. It is the style of *Izvestija*. We saw them as older colleagues (R.12).

In summary, one can identify three equal ways for presenting the event by journalists: mixing fact and comment, dividing it and or mixing and dividing. The difference between Soviet and post-Soviet generations appeared that practically all of the Soviet practitioners mix fact and comment with the aim of making material (*tseľnyi*) entire, undivided and persuasive for the audience. They strive after publicistic writing. In contrast, the majority of the post-Soviet journalists advocate dividing fact and comment. That is, the young generation adapts rather the norm of Western reporting whereas the old generation holds its adherence to the Soviet message.

However, in both generations there are the journalists who do not want to take a role of a pump only pumping over information considering that they are capable of greater things. The perception of the journalist how to present material to a large extent depends on the type of media. Thus, in the traditional media under the patronage of the local authorities the journalists of both generations advocate publicistic writing. In new private media sponsored by Western investors the journalists strive to follow the norms of western reporting. That is, in spite of the tendency revealed toward factual reporting by the majority, the Soviet practitioners and the young journalists working in the traditional media rather produce not factual reporting. And here a question raises about the place of the journalist's comment in the text.

### ***10.1. Comment of a journalist***

Interestingly polar opinions like "only my point of view is in my material" and "there is no my point of view" divided again the new and the old generations of the journalists, whereas the opinion "differently" united the majority. When the post-Soviet practitioner declares that only his/her point of view exists in the text because he/she makes material and manages it independently, it testifies that the journalists have professional autonomy in the job. When the Soviet practitioners argue that their materials do not contain their personal point of view because the editorial policy no longer demands the moralising and the invasion of the journalist as one with the right to judge into the conflict, it certainly testifies that editorial policy has changed, news presentation has changed but

the obedience to the editorial line remained as decisive factor. In terms of attitudinal analysis of the study in the given cases the personal decision-making of the journalists is based on independent selecting of purposes of influences and submitting to the editorial line. The first excerpt is found a post-Soviet practitioner, the second excerpt is found a Soviet practitioner:

A: I write an article, it is an entire article and there is no division into fact and comment. The article reflects my position, other comments on the event go through my giving (*podacha*) and me.

Q: And you can change their comments?

A: Yes, when I write their opinions. In any case everything goes from me, it is my giving and my opinion

Q: That is, it is impossible to say that in your material are different points of view?

A: Not, there is only my point of view (R.22).

Already long ago I did not write such materials. I close all my rubrics. So-called materials on moral topics, they have not been published our newspaper for a long time, some interrelations of the people, conflicts they have not been published for a long time (R.21).

The majority (20), however, act differently. Their choice is based mainly on the attitude of personal decision-making when the journalists take into account the criteria of the editorial line and self-censorship, the importance and sensationalism of fact, the journalist's interest in the topic, the type of genre and the media. The Soviet practitioners put their comment in the text if they are competent in the question (criteria of the attitude intelligence). One third (10) of the respondents proceed from ethical considerations managing their life principles and morality, the others rely on their feelings of sympathies and psychological mood, their experience and intellect (the attitudes of ethics, creativity and intellectual):

I try to go out from my sympathies closer to common sense in spite of what my sympathies are. What I write, this decides like the lives of the people. They must not depend on my emotional condition. I vote for the journalism of common sense. But not for what *Moscowskii Komsomolets* makes, or what Dorenko makes. I am not for engagement of journalism, not for when emotions prevail over facts and normal analysis, when a journalist simply begins to lash. I try not to do this. But if I am touched, if somebody has suffered unjustly in my view, and the side attacked behaves aggressively, it does not repent of it and does not take my attention, if this touches me strongly, then I accumulate my energy in order to make a strong impact on the adversary in order to overthrow him. I see my task concretely ... to help somebody by my publication (R.6).

All respondents referred to the editorial line as crucial regarding the journalist's comment:

Answer: Everything depends on editorial policy

Question:.. You try to put your own comments into the material or try to go away from it?

A.: I do not try because I know that it will be crossed out (R.14).

Almost one third (8) do not change their personal point of view if it is not relevant to the editorial line. In this case the journalists prefer to withhold from their own comment limiting themselves to the fact with the editorial opinion. Also, the journalists have the opportunity to cross into another editorial section that does not do politics, they can give their material to another duty editor or publish it in other media. However, the majority prefers to correct their comment according to the editorial line in order to avoid problems:

I know if I completely convey my position negatively regarding our shareholders, this material will not be aired or certain work will be conducted with me, or I can be dismissed (R.2)

Some young journalists have a privileged state for impression of their point of view:

Here there is not a typical situation. I am allowed too much. I do not know why. As the colleagues say, I am in favour with the editorial top and I am allowed really much, direct criticism of the first City persons mentioning their names and so on. I suspect that I am kept as staff scandal monger, a man whom can be stirred up, I am given some degree of freedom that is not allowed for others (R.11).

Nevertheless, in spite of the need for observing the editorial line two thirds of the respondents try to convey their personal point of view using different ways:

...special cases if the emotions have played, for instance, the last decision by Petersburg Legislative Assembly (*Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie*). In a roundabout way they adopted a law about combining the governor's election and the election to Parliament (*Gosudarstvennaya Duma*). My personal opinion was that this is not legal and, putting together the news spot, I simply selected the information that corresponded to my point of view and opposed their combination (R.3).

It depends on the situation. But I think that a journalist always has his own position and it will emerge in any case even if the journalist gives polar views, two, three, four opinions in the material. If he/she wants his/her position to become clear to listeners and readers, he/she will construct the material in such a way that a listener will understand where the journalist's view is among the points of view (R.2).

That is, the journalists strive to convey their personal point of view on the event. This develops rather a personified character of journalistic reporting. One of the reasons for this phenomenon should be sought in the post-Soviet approach to journalism genres. Thus, Voroshilov (1999, 65, 75) classifies all genres as "informational", "analytical" and "fiction-publicistic" (*khudozhestvenno-publitsisticheskie*) stressing that three types of genres are not separated from each other by rigid

barriers. Kroichik (2000, 126) identifies the post-Soviet journalism only as publicistics and argues the essential differences of it from Soviet journalism. In particular the researcher states:

Firstly, publicistics became freer in thought and style instead of directive one colour ideological press. Secondly, contemporary publicistics becomes more and more personified. The mass media performances have demonstratively personal character. In the conditions of increasing competition among media the demand for personal journalism made a precedent of choice. A publicist responds to this demand by the proposal of his/her own name. The name becomes the mark of the media or channel presenting this name. The third feature of the contemporary press is that it works in the regime of dialogue with the audience. The fourth feature of contemporary publicistics is the increased role of the treatment of the material. The text gains more obvious characteristics of literature: its stylistics changes, a word becomes more expressive, emotional and witty. Text as the point of view of an individual becomes more expressive. This remark is relevant to all genres without exclusion (Kroichik 2000, 126-129).

That is, the approach to journalism genres was practically unchanged in the last decade, the division between information and publicistics had not occurred. The change happened in the character of publicistics, instead of one-sided it became many-sided writing responding to the current demands of political and economic changes. How has such rather publicistic reporting correlated with democratic values? Is there, for instance, a striving of practitioners for pluralistic presentation of events?

### ***10.2. Pluralism***

The question, "Do you try to give one or more points of view in the comment?", again divided Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners. Thus, for the Soviet practitioners it is a truism 'more opinions, more information - better text', especially if there is a conflict or a complicated situation. However, before publishing they have a rule to check the materials with the editor. That is, on the one hand they reveal the adherence to democratic journalism with the presentation of various points of view and on the other hand they perform as disciplined workers submitting to that standard which has been approved by their employer:

It depends on that what I know, what the editor of the issue will say. Everything depends on the editorial policy (R.14).

In turn, post-Soviet practitioners act rather more freely than the older colleagues in realising their personal decision-making. They have different needs for pluralistic writing not obligatory regarding democratic intentions. Thus, they approve an opposite opinion if they think it is needed for the

material. They provide various views in the text not for the sake of objectivity but in order to publish their material because the media demands pluralistic presentation of the event:

I try to give opposite opinions, if common sense demands it, this is not always necessary, it is possible to make do with my own author's position (R.24).

If a topic is disputable maybe I write some comments of other persons, but not for the sake of observing objectivity but for the sake of getting my material published faster in the newspaper (R.18).

They try to follow the Western style of reporting but some of them have a lack of experience in obtaining different opinions. Some of them, on the contrary, consider that material has been lost because of different opinions:

As it is possible more, two, three opinions. I try to approach some western standard (R.15)

A few positions is very well, but one does not always succeed in obtaining a few positions, in particular a few opposite positions (R.17)

It is an ideal variant when you give all points of view. I clashed with this problem. I tried to give all points of view. One side promotes its truth, the second side explains the attacks of the opponent by means of its position. When you go from one to another and try to clear it up, the material is lost. And I try to do it this way: firstly I describe the problem via the first opponent and publish one piece of material. Then I turn to the second side, ask whether they read it and then I give their position. The series of publications is published. When a few positions are given in one article, the sense of the material is lost at once, you lose the nerve that can be brought into the heading (R.19).

That is, it can be said that pluralism is a strong conception for Soviet practitioners. It establishes trustworthiness of information, realises freedom of opinions in society and promotes more complete informing of the audience. It is the professional value founded in their fight for glasnost in the perestroika time. They perceive it as indisputable quality of the work of the professional. However, they realise pluralism in the old way, submitting to the editorial line that casts doubt on the level and character of pluralism provided by the Soviet generation.

In contrast, the post-Soviet practitioners reveal discrepant perceptions of why pluralism is needed for journalistic material. For them pluralism is bounded rather by exercising their own power as an informational resource, to give the access to the information and to the audience or not. They came to journalism when pluralistic writing became an ordinary matter and they took the opportunity to present different opinions for granted. Therefore they perceive pluralism rather as a norm which can

be ignored according to their interests like any norm in Russian tradition of legal nihilism (*pravovoi nihilism*).

That is, one can say that both generations provide rather censored and personal than free and pluralistic informing of the audience. The potential for the journalists to master information and to provide the audience with access was opened by the democratisation of society. In the Soviet epoch information management belonged to the party structures. However, democratisation did not turn journalists into full democrats who regard the interests of the people as paramount.

## 11. Audience

The open question, "Who is your audience?" revealed that two thirds of the respondents divide the audience in terms of age: pensioners, people of middle and the young; education (little-educated, middle-specialised, high education); occupation; income; gender; political views and private networks. In fragmenting the audience the journalists proceed from their experience, specialisation and age. Thus, for instance, young journalists work for the audience from 25 to 40 whereas Soviet practitioners aim rather at older people and pensioners.

The majority divides the audience within their specialisation. For instance, the journalist producing material on city life is oriented to all city-dwellers, in contrast, the journalist specialising on topics of culture is oriented to the intelligentsia whereas the journalist of criminal topics characterises his/her audience as those "susceptible to sensations".

Type of the media influences journalists' perceptions of the audience. Thus, the journalists from the daily press and the state broadcasting consider that highly educated people compose a significant part of their audience whereas the journalists from television and the popular weekly consider that they are watched and read rather by little-educated population. Nobody except one respondent from the new media sponsored by Western investors operated with the data of a sociological survey, although for instance, the television and the main daily have their sociological service.

The journalists from the traditional press confessed that they know the audience badly but they would like to know it better. This finding coincides with the results of national sociological polls, which indicate that "journalists have a lack of information about the characteristics and interests of the audience" (Kolesnik 1998, 24). Both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners have criticised the editorial line in their media for having little interest in investigating the audience:

Five years ago I asked for a sociological survey as to who is a reader of the newspaper, because when we were a younger newspaper it was clear, it was read by pensioners considering themselves Komsomol members in their soul. Who reads the newspaper now I do not know (R.16).

My audience is the audience of the newspaper. In our newspaper it has not been defined, so ... I cannot answer (R.18).

Here is certain problem for whom we work. It depends on the newspaper. The newspaper itself defines for whom it works. I consider that our newspaper is in crisis now. On the one hand, all of us consider that we have our readers - pensioners. On other hand, this layer gradually goes away, it becomes less, therefore our circulation drops. The new generation does not come and we cannot suddenly rejuvenate because we are afraid of losing those readers, otherwise we shall ultimately crash. But a smooth

painless transition from pensioners toward the young generation has not succeeded. In the newspaper materials in the style of the 60s written by our veterans are published side by side with good materials – such a contrast! I do not know for whom I work. If the majority are pensioners, then they are not interested in our material, we are a young room. Whether young people buy our newspaper for the sake of sport, it cannot be, we are not a sport newspaper but a political newspaper. I do not understand for whom I write (R.12).

The post-Soviet practitioners define their audience as the middle class. However, their perceptions of who belongs to the middle class differ strikingly. Thus, the journalists from the new media sponsored by Western investors perceive middle class as the owners of successful pavilions, managers of the Western and Russian companies who have their offices decorated with marble and who have incomes from \$1000 to 2000 a month. The journalists of the traditional media, on the contrary, perceive the middle class to be not so high level businessmen from the sphere of small industry, middlemen with income from 5 000 to 15 000 rubles (\$ 200-600) a month.

Such a discrepancy in the journalists' perceptions of whom to consider a representative of the middle class in society testifies that journalists communicate with different representatives of the middle class differing crucially from each other in type of business and income. According to the results of the Nation-wide Russian Survey Data of the end of 1998- beginning of 1999 there is revealed a huge difference (ten times) in income among representatives of the middle class. For instance, the average monthly budget of a family of three people varies from Rbl. 2 200 to 22 000, "some individuals with a monthly per capita income of almost Rbl.100, 000 (US \$ 4,000) also claimed to be medium-income (Srednii Klass v Sovremennom Rossiiskom Obshchestve 1999, 105, 248-248). The authors of the project point out that society continues to discuss whom can be related to the middle class. In particular, A. G. Zdravomyslov argues that "criteria of belonging to it are very diverse. Belonging to the middle class is connected with a definite life style, which is only being formed in Russia" (Zdravomyslov 1999, 35).

The broadcast journalists, for instance, note that FM radio stations are listened to by young people who go car whereas the working people, many of whom have income lower than the average listen to the traditional line-wire radio at home:

Our listener is over 40 and gets up early. Our prime time is the early hours, it is connected with the fact that our radio is line-wire radio and all these 'siskins'-radio sets are in kitchens. Listeners make fried eggs and listen to our radio, then they leave for work and our time descends a little. Later housewives begin to listen to us. With the appearance of TV it became more complicated, but some people trust radio, somebody trusts TV. In our city the radio is liked, there are historical reasons. In the period of the



siege of Leningrad our radio was the living heart of the city, all life was concentrated here, all information went from here. The love and respect for the radio is something genetic, it is a surprising phenomenon. 48% of potential listeners listen to our radio although more 20 radio stations already work in FM. But they have an another audience, mainly young people in cars (R.1).

Almost one third, basically from electronic media mostly post-Soviet practitioners males do not fragment the audience orienting toward the great masses. In contrast to them press journalists rather aim at the concrete lives of their readers with a wish to help them in complicated situations and affect the situation itself, therefore the journalists address their materials as if to everyone. In this they reveal the Soviet approach, when, according to the lesson from Kalinin, "a correspondent must have special skill, be thoroughly educated and developed and be able in a particular phenomenon to deduce a general phenomenon" (Kalinin 1958, 12-14 ref. Gurevich 1970, 100).

### ***11.1. Roles toward the audience***

Everyone is sure that he/she influences the audience irrespective of personal wish. However, the journalists differ on the degree of their wish to influence the audience and the purposes of influence. Thus, more than half (18), mainly females, consider that they exert influence and they would like to influence the audience. The Soviet practitioners in the press strive to educate readers and to help them in concrete situations whereas post-Soviet practitioners from the electronic media and the press seek to entertain the audience and promote media ratings.

In contrast, the other group (5) consisting of males considers that they hardly influence at all but they would like to exert influence in order to change society to such a type where the focus would be put on individual success and a man turn into an active citizen. They strive to help people and in this way to add kindness in the world. They also pursue self-interest in earning more money and strive to reach the authority in expert circles. At the same time the males doubt if they influence the audience because some of them are still too young to exert influence, others are too experienced and sure that the people do not trust the media. Some of them do not write such materials which could influence the audience.

Some respondents (4) suppose that they exert influence but they would like to influence the audience less in order to provide rather unbiased informing in conditions when many media are engaged:

I would like the listeners not to blindly trust information. I understand mass media can manipulate the public consciousness and it does, of course. A man informed is partly already a man defended. If possible more neutral information without appraisals so that they perceive it, understand and draw their

own conclusions. And there are such things about which it is necessary to speak, for instance, inoculation against influenza now. Many people do not think about it, but in the last year seven people died from influenza. Such influence on them is good. Or I made conversations with psychologist in the program. These conversations are useful, because they force people to fall to thinking about themselves and this is also influence (R.4)

A: I do not strive to do programs in order to influence the people. I strive to tell what is around in order for the people themselves to draw conclusions. Most of all I do not like when a readymade conclusion is handed to the people on a plate. Now many Russian mass media suffer from it. Engagement is already visible. Already it can be said that this television channel is of this person, that television channel belongs to the other person. Some of them work culturally. It is clear, NTV is Luzhkov's channel, although the programs are done professionally, viewers have not understood that it is Luzhkov's channel, the 'face' of objectivity has been preserved. This has been kept and here in our media in comparison with city TV.

Q: That is, you do not show that you depend on the city and regional authorities?

A: It is not hidden that we are from the city authority but this is not over-emphasised. However, this is obvious when materials of aggressive character are directed against the rival (R.5)

Some post-Soviet practitioners (3), males, are sure that in any case they influence irrespective of their wish. They have no high opinion about the audience and pursue personal creative ambitions in reporting:

I don't care a damn deeply because the majority of readers unfortunately have narrow-minded thinking. They do not need analysis much. This is not needed for a big layer, the elite. For the elite it is really necessary to write, but I consider that I cannot write for the elite. I do not have talent, one needs talent from God. For them I cannot write well, but for others I do not want to write. Strictly speaking any successful material is the satisfaction of my professional ambitious. I do not think whether a reader reads it or not (R.12)

A: I don't care if I influence or not, I don't think about it. The influence happens of itself.

Q: You write for yourself in order to fulfil yourself?

A: Yes (R.22)

Regarding their purposes to influence the audience one can note three roles perceived by the journalists. The role of *social organizer*, who strives to change society and the individual is inherent in half, the majority Soviet practitioners from the press, mainly females. They want to be educators and participants in the current life process. The role of *expert* is inherent mainly in post-Soviet practitioners, males, from broadcasting and the press. They seek inform the audience and want to become experts in their professional activities. The role of *entertainer/psychologist* is inherent in both generations with a preference to be an entertainer for post-Soviet practitioners and to be a

psychologist - conversationalist for the Soviet practitioners. These journalists work in electronic and print media, striving to bring sensational news to the audience and to invoke emotions. Some journalists, mainly males, do not strive for any role pursuing their self-interest in income and creative ambition.

In summary, one should say that in their role perceptions the generations differ from each other. Soviet practitioners devotedly hold the old role to be social organizers whereas the young generation finds the new roles of expert informer and entertainer. However, in the traditional media occupying rather political work the post-Soviet practitioners successfully adapt the Soviet role. The roles perceived by the respondents are summarised in Table 11.1.

**Table 11.1. The journalists' roles toward the audience**

<b>Journalists' perceptions on role</b>	<b>Predictors of role</b>	<b>Respondents</b>
<b>social organizer</b>	to change man and society, to educate and render assistance, to form public opinion	15 respondents: 11 Soviet practitioners 4 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>expert</b>	to inform and have power among experts	6 respondents: 1 Soviet practitioner 5 post-Soviet practitioners
<b>entertainer/ psychologist</b>	to bring sensation, to invoke emotions	7 respondents: 3 post-Soviet practitioners 4 Soviet practitioners

This chapter completes the analysis of journalists' professional attitudes in the job and presents the results of the analysis of the third part of the study in updated final Table 11.2.

**Table 11.2. Summary of the Journalists' professional attitudes in job**

Professional attitudes in the job	Indicators of attitudes	Criteria of indicators
<p><b>Personal decision-making</b></p>	1. selecting news	importance, interest, exclusivity, sensationalism, drama, concept of media, editorial line (interests of founders, sponsors, advertisers), self-censorship (fear of court, criminals, dismissal), expediency of fact, novelty of fact, simplicity of making publication, profit
	2. selecting sources of information and topics	journalist's interest, taste and trust, editorial line
	2.1. protecting and encouraging sources	anonymity and payment of sources
	3. selecting strategies to obtain news	feminine charms, masculine aggressiveness
	4. selecting purposes of influencing	to help people, to attract a reader to teach the people, to punish perpetrators
	5. selecting ways of earning	work in several places (media, PR services of organisations), ordered materials, hidden advertising
	6. selecting working methods	situational factor, individual morality, editorial line, self-censorship
	7. selecting genres	informational/publicistic
<p><b>Ethics</b></p>	1. refusal to accept violation in job	observance of presumption of innocence, observing a victim's will
	2. refusal to accept illegal methods	hidden advertising, ordered materials
	3. concern for an interviewee	respect for man and privacy, not to harm an interviewee
	4. observing common moral principles	refusal to lie

	5. observing professional morality	reputation of the journalist and media, fair and transparent conditions for advertising work in the editorial office, refusal from no trustworthy sources
<b>Creativity</b>	1. feelings 2. resourcefulness 3. literary work	love of journalism, vocation, the journalist's interest in the topic, intuition  talent, skill for exclusive work, technique for plausible presentation of news, inventing facts, stories, persons, information causes, self  embellishing texts, genres of publicistics, hoax
<b>Hack-work</b> <i>(khaltura)</i>	1. editorial routine 2. extra work (second job)	urgency, 'obligatory' news, plagiarism, indifference of a journalist to the topic  market promotion of the interests of other media and organisations, private clients, friends: any methods including ordered materials and hidden advertising; indifference of a journalist to the matter, but not to a client, self-interest
<b>Intellectual</b>	1. gaining the knowledge 2. intellect 3. rationality	self-development, competence in the media agenda, keeping the journalist's archives, experience  journalists' ideas and thoughts  avoiding conflicts and troubles in the workforce, for promoting public career

## **PART IV: PROFESSIONALISM AND ETHICS**

### **PROFESSIONALISM**

The concept of professionalism in the journalists' consciousness was examined through received image of professional in journalism, self-appraisal of own professionalism, perceptions of the most unprofessional things, responsibility, need for self-regulation and the difference between the Soviet and the post-Soviet professional.

#### **12. Types of Professionals**

The open question, "Who is a professional in journalism?", was pursued to obtain the respondents' perceptions of a professional. Everyone had a concrete pattern of a professional or an image with basic characteristics. After comparative analysis of the responses five distinctive types of characteristics emerged. Two types emerged as contrasting: perfect qualities versus open cynicism. The other three types differed in such a way that the first type was restricted to the demands of the working process, the second type combined working and moral demands and the third type was focused rather on the inborn personal qualities for journalism. The five types of professionals, their basic characteristics and number of respondents in each are presented in Table 12.1. below:

**Table 12.1. Types of professionals in journalism**

<b>TYPES of PROFESSIONALS</b>	<b>BASIC CHARACTERISTICS</b>	<b>RESPONDENTS</b>
<b>IDEALIST</b>	<i>independent</i> , honest, experienced, sociable with own position and style, able to pass through any door and to do everything, being afraid of nobody, writing and talking well	3 respondents
<b>SPECIALIST</b>	<i>competent</i> in Russian language, journalism genres and technology, specialising, interested, with an analytical approach, pluralist doing the job fast, timely, devoted to occupation	11 respondents
<b>HUMANIST</b>	<i>altruist</i> , honest, sincere, communicative, resourceful, fervour for life, not a retrograde	9 respondents
<b>ARTIST</b>	<i>talented</i> , with inborn professional characteristics of a nice voice, ability to persuade and to be liked by audience	3 respondents
<b>PROPAGANDIST</b>	<i>dishonourable</i> who lies and makes up facts, manipulates the audience, puts personal career above own convictions	4 respondents

Only few Soviet and post Soviet practitioners from press and broadcasting, both males and females have the perception of the professional as an ideal type. Although, such a perfect type is impossible in contemporary practice, as the respondents consider, nevertheless the journalist should strive to be like the ideal type:

A professional journalist is an independent journalist with his/her own position, own comments and own opinion. He/she is able to pass through everything and to do everything. He/she will pass through

any door and obtain any information. He/she is such an ideal who is afraid nobody and who writes well (R.25).

A professional is a honest, fearless person. He/she must be able write, talk if working on TV, to have his/her own style not like anybody else. He/she must be a sociable person (R.19).

Regarding ideals, I do not say that I see them. Valery Agranovsky of the 1960's-70's-80's is very close to me, his skill in essays, to investigate situations (R.16).

At the other extreme, some Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners perceive the present professional as a cynical propagandist promoting engaged reporting in the interests of political and financial groups. The engagement can be compensated by the highest honorariums and entering the elite. The journalists listed the 'heroes' of engagement journalism such as, Evgeny Kiselev from NTV, Sergei Dorenko from ORT and their fellow-countryman Alexander Nevzorov. They did not rank themselves in this type. The difference was that Soviet practitioners categorically rejected the given kind of professionalism whereas the post-Soviet practitioners admired it. The first two excerpts come from Soviet practitioners, the other two excerpts from post-Soviet practitioners:

What is professionalism now, I do not know. To take, for instance S. Dorenko. Unconventionally he is professional of the high class. S. Dorenko, ... A. Nevzorov are talented men. But I consider them dishonourable persons (R.21).

The professional is a journalist who honestly provides agenda, as we were taught in the faculty of journalism. Those canons that were taught in the journalism school are completely lost now. The Soviet school of reporters was. It had been lost completely now. Therefore I do not rank myself among today's professionals (R.10).

I like the journalists on NTV, Kiselev. It is clear the channel is engaged, but... (R.27).

A.: Regarding professionalism I consider E. Kiselev and S. Dorenko are very talented journalists although they hold different ideas and they are on opposite sides of the barricade. The basic aim of journalism is to shape and mould public opinion. Though one of them makes up facts, he moulds public opinion, that is, he implements his tasks. Another tries to prove opposite things and he also moulds public opinion. This can only call for admiration.

Q.: You consider that to provide disinformation is the professional job or the manipulation of public opinion in somebody's interests? Can a journalist allow this himself?

A.: Personally I cannot, but now without this it is impossible. You have the owners. A journalist is also a man and he/she has to earn. When the owner engages you and says do this and that and if your persuasions allow putting money above the persuasions, you do not have problems, let the opinion be moulded. If you do it cleverly even if you lie, it means you are professional unconventionally (R.28).



However, the majority of the respondents perceived a professional in journalism in terms of such characteristics as education, experience, ethics, commitment to profession, earning money by journalism. One third of those have in mind this type of professional - specialist, another third perceive the professional as a humanist and some respondents perceive the professional rather like an artist:

You read the text and see that a journalist obtained everything from the interlocutor, the journalist squeezed him (R.18).

The professional must not be an evil man, he/she must love the people and know for whom and with what aim he/she writes this (R.2).

The professional must have a nice voice, he/she is liked the audience, he/she must be able to persuade, the audience one must believe to him. These professional characteristics are given by nature (R.5).

That is, the journalists do not share one approach to journalism. Their perceptions vary from the idealist as a hypothetical image of perfection in the occupation toward the propagandist, the real prototype of the political market's relations in society. Between these extremes the journalists find themselves as professionals of three types: specialists, humanists and artists.

Both generations perceive five types of professional. These five types of professional in the journalists' consciousness prove to be relevant to five types of attitudes which the journalists have in job. A key characteristic of the type of professional corresponds to a certain attitude in the job. Thus, the *idealist* type perceived as *independent* professional acts on the basis of the attitude of personal decision-making. The *specialist* establishes the work on *competence* employing the attitude of intellectual in the job. The *humanist* strives to be an *altruist* and to act on the principles of ethics. The *artist* with talent and other *inborn qualities* employs rather the attitude of creativity. The *propagandist*, indifferent to morality, uses any methods pertaining to the attitude of hack-work (ordered material, hidden advertising). Meanwhile, in practice these perceived five types of the professional as well the attitudes in the job can occur in any combination (artistic propagandist, humanistic specialist, propagandistic specialist and so on).

Nevertheless, logically one may assume that the journalists would rather employ those attitudes in job which are relevant most of all to their basic perceptions on professionalism. That is, one third who hold in mind the professional - specialist will have the basic attitude of intellectual. The other third who perceives the professional as a humanist will strive for ethical journalism and the

remaining third who perceive the professional as the idealist, the artist and the propagandist will share the attitudes of personal decision-making, creativity and hack-work.

However, a comparison of the journalists' perceptions of professionalism with their attitudes in the job reveals on the one hand convergence and on the other hand divergence. To some extent the convergence is that one third sharing the attitudes of creativity and hack-work in the job corresponds to one third with perceptions on the professional - the artist (literary work) and the propagandist (ordered articles).

The divergence is that one half of the respondents share the attitude of ethics in the job, but only one third has the perception of the professional - humanist who acts according to moral demands. That is, the claim to ethics is not so strong in their understanding of professionalism and this suggests that the journalists are lesser ethical in practice.

Regarding the attitude of intelligence the convergence is that some journalists (practically all Soviet practitioners) employ the attitude of intellectual in the job when constantly striving to gain knowledge through self-education, following the media agenda and keeping the journalists' archives. They also hold in mind the professional - specialist, competent and skilled in journalism. The divergence is that post-Soviet practitioners do not share the attitude of intellectual in the job, but in their perception of professionalism every third supposes competence to be a basic demand. In this case it would be logical to assume that post-Soviet practitioners would not rank themselves among professionals owing to a lack of knowledge in the occupation. The self-appraisals of the respondents of their own professionalism confirm this assumption.

A significant divergence appears regarding the most powerful attitude in the journalists' job, personal decision-making. More than two thirds employ it as the basic attitude in the job whereas in the perceptions of professionalism only a few respondents consider the type of independent journalist as professional and they even perceive this type as an ideal, not really existing in contemporary practice. That is, personal decision-making and independence of a journalist are practically not related to each other in the journalists' consciousness.

Such a deviant perception can be the consequence of everyday work, when in the staff job a journalist makes a personal decision in the framework of co-ordinated autonomy taking account of the editorial line and self-censorship. Outside of the staff job the journalist autonomously does journalist's services as extra work. However, this kind of journalism also bears little relation to

independent reporting as far as it is rather tied to commercial aims as the market promotion of goods, services, clients and the edition itself.

The professional consciousness of journalists has been formed in the process of everyday work under those circumstances which exist in society. The journalists' performance is inseparable from media roles as a whole. Despite the crucial political and economic transformation of the last decade and a half the Russian media formerly were used as main political instruments in the fight for power in society developing as a model of media for political profits (Pankin 1998). Ivan Zassoursky characterises the Russian media type system of 1996-2000 as "media-political system, society of the spectacle" and argues that role of a journalist changed from "instrumental" in 1970-1985 toward "almost completely instrumental" in 1996-2000 (Zassoursky I. 2001, 86-87).

The St. Petersburg journalist, own correspondent of the magazine *Novoe Vremya* Yuliya Kantor describes the situation on the city media market as completely controlled by the local authorities:

Petersburg at the end of the 1980's, as I see it, even to some extent outstripped Moscow regarding degree of diversity and boldness of journalists' investigations and analytic materials. However, in recent years, the city became like many regions where the press is under indirect or direct influence of the state municipal authority. Having formally the honorary, but categorically helpless status of the cultural capital, Petersburg has, in fact, one newspaper that does not mean that here is only one reprinted media. The point is that to define to what edition this or that article belongs is practically impossible even for a man moving in journalistic circles. Now our newspapers are distinguished exceptionally by logotypes. I would not say about the direct pressure of Smolnyi. In Petersburg the situation is such that many structures which facilitate the output of the newspapers or finance media, are mainly the banks dependent on the city administration or the legislative bodies. There are different investment projects, credits and so on, where the commercial structures participate (Kantor 2000, 1-2).

The transition from total political dependence of the media turned into total economic dependence on the authorities and did not contribute to the development of free professional mentality of journalists who perceive themselves rather as employed workers than as employed professionals. Their preference, for instance, to be staff journalists than to be free-lancers reveals their fear of being independent and diffidence in their own professionalism. The study sample has only one case when the journalist, a Soviet practitioner became a free-lancer. The main reason for the journalist's autonomy was his strong wish to be independent of any media policy and he was confident in his professional ability:

I work only with those editors which give me an opportunity to do what I want. If the editor begins to pressure on me, he does not let me do what I want, then I go away. I work, where I am published, but not where I am edited. I find newspapers where I am told "what is written by you suits us, we shall publish you". In the city there are thousand newspapers. Therefore I go in such a way (R.6).

In self-appraisals of the journalists of their own professionalism the criteria of professionalism were also centred rather on work. Thus, half of them consider themselves professionals in such characteristics as education, experience, constant practice, quality of work, specialisation in topics and kinds of journalism. Others could not rank themselves among professionals owing to a lack of experience in journalism or in specialisation (every second post-Soviet practitioner); the principal reasons for refusal to rank themselves among contemporary professionals among whom political market propagandists are in fashion and also owing to maximalist demands on self (Soviet practitioners). Making emphasis on the working characteristics both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners appear as workers, the Soviet practitioners more as ethical workers, but both generations share the aspiration to satisfy first of all the employer. Their professionalism equated with qualitative work is in a fact the old Soviet concept of craftsmanship (*masterstvo*) based on skills in genres.

In summary, Russian journalism develops rather in its own cycle having little influence from the western ideas on independent reporting. The professionalization is going on in the framework of a domestic, not universal dimension. As is known, professionalism implies some general, universal principles and at the same time it is determined by specific contexts (Wu, Weaver, Johnson 1996, 545). According to the universal dimension the professionalism is a standard, rigid demand under which professionals in any country have the same approach and their conduct and their production hardly differs. The Russian case uncovers its specifics in that it holds the old concept reduced to technical skills, without any claim to independence and need for professional autonomy. Such an understanding completely corresponds to the domestic concept on the profession as "occupations determined by production-technological division of labour and its functional content" (Filippov 1998, 425). In the framework of Western sociological theory of the professionalism such a sense of the terms of profession, professional, professionalization is defined as "a trivial sense...referring to the division of labour in society and to the degree of socialization of different kinds of activity" (Splichal and Sparks 1994, 34-35). That is, conceptually and in practice the notion of profession and occupation are equated.

### ***12.1. Professional involvement***

The question, "What is most unprofessional in journalist's job?", was pursued to look at the professionalism perceived by the journalists from the opposite angle. As this appeared, the most criticised defects in the job were an absence or a lack of journalist's interest, lack of competence and lack of ethics.

Both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners consider that it is inadmissible to true a professional to have a perfunctory approach to the job, to not be interested in the topic, material, interviewee and so on. The journalist must be super curious about life and people, possess intuition, emotions, feelings for form and style of writing, in other words, the professional must be first of all a creative personality:

To come to the job, to re-write a press release and to give out it under my own surname (R.8).

It is not professional when a journalist takes an interview from an entertainment star and the star said: "I have a tattoo under the left nipple", and the journalist does not ask what this tattoo is. It is not professional because one must grasp the questions (R.18).

The journalist's interest in the job proceeds not only from creativity, but also it is broadly supported by the attitude of personal decision-making in selecting news, topics, and interviewees:

It is lack of interest in what you do. The most non-professional is a job for the sake of earning. From such a position a journalist will not work well. He/she must have a mania, a fire to find an interesting fact and to report it (R.15).

The opposite point of view on the journalist's approach to the job belongs to the American journalists:

A good journalist is supposed to be someone who gets the story without, as they say, fear or favor (Menand 1995, pp.41-43).

The polar perceptions on the professionalism in terms of interestedness versus disinterestedness reveals how much Russian contemporary journalism differs from American contemporary journalism when both are devoted to their political and cultural traditions. Both maintain and develop polar types of journalism, the American type neutral dominant and the Russian type participating dominant. The western scholars state that in cultivating an impartial approach the American journalism becomes similar enough to the major professions. Thus, in the opinion of an editor, Davis Merritt, "determined detachment" is the "operating axiom" of contemporary

journalism..." (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996, 125). That is, disinterestedness originating in neutral reporting with the preferable disseminator role of the American journalists today results in increasing job standardization and the detachment of the professional community. That is, the disinterestedness establishes objectivity of reporting, independence of journalists and their power over clients when journalists hold exclusive rights of expertise in the coverage of the agenda. In the scholars' opinion disinterestedness testifies about the further professionalization of American journalists.

On the contrary, the partial approach of the Russian journalists originated in the Soviet school of journalism accompanied by the roles of propagandist and organiser and aimed at the most active participation and influence of the journalists in political and social processes. It cultivated creative, non-standardized reporting with the journalist's interpretation of the happening defined as *publicistika*. In the present time publicist reporting remains "one of the highest levels of the journalist's creativity co-related with bright literary talent of the journalist and his/her citizen's position" (Vinogradova 2000, 45). Interestedness was not converted into disinterestedness, on the contrary, it was heightened by the new dramatic reality: the collapse of the Soviet state, the struggle for political and economic power, the Chechen wars. It was impossible for a journalist to remain outside, the more so as he/she often "feels the interest of a 5-year-old child in everything that is happening" (R.16).

The personal involvement deeply grounded in the Soviet tradition and reinforced by a stormy present sets the norm of the journalist's practice and at the same time remains the basic feature of the professional culture. Participating in the important political events and first of all, in elections campaigns the journalists pretend to a certain power in society voluntarily joining the alliance with the authorities. They formerly held the concept of a journalist as "the state worker of the ideological sector" that makes impossible any confrontation of journalism with the authorities (Gladky, 1994, 88). And here probably there is cause to ponder about professionalism of another type, little acquainted with true democracy, but more adherent to the ideas of etatism.

Except the lack of interestedness in job, one third (10), both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners consider incompetence one of the most unprofessional signs. Contemporary journalists suffer from illiteracy in language, weak mastery genres and technology including the work with words, search for information, communication with sources of information and also weak knowledge of the topic. It is not surprising, because many post-Soviet practitioners came to journalism without

professional education and experience when the access to the occupation became free to anybody from outside. Moreover, the functionaries of journalism turned the occupation into private business:

This easy access to the profession has negative sides because daughters, granddaughters, nephews have been brought into journalism. Already there is no selection (R.23).

You open a newspaper and read an interview of 500 lines and understand that 450 lines could be deleted from it and nothing changed. I myself suffer from it (R.18).

It is an absence of knowledge on a certain theme. Now this is seen in every third-fourth article (R.16).

It is illiteracy in Russian language. Unfortunately this is met everywhere (R.22).

Some respondents (3), Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners, consider that violation of ethics is a serious problem for the professionalism, in particular, journalists' lies, engagement and irresponsibility:

The most unprofessional is lies, engagement, when a journalist intentionally misrepresents facts, pursues some interest (R.26).

To think up some stories and to present it as real facts (R.11)

To listen to one side, to sit down and write material. It happens very often (R.21)

Irresponsibility, when a journalist did not think, did not check (R.16).

It is irresponsibility. It is important to keep your word. If a journalist promised and did not do this, if he/she was late, if he promised not to reveal the source and unfolded it (R.4).

In summary, the journalists' perception of professionalism has a partially creative character. It is aimed at perfect reporting based on persuasions, creativity, to some extent knowledge and ethics.

### ***12.2. Professional responsibility***

The professional responsibility of the American journalists was measured by Weaver and Wilhoit from the standpoint of importance of media roles. The list of possible media roles for choice was given to everybody. The majority indicated as extremely important getting information to the public quickly and investigating government claims (Weaver 1998, 407).

In this study the respondents were invited to formulate by themselves what responsibility in a journalists' job is. To an equal degree the result proved similar and opposite to the choice of the American journalists. The similarity is that the respondents rated as important getting authentic

information to the public. The stress on authentic information reflects the contemporary character of Russian journalism of the 1990's with an abundance of fabricated and unverified information. But the similarity, getting information to the public, testifies to an identical perception of responsibility by the journalists of both countries:

To present objective information (R.24)

To report authentic news (R.17)

The great difference between the journalists appeared in that the American journalists rated as extremely important investigating government claims, whereas the respondents of the study rated observance of the rules of the game. None of them referred to investigative work:

to play by their rules. I write a lot of official advertising. I have to praise persons who are unpleasant to me. But they pay money to the newspaper and the newspaper orders me to write these materials (R.18).

This responsibility is conditional because there are definite rules of the game (R.5)

Such a perception of responsibility reveals the Russian journalists as paid propagandists, who create informational products in the interests of influential groups in policy and economy. On the other hand, such compatibility of incompatible things such as getting authentic information to the public and observance of the rules of the game, forces one to doubt the ability of the Russian journalists to get truthful information to the public. The journalists' perceptions of the responsibility testify rather that the journalists use the practice of double standard when they have the basic responsibility to the employer (interests of media founders, sponsors and advertisers) and professional duty to inform the public. The excerpts below, the first from traditional media and the second from the new media sponsored by foreign investors testify that, irrespective of type of media and ownership of the media their workers prefer to be responsible to the local authorities, not to the public:

Unconditionally, it is hardly, *kxozyn-barin*, who pays... we all understand this, we have our own principles, but we have the policy of the 'party' - of this channel and when we work we are aware of what we do. I try to do things in such a way in order to observe the policy of the party (R.28).

No official policy is welcome here. If the policy is there, it is in somewhat specific presentation, although if I write about some incidents connected with the governor, it should be suppressed. The city administration does not have shares, but kinship ties. We are a pro-governor newspaper (R.8) (kinship ties are informal relations based on mutual loyalty of the media and the governor)



The St. Petersburg journalist Yuliya Kantor argues that the journalists have to observe the rules of the game in order to stay in the occupation:

In Petersburg of five million the city journalist has nowhere to move, the market of the press is restricted. In the two last years "re-rotation" (*prokrutka*) of the journalists happened, the journalists changed the media in the search for freedom or to be frank, in search of money. As a result, they returned to those places which were left. The circle is closing, the conditions of the game are being accepted, moreover dramatic staff reduction in the television company "the 5th channel" resulted in strong increasing competition. This engendered a fear to possible dismissal (Kantor 2000, 2).

In the framework of semi-autonomy some respondents try to be ethical to the audience when they strive not to lie, not to misrepresent facts, not to harm a reader and source of information by publication, to help in a concrete matter:

Do not cause much harm to a source of information. For instance, one director of the plant producing trams was dismissed owing to my article. This is my fault. He told me not only positive information on his plant (R.15)

in order not to be ashamed of own materials (R.20)

in order for the job to yield a result, in order for concrete measures to be accepted after the journalist's material (R.27)

That is, the journalists' perceptions of professional responsibility, mainly, to the employer again reveal the journalists as employed workers. And although the journalist's job is specified by public character, nevertheless it is implemented mainly in the selfish interests of the powerful elite, far from the needs of the people.

### 13. Semi-autonomy

The respondents were offered the open question, "What is the difference between the Soviet and post-Soviet journalist?" Comparative analysis of the responses revealed different level of personal freedom in the journalists' job. If Soviet journalists worked rigidly regulated by the state political system of restrictions, post-Soviet journalists got economic freedoms for individual initiative restricted to the degree of development of the local market of media and journalists' services.

The basic restrictions within which Soviet journalists had to work can be identified as the institutional frames. The *ideological frame* prescribed to a journalist to create text in the limits of communist ideology:

They sat in the cartoon box of communistic dogmas (R.2).

Till 1989 journalism was a means of propaganda (R.11).

The *organisational frame* was a rigid hierarchical system of mass media under the centralised party management with planned distribution of educated journalists to the media:

Before a journalist was attached to one media during the whole of his life (R.24).

Soviet professionals had to obey, to implement the tasks of those print organs in which they published. The journalist's position depended on the status of the media, whether he/she was in the nomenclature list (R.13).

The *spatial frame* allowed travelling within the country:

They were restricted to the iron curtain, they did not communicate with the outside (R.2).

Before it was possible to go on a journalistic mission to Damask linen although it was impossible to go to abroad (R.8).

The *topical frame* was based on the state censorship and the self-censorship of a journalist:

The Soviet professionals worked in more difficult conditions. They had to hide their own thinking or write in such a way in order to not have their text severely found fault with (R.8).

There were the forbidden topics. It was impossible to report on mental hospitals, serious infringements (R.10).

Everything was boring. There was no sex, fashion, style in the country (R.7).

That is, the Soviet journalist isolated from the world conveyed the state policy to the masses inflaming the people for labour heroism and patriotism through publicistics. The Soviet journalist was the state propagandist and organiser of the masses. At the present time no single frame for the Soviet professionals exists for contemporary journalists. On the contrary, contemporary journalists can act as autonomous employees in the labour market and being citizens of an open state they can make contact with the world. What freedoms did the journalists of the 1990s acquire?

*Open access travelling:*

Our journalists got a chance to travel around the world (R.1).

*Open access to the occupation:*

Now anybody can enter journalism anywhere. People come from outside without special training. Whoever has money can enter the publishing business (R.17).

The post-Soviet professional can be without high education and party membership and journalistic membership, and come from any sphere. And if he/she succeeds in the job nobody troubles about his/her story (R.14).

*Own choice of mode of employment:*

The post-Soviet professional is freer. He/she has initiative, an opportunity to be a freelancer. His/her position depends on his/her own pride. Now more things depend on oneself (R.13).

*Own choice of workplace:*

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the opportunity of choice of media appeared for journalists. The more talented a journalist is the more serious media he/she works in. Now the journalist has a chance to choose the media according to his/her professional taste (R.24).

You define frames and find an appropriate media for yourself. If you do not like ORT frames, you can go over to NTV (R.9).

*Own choice of working methods:*

A new approach appeared in obtaining unofficial information when information can be obtained from all possible sources (R.19).

*Open choice of topics and free competition:*

There are no forbidden topics now (R.10).

There is more freedom and an opportunity for information (R.25).

Post-Soviet journalism is a fight for an audience. It is a hard competition when the market is full. In recent years I feel this. If I missed a topic or a hero for publication, in a week - two weeks someone else will write about this better than I. The colleagues will outstrip me at once (R.6).

With these arguments a temptation emerges to identify contemporary practitioners as autonomous professionals making independent decisions in the labour market and in professional work. However, the respondents witnessed new crucial restrictions to their work, in particular the policy of the employer, the fear for their own security before criminal structures and also budget constraints when the media does not have enough money to send the journalist to travel in search of materials in other regions:

Again the time of non-freedom comes. Here is capital, who bought whom? We all serve someone. In most cases we do not agree with something, but we have to endure and write as required. The owner pays you good money and I see nothing bad in this (R.7).

It's clear we have a criminal world. There are several groups laundering money in the press. There are political and criminal structures that understand the role of the press as an active means of influencing the public and policy. Now they became respectable persons and want to legalise their capital, for instance Berezovsky. We depend on an employer. If I began to do something against the interests of these structures that stand behind the media, I would not work here (R.24).

Now it is easier, more freedom, more freedom of action but fewer opportunities, for instance a journalist's travels for material in the country (budgetary constraints) (R.8).

The degree of increased freedom for a journalist in the post-Soviet time is a result of the liberal reforms in policy and economy, which destroyed the state monopoly in the labour market. Post-Soviet journalists like other professionals have got freedom of choice of workplace and mode of employment, working methods and style of behaviour. They came to promote their own interests in earning, security, prestige, acting in the labour market as free rival employees. But as professionals they are not able to set the agenda owing to the oppressed position of the media to the power structures of political, economic and criminal origin. Journalists do not decide important professional questions, in particular they do not define public discourse; they are satisfied implementing orders given by employers. The new owners of the media, often, latent persons or groups engage journalists to make politics in their own interests. Therefore the journalist's autonomy is the personal autonomy of an employed worker.

At the present time media ownership irrespective of its type (state or private or mixed) appears as one of the basic reasons for a lack of professional autonomy among Russian journalists, whereas for American journalists the influence of media ownership on their professional autonomy is not revealed. In the opinions of the American scholars other reasons for decline in autonomy exist. In particular, they are the ascendance of a corporate culture; internal organisational constraints of editorial control, time-space limits, or inadequate staffing; external pressures from government, advertisers, or a hostile public; sometimes professional standards of ethics, good taste, and objectivity (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996, 64-65).

### ***13.1. Membership***

In theory the ideal type of professional presupposes a necessary set of characteristics, and media scholars measure degree of professionalization of journalism among these by growth of quantity of membership (Splichal and Sparks 1994; Lambeth 1992; Cohen 1997). Weaver argues for an increase of membership as one of the signs of strengthening of professional identity that has led to strengthening of professional culture as a whole (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996, 127).

The five types of professional perceived by the journalists do not include membership in the necessary set of characteristics for the professional. Reflecting on their own professionalism the respondents also did not mention membership as a professional sign. This testifies that both generations perceive professionalism rather as individual than a collective business. Among the respondents there are 17 non-members of the Union, the post-Soviet practitioners, while the remaining 13 respondents are members of the Union, the Soviet practitioners.

The reasons why the new generation ignores the Union of Journalists to some extent coincide with the reasons why Finnish journalists join UJF (Union of Journalists of Finland) only in reverse. Thus, post-Soviet practitioners state that "membership gives nothing" (R. 26), "I do not see the sense" (R: 24, 26, 17, 15), "It does not give any benefits. The Union does not defend the rights of journalists" (R: 16, 3).

In turn, Finnish journalists join the Union because of unemployment benefits (40%), contractual interests (25%), the need to defend press freedom (22%), membership benefits (4%) (Heinonen 1998). That is, the main reason for membership is pragmatism for profit, self-defence and powerful resource. Membership contributes to establishing a journalists' community separate from the others. The Finnish Union of Journalists acts as "a trade union with a traditional role of promoting its

member's interests, and the collective agreements set the minimum standards for the field". And also "the Union has co-operation with employer organizations and various training institutions for further training of journalists and protecting members interests. The Finnish journalists regard the Union as an actor in the field of media policy" (Heinonen 1998, 173-175).

The St. Petersburg Union of Journalists is a former regional branch of the Union of Journalists of the USSR. The Union has lost influence and 'trade union functions' of the Soviet era. Today the Union occupies a peripheral place in the journalistic field. It has been preserved largely owing to the support of the Soviet practitioners, who recruit young journalists for the Union and also owing to its commercial activity in the city. The Soviet practitioners defend the Union as their single professional organization promoting training of young journalists and as the place of professional communication, whereas the new generation does not have a need for these activities:

I was already offered membership, but I do not see the sense (R.19)

Nevertheless, none of the post-Soviet practitioners has a desire to change the structure of the Union or to establish a new professional organization. And here not only a pragmatic approach to the Union (no benefits - no membership) emerges. The young practitioners revealed their professional immaturity when they could not explain the reasons for not joining. Some of them pleaded laziness about completing documents. In turn, the Soviet practitioners have an inner requirement for the Union inherited by the majority in the old time and emerging among some of them recently:

Before it was considered that everything must be in the type-setting: you must be a member of the party, have a university education, and be a member of the Union of Journalists. The last was a recognition of your merits. Now this is of no importance (R.14).

membership is an inner need and my right, and I use this right. Now it does not mean big benefits as before, only 'crusts', and purely moral satisfaction at being in the journalist community (R.6).

Although the two generations perceive membership differently, nevertheless both share in principle the same approach based on pragmatism when the decision was made from the point of view of potential benefits. In the Soviet time there were benefits regarding political, economic and career considerations. In the present time the absence of similar benefits of membership makes the joining the Union an empty enterprise for the young journalists. Not educated in journalism, the post-Soviet practitioners perform rather as bearers of outsider's consciousness, many of them came to journalism from other occupations in order to earn money, or to land a highly paid job through

journalism or to experience in the search for self. They work rather as individuals, not feeling a need to defend of common interests, and whether there are common interests is a big question.

The Soviet practitioners are far from 'heroes' in the perception of the new generation in order to convince their young colleagues to join the Union. However, they continue to persist in preserving the singular professional organisation because it is an integral part of their past and present professional being. They also little perceive the Union as a defender of their professional rights, rather as a professional club for communication and training as it was in the Soviet time. That is, the perspective for uniting the journalists into one union is fairly vague if, of course, not to repeat the Soviet way of establishing the Union of the Journalists under the patronage of the state.

In summary, neither generation expressed claims to independence and autonomy in their professional work. On the contrary, their pragmatism and common interest appears in the strategy of co-ordinated autonomy with the aim of maintaining a balance between their creative ambitions in the occupation on the one hand and demands of the employer on the other hand.

## ETHICS

To clarify the professional ethics of journalists the respondents were questioned on such items as, values and 'sins' in the occupation, admissibility of lies and corruption, friendship and duty of informing, unwritten rules of self-regulation and future prospects of journalism.

### 14. Values

The open question, "What values are the most important for you in occupation?" forced everyone to identify at his/her discretion the most important values. Although responses were varied, comparative analysis revealed only two basic approaches of practitioners to the professional values. Thus, one half, mainly Soviet practitioners, value journalism for the *advantages*, which the occupation has over other occupations. As advantages they noted in particular for standing in society, to possess information, to communicate with persons of any rank, to render assistance to people, to shape and mould public opinion and to be autonomous in working hours:

A journalist has an opportunity to discuss equally with anybody from the President to a janitor, to open any door, to visit any places in order to get the information. It is such position above a skirmish, events (R.6).

A value of the profession is that you are above the city and you know everything. I am able to find a topic at every turn in the city (R.10).

Owing to my profession I am able to influence the public mood (R.1).

Travels abroad, higher wages, the prospect of a career, *dacha* and other privileges did not attract me when I was invited several times to a job in *gorkom* and *ispolkom* (the city committee of the Party and the city executive committee). From 9 to 6 p.m. in the job! No! Most of all I value freedom (R.21).

Perceiving values an advantage these journalists reveal service orientation, aspiration to power over clients and to autonomy. Such pragmatically valuable orientation makes them resemble the professionals of other professions. On the other hand, that among them there are a majority of Soviet practitioners testifies that the Soviet concept of journalism as instrument of power is still retained by the older generation, which strives to affect the public consciousness and current practice. That is, as before, mainly Soviet practitioners perceive the roles of the propagandist and the organiser of social order.



The other half of the respondents, the majority of those post-Soviet practitioners, perceive as values the *duties* of a journalist to be objective and honest to the audience, to colleagues and to him/herself, to do high quality work, to establish true informing and human rights:

Skill to produce a good product (R.15).

Value is the personality of a man. A journalist should present personality (R.24).

Such rather ethical perception of values seems to testify to the high level of responsibility of the journalists. They esteem journalism not for advantages over other occupations, but it seems they strive to confirm their right to be in the occupation by being ethical. It would be logical to presuppose that this part of journalists critically approaches the self and colleagues with a demand of maintaining truth and the right to know that is going on in society. However, a perception on objectivity as a value does not always guarantee that there will be action pursuing objectivity. In particular, the study reveals that the journalists' perceptions of values as duties to be objective diverge from the journalists' attitudes in the job when the circumstances under which the journalists work force them to act in another way, observing media policy in the interests of the authorities and other influential groups. The excerpts below come from the post-Soviet practitioners from new and traditional media who perceive values as duties of truth and objectivity and who act according to media policy (the second excerpts of each informant are taken from their reflections on professional responsibility):

1. Values are to say how everything is in actual fact, to write the truth (R.8).

2. No official policy is welcome here. If the policy is there, it is in somewhat specific presentation, although if I write about some incidents connected with the governor, it should be suppressed. The city administration does not have shares, but kinship ties. We are a pro-governor newspaper (R.8) (kinship ties are informal relations based on mutual loyalty of the media and the governor)

1. Objectivity and honesty to myself. Self-esteem. It is never to go against my own convictions even when forced. A journalist must stick to his/her own position according to his/her values. One should refuse to do the material if the editorial policy does not correspond with your internal views (R.28).

2. Unconditionally, it is hardly, *kxozyain-barin*, who pays... we all understand this, we have our own principles, but we have a policy of 'party' - of this channel and when we work we are aware of what we do. I try to do things in such a way in order to observe the policy of the party (R.28).

That is, values perceived as duties to do objective reporting, post-Soviet practitioners mainly do not conflict with the current practices realised in the framework of media policy in the interests of its political and economic sponsors. In this case the question arises what are the true values for the new generation in the occupation?

Comparing two generations regarding their perceptions of values one should note a difference in that the older generation appears to be responsible to their convictions, which were loaded and fostered by the Soviet school of journalism and life experience, mainly, to act as political (patriotic) and social organizers. Therefore Soviet practitioners can be seen as socially responsible professionals for a social order established by the ruling authorities and for them voluntary alliance with the authorities is quite natural. The new generation, on the contrary, reveals an absence of convictions when, on the one hand attempting to imitate the Western idea of objective reporting and, on the other hand, painlessly ignores it as absolutely not needed in practice. That is, the new generation puts the responsibility on the employer for those results which are expected by the employer from its reporting. It was post-Soviet practitioners who identified the professional responsibility as observing the rules of the game. In other words, they learn political games through everyday practice and it is possible that soon they will turn into new propagandists, not being burdened with old communist dogmas but having adapted new and no less tempting conceptions advanced by the actual national agenda.

Interestingly, it was post-Soviet practitioners who consider that journalistic profession does not have values at all. In their opinion the notion of morality has with difficulty been applied to journalism:

This profession is the second most ancient one. Here you trade in everything that you can, mainly in order to get information. I cannot do many things, but I feel if I do not do it, I shall be a poor journalist. So I have to swear, deceive someone. I do not feel very good after this. When I return home... There are no values in the profession, but there are human values, which I to have to crush in myself (R.19).

There are several professions to which morality is applied with difficulty. The most cynical professions are law-enforcement agencies, physicians, journalists. My father is a paediatrician, the most respectable man I know on the whole. He does not cry, he is a surgeon. When every day children die on the table after that he goes to drink tea and to tell anecdotes and to laugh. It is repulsive and cynical but the only way to survive. If he is able, he will save life, if he is not able he does not save. Journalism. When Novoselov was killed (the deputy of the city Legislative Assembly (*Zakonodatelnoe Sobranie Peterburga*)) one journalist came to the editor and said: " You had luck, the opening of the issue is

classy! Although everyone was sad and felt sorry for Novoselov but the specifics of the job are very cynical. When I was in Moscow at the funeral of Shnitke, I watched with no shudder and tears not at how the burial service for Shnitke was going, but at how Berezovsky reacted, about what Rostropovich was thinking, how Slichenko behaved (R.18).

Although young practitioners deny values in journalism, nevertheless they appear as bearers of one of the most important professional values - information itself. However, how information will be presented to the public and with what aim is the crucial question which remains, not in the competence of professionals of journalism, but in the competence of those who control media, mainly, state-administrative, economic and criminal structures. The self-censorship of journalists according to the analysis of journalists' attitudes to the job is based on journalists' fear of court, criminals and dismissal from the editorial office (Table 7.4.). That is, the reasons for self-censorship reveal that contemporary journalists are absolutely unprotected by the present legislation, criminal force and the employer.

#### ***14.1. 'Sins'***

The open question, "What 'deadly sins' are they in the journalistic profession?" again divided all responses into two groups; that there are 'sins' regarding the public and 'sins' regarding the job. The majority, both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners, perceive 'sins' regarding the public when journalists publish lies, slander and misinformation, cause harm to individuals by the publication, consciously manipulate the public consciousness and betray a source of information:

Before I considered *zakazukha* (ordered paid material) to be a deadly sin. Then I understood that *zakazukha* is an absolutely normal thing because all journalists are venal without exception, they all have been sold because they report the opinions of their patrons. If my patron is Luzhkov, I can never write that Luzhkov is a fool. The patrons give me money and they decide what I write. I consider that the deadly sin is slander (R.18).

Deadly sin... the publication of some facts, materials that can lead to death. It happens. When a man perished, any versions appear why he/she perished, his/her life story was probed, to find some unsightly facts. I never welcome the unmasking of the persons who depart this life, because their children are growing and when they were alive, they were respected persons (R.30).

The most terrible is conscious manipulation of the public consciousness when you are fully aware that this is not true you convince the audience of this and they believe you (R.4).

There are a lot of channels and for a normal man it is difficult to know what is true or false. Traditionally the audience believes all mass media but all of them speak differently. Our audience is not

ready to correlate what they hear on one channel and what is on the other channel and to draw conclusion (R.5).

A sin is to betray someone, to reveal a source of information (R.9).

It is possible to admit that the 'sins' perceived regarding the public facilitate converting journalism into a fourth estate because it provides journalists an opportunity to manipulate the public consciousness by means of lie, slander and misinformation. Journalists and media not being under the control of the public act in voluntary alliance with political and economic groups, which strive to keep or to seize power resources in society and therefore they use media as propagandist instruments in their political struggle.

A difference between the older and new generations appears in that Soviet practitioners are worried rather by journalists' methods which lead to violations of human rights: invasion of privacy, defamation, no respect for the honour and dignity of a person causing harm to the health, life and property of a citizen. In the Soviet time such a violation was sanctioned rather for political enemies than for ordinary people. By contrast, the young generation is worried rather by violation of human rights regarding quality of informing (brain washing), in particular that misinformation underlies reporting. In other words, post-Soviet practitioners rather value true information, the fact itself, whereas Soviet practitioners value rather good relationships to and with the people.

Almost half of the respondents, both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners perceive 'sins' regarding the job. Thus, journalists promote not true information but ordered articles, develop sandwich journalism, admit to stealing and plagiarism, they are unethical with colleagues and they are irresponsible in the job:

To be sold or not, to do the ordered material or not? It depends on the content of the material.

To do ordered material in secret from your colleagues is bad, because it is seen and then their relation to you changes (R.7)

Deadly sin is not corruption and hidden advertising. The sin is venality. Now in Russia journalists are very dependent. A journalist expresses the mood of a definite group which pays to him/her and uses him/her for its own aims as a mouthpiece, especially the famous journalists who enjoy power over the audience. Using this power for the aims of a definite group and moulding the definite view of the audience is the biggest sin. As a result, the public votes for those who were importunately propagated by journalists (R.2).

Sandwich journalism is when a journalist visits various presentations in order to eat, to drink, but then he/she honestly tries to write something. It's true it is not always successful for him/her because there are own staff correspondents everywhere. But what to do! He/she has a scanty pension. Probably it discredits our profession, but I do not censure him/her and I shall not ask organizers of the presentation to put out him/her from the meeting. Suddenly I'll come into the same situation (R.20).

To steal material of others. But if all journalists do this now (R.25)

To discuss mistakes or professional qualities of fellows journalists with the audience (R.4).

That is, the 'sins' regarding the job lead to loss of reputation of the profession and develop de-professionalization within the community with declining technical skills and morality.

It seems that journalists' perceptions of 'sins' in the occupation regarding the public and regarding the job to some extent can be caused by the orientation of values when journalists perceive values as advantages and as duties. If we agree that an inner causality exists between typologies of values and 'sins' (two sides of one coin), then it is possible to assume that those who esteem journalism for advantages over other occupations (in the study they are mainly Soviet practitioners), perceive journalism rather as corporate property. They know from Soviet experience and they are aware today of the power of persuasion (propaganda), maybe therefore they are worried rather by 'sins' regarding the public and an individual citizen.

Those journalists who perceive 'sins' regarding the job, are focused more on the technical and ethical implementation of the job and the perception of values as duties is closer to them. It could be assumed that these journalists (the majority of those post-Soviet practitioners) strive first of all to master skills and ethics in the occupation that, in turn, could contribute to increasing professionalism. However, current practice demands mainly technical skills with more cynicism than morality and journalists act according to advanced demands.

As a whole in practice journalists often commit combined 'sins' both regarding the public and the job (publicising ordered articles).

#### ***14.2. Lie***

A provocative question was given the respondents, whether they agreed with the opinion that all journalists lie. The question called forth unanimous protest against the word 'all', and at the same time unanimous agreement that journalists do lie. The opinions divided concerning the degree of journalistic lie: how often do journalists lie and how many of them lie?:

The majority does not lie (R.15)

Half of journalists lie (R.13)

Journalists often lie (R.4).

The respondents explained that journalists lie because circumstances force them to lie and because the occupation has a creative character:

The majority of journalists lie because there are the conditions for that. If the conditions did not exist, journalists would not lie (R. 26).

For some people lies are an element of the profession, for others lies are an element of existence (R.1).

That is, in the journalists' perceptions telling lies is a temporal or constant characteristic pertaining to the job. Perceiving lies as a temporal phenomenon journalists referred to great pressure of external circumstances in the journalist's job, especially in the period of election campaigns and correspondingly their dependence on this way of justifying the existence of lies in the occupation. They do not take personal responsibility for lies if they admit it in election campaigns, but they accuse 'star' journalists of creating bad reputation for journalists:

Such public opinion is due to some temporary phenomena. For instance, when a pre-election campaign is going on, heaps of discredited compromises are being poured out, that is, information wars occur. It negatively influences the people, and it creates a negative image of a journalist (R.28).

This opinion is due to our 'stars' who participate in information wars (R.23)

There are venal journalists in Moscow, Petersburg; the same Dorenko of the first channel OPT or Kiselev from NTV (R.17).

The other part of the respondents perceives journalism rather as a creative occupation not pretending to objectivity and not independent of circumstances and sources of information:

Journalists lie on the strength of their profession. Or it is better to say that journalists rather do not lie but they do not say everything for various reasons. But nobody ever tells everything to journalists (R.11).

People are right when they say that all journalists lie. Ideally one should write honestly in order to be an honest person, but it does not succeed, therefore journalists lie (R.19).

That is, journalists have a fairly tolerant approach to existing lies in the job and occupation. In their perceptions of professionalism, in particular of who is a professional in journalism of five types

only idealist and humanist were identified to truthfulness as an attribute inherent in the professional. The other types, specialist, artist and propagandist do not include truthfulness in the settings. Therefore it can be concluded that truth itself is required too weakly in the professional consciousness of practitioners, whereas lies are perceived as a natural or inescapable characteristic.

### ***14.3. Friendship***

It is no a secret that journalists develop crony journalism when making materials at the request of their political or economic 'friends' or friends from their private life. It can be said that crony journalism became widespread practice at the beginning of the 1990's when the media were granted freedom from state censorship and they could set agenda independently. At the same time the media were deprived state support and were forced to seek alternative sources of financing. As Yassen Zassoursky states "The Russian press entered into a market without money, naked and indigent although on the whole it was profitable enough in the conditions of the Soviet Union" (Zassoursky 1997, 9).

The other researcher points out that:

The sharp rise in prices in mass media production happened because the state didn't want and could not restrain prices on paper, the air, printing-house services and communication. Sensing the interest of the population in itself on the wave of the end of the 1980's the mass media didn't want to surrender. They began the fight for survival. But there was no money. Rather, there is, but in certain structures. And the mass media began to be on sale and successfully do it today (Prigozhin, 1996, 513).

The famous journalist Sergei Dorenko describes editorial 'cooking' as follows:

At that time such soberness and corruption, the terrifying corruption of 1992, monstrous corruption in 1993 when materials went into television coverage as a payment for the repair of *zhiguli* (the Russian car). When the boss said: "It is necessary to remove furniture for Valya and therefore we make this material. She will get \$ 2000, take \$1500 and give our fund \$500 (Dorenko 1998, 12).

That is, one can say that 'profitable friends' and friends from private life became an important information resource for post-Soviet journalism, doing services for friends came to generate income. Journalism came to resemble rather private business in its aims and means, kinship ties developed, media functionaries recruited in journalism over *blat*:

This easy access to the profession has negative sides because daughters, granddaughters, nephews have been brought into journalism. There is no selection (R.23).

It was interesting to know how journalists would react if the reverse situation was proposed when information is published not in the interests of a friend, but against a friend, that is, the friend became an object of the journalist's criticism. In particular, the respondents were faced with a dilemma; "If your friend became an object of your unpleasant material would you write about him/her in the same way or differently than about a person who is indifferent to you or who is your enemy?"

Practically two thirds of the respondents would refuse to write something unpleasant about a friend because friendship is above everything:

I value friendship higher than profession (R.28)

The value of human communication is higher than all values (R.4)

I would not write about the friend. If it is good information, I'll write it, if it is bad information, then let someone else write it. I had a case when my friend, a player, was caught on stimulants. I received official information that he is disqualified for two years. I published this information but I did not make good material as an investigation, I did not report where he received the stimulant. I said to the editor that I do not possess such information although the friend told me everything. But since I did not dare to publish it because I feel pity for him, trouble will be (R.19).

Some respondents would write about a friend differently than about some other person attempting to defend or somehow to justify the friend:

I would not write negative information (R.30)

I would try to justify my friend or to explain his/her behaviour. There are fundamental things independent of circumstances (R.20).

Only a few respondents would write about a friend in the same way as about other person because they would not want friendship with such a person any more (the post-Soviet practitioners) and that they would have to obey to the editor task to write the article (the Soviet practitioner).

In summary, one should note that practically everyone estimates friendship most of all in spite of circumstances and the duty to report. Journalists prefer to take a neutral stance of non-participation or co-participation, in this case with the aim of rendering assistance to the friend in a crisis. They identified the given situation like a situation in the legal sphere, when an investigator is dismissed from the proceeding if a matter touches his/her relatives or friends. That is, journalists confessed that they could not be fair and objective in the proposed situation.



This result reveals the feature of the traditional culture of Russians with the perception of friendship as something sacred, like most important things in the human being, altruism and egalitarianism.

The next excerpt shows how Russian journalists hold their attitudes to friendship in job in contrast to Americans:

I try not to betray anybody. It is understood differently. For instance, when I met with American police officers, I knew they have the code of honour according to which a student of the police academy is obliged to inform the superior if his friend or colleague does a thoughtless action. "This is betrayal", said I. "No", the American answered. "We have a different mentality. I do not consider this betrayal. This means I did my duty". It is impossible to correct us Russians. We will not betray our friends (R.17).

It can be said that friendship as one of the basic values of human being forms a definite type of conduct when preference is given to feeling, heart and irrationality instead of logic, mind and rationality. In this sense the informal networks of Russians could be seen not only as survival strategies in the everyday being, but also as an integral part of the spiritual life of the people. Also, the professional activity at least in the traditional media is organised in the old way, reminiscent rather of a circle of friends than a working office:

Until recently in the editorial office there was usually a very creative atmosphere. It was possible to come to blather, to drink a cup of coffee. In other newspapers there is a rigid regime, it is factory of news, information. Maybe it is good, but for a man, for a collective, it seems not very...and after all we are Russians, we have another mentality, the western people simply cannot understand us (R.17).

## 15. Self-regulation

The journalists' perceptions of professionalism do not contain a single characteristic regarding the journalistic community and groups norms. Such a narrow perception is quite natural within the Russian discourse on professionalism restricted to the division of labour with specialisation in some spheres of production. In contrast, the Western concept of professionalism is based both on individual and collective (groups) norms, which in particular include shared permanent affiliations, specific interests, loyalties and self-regulation at least on the basis of codes of ethics.

According to journalists' perceptions a professional is rather reminiscent of an atomised individual than community specialist. Such a perception predicts that journalists have too little agreement and mutual assistance in their professional activities. Moreover, the present situation is aggravated by a deep conflict between two generations when Soviet practitioners educated and experienced in journalism, socialised through the Union of Journalists and devoted to their ideas on journalism as social work are not considered as authorities by the new generation, many of which came into journalism without a professional education, who reject membership and pursue rather profit than ideas. As one young St. Petersburg journalist noted, "When I look at a volume of material, I first of all see how much it will cost".

Nevertheless, journalists work in one sphere, in one media and therefore somehow they have to be self-regulated. Therefore to know what regulative mechanisms there are, the respondents were questioned on unwritten rules pertaining to the present journalists' community.

Practically everyone confirmed that rules regulating a journalist's conduct exist, however as the majority noted, rules have a personal character, that is, they are observed only by an individual or by a few of his/her colleagues. Others claimed that there are no rules or there are unwritten rules but nobody observes them:

There are some norms of conduct in the style more acceptable for our radio station. Everyone understands this, it is not necessary to explain to a journalist, he/she must be organic, otherwise he/she will not work here (R.25).

There are no rules now. There were before. Journalists rendered mutual assistance. It was a caste of honest people (R.14).

There are no rules and taboo among journalists. The main thing is to produce a product and how - it is your affair. It is bad with norms among us. The basic problem is there. Rules are written on paper, but they are not observed not only in journalism but in all spheres (R.5).

When journalists state that observing the rules has a personal character and that a few who observe the rules testifies that journalists' relationship is not agreed, that rather force and violence triumph than solidarity and ethics. Among spread practices journalists identified blackening and betraying colleagues, slander, revealing sources of information, trampling down colleagues, stealing topics, deceiving the audience:

The rule not to blacken colleagues in the press or on screen, is not observed by journalists. I cannot say that there is something uniting us. Any workforce, especially the creative workforce, reflects what is going on in society. The public became disconnected, everyone for himself and here it is the same one. Nobody of us can be sure that tomorrow friends will trample you down for the sake of profit. I remember the wonderful time in 1991, the putsch, and we spent four nights in the editorial office. The extraordinary situation made us careful of each other, but in an usual situation everyone thinks about himself. Therefore to speak about some unity in the newspaper, among the journalists, as a whole in the mass media it is impossible (R.16).

The rules exist for me and several other persons, those whom I consider honest people. Personally I shall never publish the same material in two editions. Never shall I represent information available to everyone as exclusive text. Unfortunately it often happens that the press conference's material is represented as the exclusive topic of a journalist. I would not always give exclusive information to best friends. I cannot to give someone's telephone to the colleague because it is my source (R.18).

When I do an interview with somebody and a journalist from other media is near, I ask them not to use my questions. He says "yes" and then he publishes the material with my questions. It is stealing, he stole my intellectual property. But on my complaint about to this journalist the editor does nothing (R.6).

The journalists identified their own unwritten rules, which could regulate their interaction with colleagues, sources and audience. Regarding colleagues it is observance of organizational rules within the media including subordination, style, own 'laws'; corporate solidarity directed against defaming colleagues, not to give one's own media for refutation of articles published in other media, not to wash journalist's dirty linen in public; honesty and tolerance for colleagues seen as not trampling on colleagues, not taking their topics, not slandering or betraying. Regarding sources of information, journalists picked out as basic demands, not to reveal sources, not to cause problems by publication. Regarding the audience it is incorruptibility, which means not to be venal and false, not to publish the same text in different media, not to represent readily available information as exclusive.

A difference between the two generations appeared in the fact that mainly Soviet practitioners try to maintain corporate solidarity and believe that in spite of recent changes for the worse in journalism corporate solidarity exists. The young generation, on the contrary, perceives the professional community as a field for cannibalism rather than corporate solidarity. The first two excerpts come from Soviet practitioners, the next two excerpts contain points of view of post-Soviet practitioners:

Corporate solidarity is eroded now, but it exists personally for me. For instance, I never give air to anybody for refutation of the material that was publicised in other media although this often happens in the media (R.30).

Corporate solidarity is a real thing. We can be enemies in life, we may belong to various media of various views, but we are united in the profession. The journalistic solidarity contributed to unite different on political and moral views professionals and to create the Law on the Press, the Constitution of journalistic life (R.1).

There are scarcely any unwritten rules in the workforce. The old journalists say that all of us, young people are such individualists, everyone exists in isolation, there is no collectivism among us. It is possible that it is true. Personally for myself I consider that it is impossible to do intrigues for someone. But I know such an approach is not experienced, and this is negatively reflected on my profession and my experience. It is impossible to be so honest. But it touches not only journalism. To destroy friends became a norm and common rule for any profession now (R.28).

Here in the newspaper I am a lone wolf. My contacts with colleagues are reduced to a minimum. Long ago we did not make any combined actions. I am in sympathy with my university course which graduated in 1999 in the faculty, with our systems of the views (R.11).

In summary, journalists perceive mechanisms of self-regulation such as organizational order within media, some general loyalties among practitioners and some ethical norms for all participants of communication, journalists, sources and audience. However, as the journalists state, only an insignificant part of them restricts themselves to these unwritten rules. It means that self-regulation has a spontaneous, narrow and local character. It appears occasionally when both sides share loyalties and ethical norms, even more often it happens within media under organizational order. Therefore it would be fair to note that low degree of self-regulation of journalists causes first of all their own defencelessness to external and internal pressures. It minimises premises for true professionalization leaving journalists in the position of employed workers. Journalism as a profession has poor status in society. When self-regulation is perceived by the majority as the attribute of professionalism, only then can the ethical situation begin to change and entail other

important changes including increasing professional responsibility and thirst for professional autonomy.

## **16. Corruption**

In the 1990's the word corruption firmly passed into the lexicon under a sign of both criminal and habitual, not officially permissible phenomenon. As a phenomenon corruption could be identified rather as a social norm, not being institutionalized and legitimized, however, it spontaneously emerged and was applied to the needs of the new economic order. That is, one could state that the corruption as social norm emerged in the kind of adequate reflection of changed conditions, in particular as one of consequence of the semi-criminal privatisation of the state property including the media sphere. The corruption contributed to the regulating relationship between participants of emerging market.

In sociology social norms are identified as "common rules" caused by the needs of material production. "They exist in entire patterns, stereotypes (standards of conduct) perceived as such and reproduced in conduct" (Yakovlev 1998, 321). Being institutionalized social norms are usually legitimized and therefore they have general obligatory character. New social norms emerging spontaneously and being outside institutional control can lead to infringement of the law and to criminality. "Often being adequate (functional) in the given restricted, local sense, they can lead to dysfunction in the scale of the whole economy" (ibid).

It was interesting to know how the respondents on the one hand as citizens and on the other hand as professionals perceive the corruption, what meanings it has and how it is possible to co-relate professionalism and corruption. The respondents were questioned: "It became a commonplace to talk about the corruption of Russian journalists, the widespread practice of writing articles for money. How is this phenomenon connected with the notion of professionalism?"

The journalists practically unanimously justify corruption in the professional practice and society:

We live in such conditions where everything from top to bottom is penetrated by corruption and it is, naturally, primary accumulation of capital that is going on, the nomenclature secures the future for itself. All of them understand that not much time remains for them, now the former nomenclature (party, komsomol functionaries) occupies the main posts. A new generation will come and sweep them off. Now the corruption is going on, they build *dachas* for themselves and take bribes. The next generation will be more pragmatic, we approach such a situation when the West ceases to give us credit, and this is fraught with danger. The people somehow begin to change, to restrict appetites. When around you there are such people, it is difficult to keep yourself crystal clean, honest; you act in the

same way in a greater or less degree. All this is a question of time. It is not that Russia is corrupt, war, dark, it is not so. This is a normal transitional period. Since so little time passed when we lived in a closed totalitarian society. From 1985 everyone begins reading. In 1985 Gorbachev said that we have an opportunity to speak. But really I consider everything began from 1992, some 6-7 years passed. It is impossible to change everything at once. It is a natural process. One system rigid collapsed, the other one is not created, in the transitional period *budem boltatsya poka vse ne ustakanitsya*. Journalism is a part of society, the same things are here. In principle, all people are ordinary with their weaknesses. In the West they do not write about this, it does it mean that all of them are crystal clean? It is not true! Put them in the same conditions they cannot act in any other way. Or to live in poverty or to live normally, it is a moment of survival (R.12).

The journalists consider that there is not enough corruption in Russian journalism. Practically every third of the respondents consider Dorenko and Nevzorov the best professionals in journalism:

Nevzorov said to me "if all journalists would be sold openly, so everyone would know to whom he is sold and then order would be better". He considers that a lack of the Petersburg journalism and Russian journalism is in that journalists are sold little. Common sense is in his words (R.6).

The majority of the respondents, both Soviet and post-Soviet practitioners, consider venality and professionalism as things of the same order. Their arguments are that everything around is corrupt and dependent. Corruption is the only way to leave poverty behind. Nobody buys unprofessional. Journalism became commodity. Old values are displaced new values. Journalism remains the second most ancient profession. It is a real, but not an ideal life. There were the same things before.

Both generations identify professionalism with technical skills not including ethical norms, the venality of a journalist means an appraisal of his /her professionalism in the labour market. The first excerpt come from a Soviet practitioner, the second excerpt from a post-Soviet practitioner:

Professionalism is when it is not seen that you have been sold (R.30)

Answer: The higher professional the more expensive his work is. Journalism is no amateurishness, whoever works better, is paid more, and if journalists are proposed a serious sum for serious material, not all of them can resist this

Question: But the professional reputation?

A.: The professional reputation is something else. If a man is more than a scoundrel, he nevertheless remains a professional. Such a notion exists and I shall not be original in saying that journalism is the second ancient profession after prostitution. From this point of view some journalists go to be sold and they do not become unprofessional, they do not lose their impact in writing. Such a notion is like 'ordered' (*zakaznoi*) material, a venal journalist. They remain professionals, they simply have another

professionalism, that is, professionals earning money by selling themselves. This is also professionalism.

Q.: What is the sense of the journalist's profession?

A.: Everyone has one's own sense

Q.: That is, there is no precise, clearly defined...

A.: It would be funny if all journalists had the same sense in the job

Q.: Is there an ideal of the profession?

A.: Of course not. We had grown up from ideals long ago (R.24).

Ethics is not required for doing work professionally, "shady journalism" develops in a shady economy and "saves the authorities", the role of a journalist is brought to the PR man:

If a journalist is venal, he/she can write an information by such a way that people will believe him/her. If it is not true, this is a journalist's problem and a reader's problem. Professionalism is to implement an order (R.8)

When there is no shady economy, then there will be no shady journalism. Journalists themselves can do nothing. In the last years journalism became equivalent to PR. Journalism fixes some social processes quite successfully, serves the interests of different political groups, in general promotes democracy in the country, at least the external signs of the democratic society are observed (R.5)

Unfortunately, the authorities are far from society, they are not accountable to society and they are almost not dependent on society. A democratic election system exists, but yet Stalin said "it is not important how people will vote, it is important how the voices will be counted". The authorities count votes. Today society cannot influence the authorities. Journalists only prick bubbles. Journalism is an instrument of influence on society and through journalism this steam is let off, through freedom of speech, freedom of the press and society is not exploded. Journalism saves the authorities. The authorities allow speaking about a lot of things, this means that democracy exists, but how what has been decided, this is already another question (R.1).

Only very few respondents working in the traditional press consider that venality is not a sign of professionalism:

It is impossible to combine. I do not think that the best pens go to be sold. I think the best pens are not sold. The less professional a journalist is, the more he/she has a temptation to be sold (R.15).

However, according to the majority venality is true sign of professionalism, a contemporary professional is "who is unpredictable without principles and responsibility for that what the result will be after his/her action" (R.5).

## 17. Future Prospects

In the question, "How do you estimate the profession of a journalist today?", the respondents noted such characteristics of journalism as political-pluralistic, confrontational with provoking informational wars, structured over income (low class, middle class, elite), corrupt, criminal, sandwich's, discredited and dirty to which the people do not trust, not professional enough, unpredictable and frightening, under censorship within media, attempting to survive in the wild market, attractive to youth by its publicity, that journalism turned into PR.

The respondents believe that journalism will change when the economic situation begins to change and political conditions will be other than now. In particular, they attach hopes to changes, which may happen after the departure of Yeltsin. The respondents consider that Russian journalism will achieve the level of civilised journalism in twenty five - fifty years. In their prognosis for journalism through the decade the respondents suppose that journalism will change a little in its essence. Unconditionally, it will become more technical in the obtaining and faster in the transmitting of information owing to new technical facilities; electronic media and Internet will seize a leading position in the media sphere instead of the press.

Journalism will become more professional owing to the filtering of media and journalists. That is, media which are not able to satisfy a customer will disappear, newspapers with a solid reputation will remain, more new editions will appear and there will be more information. In the professional community unwritten rules will be established by collective self-extermination, unnecessary journalists ("*lishnie lyudi*") will leave journalism and the level of professionalism will rise because practitioners will earn good money.

Mainly, Soviet practitioners were quite pessimistic regarding the immediate future of Russian journalism. They consider that journalism will not become better because in the next decade in the country political and economic conditions will not improve and therefore nothing will change in journalism. To arrange the order in Russian journalism will require a long time, probably the censorship will be needed again. Observing laws is not the Russian way. In Russia laws may exist, but life will be completely other than prescribed by laws. The majority of newspapers may die out because of its non-requirement by the people. Journalism will not become better because still there is no good school of journalism in the university.



On the contrary, post-Soviet practitioners have mainly rather optimistic view for the future. Their basic arguments are that the transitional period will be over and a new system will appear in the country. They would like Russian journalism to be like the Western model.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This study explores the professional roles of Russian journalists taking an inside view from the perspective of thirty practitioners in St. Petersburg media at the end of the 1990s. The study adopted a naive approach to professionalism of contemporary Russian journalists because earlier research did not suggest definite prospects on the topic. Both the Russian and the Western research rather diagnosed some transitional state of journalism with the persistence of old (subjective and propagandist) and the emergence of new (more factual and open) practices. That is, the transitional journalism of the 1990s was seen as an essential feature of the transitional society.

On the level of theoretical discussion on professionalism, a conceptual clash persists between the Russian and the Western approaches. Russian sociology determines a profession in the frame of division of labour and its functional content; journalism, like medicine and jurisprudence, is placed on the second level of the social differentiation of specialities over such criteria as education, intellectual complexity and responsibility. The first level belongs to representatives of science, art and government; specialists who do not necessarily have university education occupy the third level (Filippov 1998, 529). This reflects the Soviet system of values and cultural standards, which determined the prestige of professions in the gradation from (party) government including science and art toward journalism as (party) literary work in mass. Post-Soviet society differs from Soviet society relative to political and economic freedoms, but the system of values remains as before and journalism functions, although freer, but still in the old frames as a subordinate part to the government.

In contrast, Western sociology accepts at least three kinds of labour as professions: medicine, law and science. Other kinds of specialized activities including journalism are interpreted as occupations moving to become professions. Professionalization is seen as extended self-assertive process of constant practice (self-employment), narrow specialization (technical expertise) and standards of conduct (code of ethics). This raises demands not so much for specialised skills but for certain kinds of conduct, the social cohesion of the professional community itself and "its status relative to other groups" (Sparks and Splichal 1994, 36). Autonomy and independence is a key to promote the professionalization on individual and structural levels. Journalism establishes professionalism through objective reporting for the public, not for the needs of bureaucrats.

This study examines the professional roles of journalists through their attitudes in the job; the content of the professional roles and the premises for their performance are examined through

journalists' perceptions of professionalism and ethics. The analysis is based on conceptions of professionalism developed in the Russian (*publitsistika*) and the Western (neutrality) discourses on journalism. Sharing the critical approach to international research on journalism practice, the study focuses on those questionable activities which often establish journalism in various countries with reference to conditions for the media in Russia. The conviction is that criticism, like medical substance, can to some extent have a practical good in promoting 'healthy' journalism.

The method of case study and the technique of in-depth interview combining open and closed questions pursue intrinsic and instrumental interests in describing the phenomena of professionalism by using some ready schemes and theories in earlier studies on journalists (Kuzin 1968, 1971, 1998; Svitich 1973, 1998, 2000; Weaver 1986, 1996, 1998). On the other hand, the study takes an open look at professionalism as demanded by conceptual and empirical clarification. It applies the procedures of grounded theory to ascertain how professionalism develops and what it is based on. For this the study develops its own approach raising from the empirical ground of journalists, subjective experiences, toward the researcher's theoretical interest.

## **Two subcultures**

The main finding of the study is that contemporary journalism has been formed by two types of professional roles, which are represented by two types of the professional subculture: that of the old generation (Soviet practitioners who entered the occupation in the Soviet time) and that of the new generation (post-Soviet practitioners who entered the occupation in 1990 and later).

***The old generation*** is strikingly homogeneous and conservative, represented by 'standardized' professionals recruited (mainly after school and army) and trained (mainly in the university) according to the state policy toward developed socialism. Practitioners were carefully selected mainly from those with a working class background, literary talent and preference to those of a majority nationality. They were educated in the Soviet theory and practice of journalism and typically socialized through the party membership.

The Soviet-time practitioners continue nowadays to hold a cultivated view of journalism in natural collaboration with the authorities. As before they take responsibility for supporting the social order and rendering practical guidance to people. Soviet practitioners perform the role of social organizer with accompanying functions of upbringing, educating and punishing. They continue to work in leading informational media established in the Soviet time and to participate in the traditional

professional association, the Union of Journalists. They maintain corporate solidarity, supporting each other in the occupation and life and observing the ethics of the Soviet journalist (avoiding plagiarism and illiterate language, sharing dedication to the profession, etc.).

*The new generation* of the 1990s is crucially different from the old generation in background, its expectations of journalism and the mobility to combine different professional activities. It represents a heterogeneous subculture consisting of different individuals regarding age (20 - 45), ethnicity, origin, education, experience and social class (worker - academician). Post-Soviet practitioners came into the occupation later than Soviet practitioners (in the study sample the difference is 20 years) and had rather self-interest in journalism than the romantic image of (state) public service. Rapid development of the media market (in St. Petersburg from 118 media in 1991 to 4000 media in 2001) required new workers, and journalism became accessible to amateurs. Among them there were some who could not enter the occupation before because of social and ethnic background and who were not satisfied with the income, career prospects and creative opportunities in their former jobs. In total contrast to the Soviet-time practitioners, those of the 1990s have no need for professional association; they prefer to act alone, competing against each other and pursuing profit, creative ambitions and new life prospects.

Moreover, the new generation orientates to the role of entertainers aiming at a sensational media agenda. They perceive journalism rather as PR for the promotion of the political and economic interests of media clients (influential groups and persons in politics and business). They work both in the traditional media and the new media which emerged in the last decade. More often than old professionals they combine staff and freelance jobs, doing services not only in journalism but also in the commercial sector of the economy.

In other words, the old generation represents the Soviet concept of journalism as a state institution patronizing the people, while the new generation represents the market conception of journalism as a service agency for the public and the economy. Regardless of this difference in perspective, both generations perceive journalism as closely linked to capital - state and private - and therefore both promote propaganda in elections and other important events.

## One strategy

Both generations produce journalism employing *five basic attitudes in the job*: personal decision-making (majority), ethics (every second), creativity and hack-work (every third) and intellectual (some, mainly Soviet practitioners). This predicts a character of contemporary journalism as strongly personified, semi-ethical, literary, routine, corrupted and a little intellectual.

The attitude of personal decision-making is inherent in the majority of practitioners and it is the basis for most working methods. Journalists select news, sources of information and topics; strategies for sources of information, for obtaining news and their presentation; working methods, genres, means of influencing the audience and ways of earning. This testifies that journalists have a significant degree of autonomy in the job and labour market. However, among the most dominant criteria underlying personal decision-making there are editorial line (interests of founders, sponsors and advertisers) and self-censorship (fear of court, criminals and dismissal). That is, personal decision-making in the job is the compromise of a journalist as a producer of material with the editorial policy of media and those circumstances in society which do not guarantee a journalist protection under the present legislation, criminal force and employers.

Thus, the autonomy of journalists on the level of personality turns into *semi-autonomy* on the level of media organization, and this applies to both old and new generations. However, journalists act autonomously outside their staff job when earning money in their own time in other media and commercial organizations as well as writing ordered texts and hidden advertising for their private clients.

In the staff job most journalists still perceive themselves rather as state workers orienting to official sources of information and relying on them as on sources. They still prefer practices in keeping with the 'friendship' of their media with officials and providing journalists with access to official circles (suppressing facts, publishing unverified information, producing ordered material, disclosing names of rape victims and criminals). They are still satisfied with the media agenda formed to a great extent in favour of the present political authority. Their professional goals had changed little in so far as they participate in the political campaigns and social policy of the authorities.

On the other hand, when journalists use market alternatives for performing journalistic services in society (second job, ordered materials, hidden advertising) they act as free reporters who produce ordered products and earn extra money. They identify this labour as hack-work, which they do not

consider to be real journalism. Such semi-autonomy of contemporary journalists is a transitional form in the development of their professional identity from state toward market mentality. In practice it serves as a self-protective strategy allowing the combining of both in-staff and out-staff jobs, both holding old and adapting new roles.

### **Types of roles**

Among the old roles, there are *propagandist* (both generations) and *organizer* (Soviet practitioners). The need for these roles emerges from the close alliance of the media with the local authorities and economic groups which strive for political power. In this sense the hypothesis advanced at the start of the research that contemporary journalism develops predominantly in the frame of the domestic (Soviet) tradition as a political instrument in the hands of the political interest groups has been validated.

However, post-Soviet journalism exists in other conditions than Soviet journalism: it earns its living in growing market competition, therefore contemporary media increasingly aim at the interests and tastes of consumers and the advertisers. The higher rating the media has with the audience the more chances to sell media products and to get advertising, and so make a profit. Journalism adopts a new function of entertaining the audience as a means for commercial aims for the promotion of goods and services in the consumer market. The media sector turns into a battlefield for the audience and advertisers and proposes a new role for its workers as an organizer of leisure for the masses. Young journalists willingly adapt the *entertainer* role and in search of unusual news, sensations, introduce new practices such as hidden microphones and cameras, assuming a false identity, making payment to sources and using personal documents without permission.

Naturally, such a setting of roles reveals the complete irrelevancy of the setting taken for the examination from Western journalism: disseminator, interpreter, adversary (Weaver 1986, 112-115). Moreover, Russian journalists' perceptions of disseminator includes getting any information to the public (misinformation and unverified information). The perceptions of interpreter who investigates claims made by officials and adversary who opposes the authorities are not revealed at all. Although the professional practice began to change under pressure for new liberal reforms, national cultural standards and values underlie it. Consequently, the study confirmed the prognosis for professional roles denoted by the Russian researcher Iosif Dzyaloshinsky (1996, 237) with the prediction that the change in journalists' perceptions has a "tendency toward being organizer, propagandist and entertainer".

The emerging roles of propagandist, organizer, entertainer reveal both continuities (the old state roles) and breaks (the new market role) indicating some change in the functioning of Russian journalism from total politicization toward partly de-politicization. However, the weight of journalists' roles in society depends on the balance of forces between state and market. At the end of the 1990s the state held power in governing political and economic processes and used the leading media for propagandist coverage of elections and privatization campaigns. Journalism which was shaped for the needs of the state remains in the old frames biased in favour of the government.

### **Realization of roles**

The main task taken by Soviet practitioners did not change: the educating of the people and the rendering of concrete assistance. Contrary to this approach, post-Soviet practitioners pursue timely informing. However, the activities of both generations are based on *engagement*: everyone to a greater or lesser degree acts either as an involved or as mixed (involved & neutral) reporter. The perception of neutrality is vague and contains various subjective senses from self-protective strategy (incomplete or biased reporting) to unconscious psychological state divorced from reality. The engagement is caused by the need for the promotion of the interests of political and commercial groups of the media, by market clientelism approved in the media environment (tolerant attitude to ordered materials of journalists) and journalists' personal claims to influence the audience.

Both generations have the same basic news criteria in selecting information, namely importance and interesting nature of information, journalist's personal interest, editorial line and self-censorship. However, they perceive the expedience of facts for publicizing them differently. Soviet practitioners try to suppress exciting facts as unhealthy sensation (social organizers) whereas post-Soviet practitioners pursue the sensation to attract a greater audience and raise their media ratings (entertainers). The old journalists formerly looked at the audience as at an immature mass, whereas the young journalists look at the audience as consumers of a media product.

In their preferences regarding sources of information Soviet practitioners prefer other media, the city life and experts, whereas post-Soviet practitioners rely rather on the official structures with which their media collaborate, personal informants and the Internet. Working styles in news gathering are also different. The old journalists are in the habit of organizing work according to a long term plan, agreements with the editorship and working meetings. They have a widespread net of voluntary correspondents in various organizations and they find plots for articles from the street. They aim at supporting the social order with a focus on the positive story about 'a hero of weekdays'

(*heroi budnei*). Post-Soviet practitioners prefer to work individually, pursuing the search for exclusive news and sensation using payment to the source or even blackmail.

The publishing of unverified information is a 'norm' for both generations. Journalists trust officials and their informants but even if they do not trust the information coming from official structures, they publish it because it must be published. Journalists do not have any incentive for verification; their role perceptions do not contain investigator and adversary. On the contrary, they perceive the role of collaborator with the authorities as natural. Moreover, the publishing of unverified information does not threaten them with any serious sanctions.

Although the majority of contemporary journalists is disposed toward factual reporting, the old generation formerly combined fact and comment in the striving toward publicist material. In contrast, the young generation advocates separating fact and comment, referring to the model of Western journalism. But the journalist's perception of how to present material also depends on the type of media. In the traditional media under the patronage of the local authorities journalists of both generations aim at publicistics. In the new private media sponsored by Western investors journalists establish the practice of separating fact and comment.

Nevertheless, it is hard to argue for the objectivity of journalists because both generations try to convey their personal opinions on the event thereby *personifying* and destroying factual informing. This reveals everyone rather as a publicist attached to the old conception about journalism as not a technical product but as the writer's exclusive. The author's journalism (*avtorskaya zhurnalistika*) is an integral part of the professional culture of Russian journalism rooted in the classics of Russian literature and *publitsistika*, inherited by the Soviet school of journalistic genres and turning all genres into publicistic genres without rigid barriers within them (Bogdanov and Vyazemsky 1971, 259, 677-678; Voroshilov 1999, 65, 75; Kroichik 2000, 126).

Meanwhile, contemporary publicist reporting does not necessarily represent different opinions. Although pluralism is the professional value established by Soviet practitioners in their struggle for freedom of speech in glasnost, successfully legitimized in the new laws on the mass media, the Soviet practitioners realize pluralism in the old way, subordinating themselves to the editorial line, which casts doubt on the level and character of pluralism provided by the old generation.

In contrast, post-Soviet practitioners associate pluralism rather with exercising their own power as an informational resource such as giving or not giving the people access to the certain information.



They came to journalism when pluralistic writing entered current practices and they took the opportunity to present different opinions for granted. Therefore they perceive pluralism rather as a norm, which can be ignored according to their interests as any norm in the Russian tradition of legal nihilism (*pravovoi nihilism*).

That is, both generations provide rather censored and personal than free and pluralistic informing of the people. The potential for journalists to control information and to regulate to some extent the access of the audience to information was opened up by the democratization of society. In the Soviet epoch information management belonged to the party structures. However, democratization did not turn journalists into full democrats who regard the interests of the people as paramount. On the contrary, journalists, as before, want to influence the people: the Soviet practitioners strive to patronize the audience, perceiving it rather as a passive object for their social initiatives, whereas post-Soviet practitioners strive to inform and to entertain the audience perceiving it rather as an active subject of consumerism of news and advertising.

The *audience* remains terra incognita for journalists; media, especially the traditional media, are bad at seeking addressees. The fragmentation of the audience is based rather on journalists' subjective perceptions proceeding from stereotypes (press and broadcasting works for the intelligentsia, the television and popular press works for the masses), personal experience, specialization and age (young journalists work rather for a young audience, the old journalists rather address older people and pensioners). Although contemporary media possess certain information about the audience owing to their own sociological services and surveys conducted on their request, this knowledge had not yet become the basis for the construction of a clear informational policy of media in the market. Therefore the argument about low professionalism of traditional media is thus justified. The new media invested in by Western capital establishes its strategies on the data of sociological surveys aimed at the interests and tastes of the successful business class and the masses.

### **Nature of professionalism**

Journalists do not share one approach to journalism. Their perceptions vary from that of the *idealist* as a hypothetical image of an independent journalist to the *propagandist*, the real prototype of political corruption in society. Between these extremes the journalists find themselves as professionals of three types: *specialist*, *humanist* and *artist*. These five types of professionals in the journalists' consciousness correspond to five types of attitudes which journalists have in the job:

personal decision-making (idealist), hack-work (propagandist), intellectual (specialist), ethics (humanist), creativity (artist). Interestingly, the majority employs the attitude of personal decision-making in the job. However, their perceptions of professionalism do not include such elements as autonomy and independence; in other words, personal decision-making and independence are not co-related to each other in journalists' consciousness. That is, both generations reveal the traditional thinking about journalism as a derivative of ruling power.

On the other hand, such a perception is a consequence of everyday practices. On the staff job a journalist makes a personal decision in the framework of the editorial line and self-censorship, outside of staff job the journalist performs rather as a PR man tied to commercial interests in the market promotion of goods, services, clients and the organization itself. Both generations share the aspiration to satisfy the employer. Their perception of professionalism is equated with quality work, which is in a fact the Soviet concept of *craftsmanship* (*masterstvo*) based on skills in genres.

Developing rather in its own cycle, Russian journalism has thus little practical influence from Western ideas. Professionalization is going on in the framework of domestic, not universal dimensions. The Russian case reveals its specifics in that it retains the old concept reduced to technical skills without any claim to independence and autonomy. Accordingly, the criteria of professionalism are other than those perceived in Western journalism.

In contrast to the Western inclination toward neutral, detached, disinterested reporting, the Russian media and their workers develop participatory journalism. The involvement originated in the Soviet school of journalism with the accompanying roles of propagandist and organizer implying the active participation of journalists in the political and social processes. It cultivated creative, politically mature, non-standardized reporting known as *publicistika*. In the present time publicistics remains "one of the highest levels of the journalist's creativity co-related with the brilliant literary talent of the journalist and his/her citizen's position" (Vinogradova 2000, 45). The interest of journalists was aroused by the new dramatic reality: the collapse of the Soviet state, struggles for political and economic power and the Chechen wars. Consequently, *involvement* is central element of professionalism based on attitudes of creativity and personal decision-making.

The personal involvement deeply grounded in the Soviet tradition and reinforced by the stormy present serves as the norm of the journalist's practice and at the same time the basic feature of the professional culture. Participating in important political events, first of all, in election campaigns, the media pretend to become the fourth estate in society in their alliance with the first three estates.

Journalists retain the conception of professional as an influential player in the political life of society. They develop a professionalism different from that in the West; little acquainted with democracy, but more adherent to the ideas of etatism and authoritarianism.

The perception of professional responsibility among the Russian journalists on the one hand coincides with the perceptions of the Western journalists in getting information to the public, but on the other it sharply diverges on the understanding of the main roles of the media. Whereas the Western journalists feel great responsibility to the public for investigating government claims, the Russian journalists see the *responsibility to media owners* as approving the observance of their rules of the game. Such compatibility of incompatible things rather proves that journalists use the practice of double standard when the basic responsibility rests with the employer (interests of media founders, sponsors and advertisers) and residual responsibility to the people.

In comparison with Soviet-time journalists, the present journalists founded autonomy in the labour market. Whereas Soviet journalists were state workers enduring ideological, organizational, geographical and topical restrictions, the present journalists act as free employees making their own choice of media, form of employment, work methods and furthering their own interests in earning, security, prestige. They may not even have special education, but they have free access to the occupation, an open choice of topics, an open outside world. They have *personal autonomy as employees*, but they confess that they are not independent in their working issues.

Membership of a union is not a sign of professionalism. Both generations perceive professionalism rather as *individual* than collective *business*; their perceptions of a professional did not include a single characteristic regarding the journalistic community and group norms. Within the Russian conception of professionalism such perceptions are natural. This predicts that journalists have too little agreement and mutual understanding in their professional activities. Moreover, the present situation is aggravated by conflict between two generations: Soviet practitioners educated and experienced in journalism, socialized through the Union of Journalists and with convictions about journalism as social work and post-Soviet practitioners, many of whom are not professionally educated, not members of the Union and with self-interest in the occupation.

Mainly, Soviet practitioners try to maintain corporate solidarity and continue to believe that in spite of all the recent changes for the worse in journalism, corporate solidarity exists. The professional union is an obvious instance of this. Post-Soviet practitioners, on the contrary, perceive journalism as a field for cannibalism and do not strive for solidarity with colleagues. Only an insignificant part

restricts themselves to unwritten rules based on general loyalties and ethical norms for all parties to the communication: journalists, sources of information and the audience. This means that self-regulation has a spontaneous, narrow and local character. It appears occasionally when journalists share loyalties and ethical norms, even more often it happens within media under organizational order. The low degree of journalists' self-regulation leads to their own vulnerability to external and internal pressures, keeps them in the position of employed workers and as a whole weakens the status of the occupation in society.

### ***Ethics***

Having different expectations of journalism the generations find different values in the occupation. Soviet practitioners value journalism for the advantages which the occupation has over other occupations: an opportunity to occupy higher standing in society, to possess information, to communicate with persons of any rank, to render assistance to people, to shape and mould public opinion and to be autonomous in working hours. Perceiving ***values as advantages*** these journalists reveal the intention of service orientation, aspiration to power over clients and to autonomy. Such pragmatic orientation makes them resemble professionals of other professions. On the other hand, the fact that among them there are a majority of Soviet practitioners testifies that Soviet conception of journalism as an instrument of power is still retained by the old generation, which strives to affect the public consciousness and the current practice.

The majority of the post-Soviet practitioners perceive ***values as the duty*** of a journalist to be objective and honest to the audience, to colleagues and to self, to do high quality work. However, in practice journalists have to act according to media policy conducted not in the interests of the public (objective reporting) but in the interests of the authorities and other influential groups. That is, the current media practice imposes on journalists another duty of serving the elite that is adopted without resistance. The new generation is responsible for the employer for those results which are expected by the employer from its reporting. Young journalists identified professional responsibility as observing the rules of the game, others consider that journalism does not have values at all and the notion of morality is difficult to apply to it.

The perceptions of '***sins***' in journalism are also different. Soviet practitioners are worried rather by journalists' methods, which lead to violation of human rights: invasion of privacy, defamation, no respect of the honour and dignity of a man, doing harm to the health, life and property of a citizen. Post-Soviet practitioners, on the other hand, are worried rather by the quality of the informing, in

particular that misinformation underlies the reporting. That is, post-Soviet practitioners value rather true information for the people whereas Soviet practitioners value rather ethical conduct regarding the people. Nevertheless, both generations display loyalty to lies. *Lies* are a temporal and constant in journalistic work; the temporal journalists justify lies in election campaigns and other situations demanding lies. As an element of the occupation lying is justified by the creative nature of journalism.

Friendship is something sacred for journalists, they would never write negative material about friends. On the contrary, they use friends as sources of information and publish material in their interests. That is, contemporary media and journalists develop *crony journalism* for their political, economic 'friends' and friends from their private life. This has become widespread practice since the beginning of the 1990s, when the media was granted freedom from state censorship and could independently define its agenda. Later in the period of shock reforms, in order to survive without state support, the media had to seek political and economic sponsors. In the 1990s crony journalism turned into part of the *informal networks* of Russians; on the one hand, it represents a pragmatic survival strategy of the media and journalists for economic and social existence. On the other hand, it represents the part of the spiritual life of people whose culture is collectivist, based on close multilateral kinships of family, relatives, friends, colleagues, all their possible relatives and family members and so on.

The journalists practically unanimously justify *corruption* in professional practice and society. The majority considers venality and professionalism as things of the same order. Their arguments are that as everything around is corrupt and dependent, there is no other way to leave poverty behind. Journalism and journalists became a commodity. Nobody buys unprofessional-journalist. Old (pro-state) values have been displaced by new (pro-market) values. Journalism remains the second most ancient profession, it is a real, but not an ideal life, before they were the same things. Both generations identify professionalism as technical skills not including ethical norms, the venality of a journalist means an appraisal of his /her professionalism on the labor market.

Both generations have different *hopes* for the future. Soviet practitioners look pessimistically at the immediate future of Russian journalism because they do not believe that political and economic conditions will improve in the next decade. Post-Soviet practitioners have rather an optimistic view of the future because they believe in a new order in the country and they would like an order which would contribute to establishing of the Western model of journalism.

## Concluding remarks

The evidence of this study suggests that Russian journalists act according to the logic of survival by adapting those norms which prevail in the occupation and society. Their conduct is determined in the frame of contemporary media roles and opportunities of the contemporary market. Corruption, *blat*, lies, self-interest, responsibility for an employer and private client contribute to the economic and professional success of media practitioners preferring to act alone in society without rules. Media and journalists keep a short distance to the government and business as the main sponsors of their existence and they keep a long distance from the audience as not very important and not having any levers to influence them.

The academician Nataliya Rimashevskaya states that now one can speak about "two Russia(s)" which increasingly move away from each other and which less and less hear and understand each other; they have different life styles, different shops, different schools, different priorities (Rimashevskaya 2001, 2). Like ordinary people, journalists of both generations manage with common sense and strive to settle in the rich Russia. Therefore they serve the interests of those who possess political and economic capital, that is, the state and business structures. Consequently, they show quite little of citizen's position for promoting democratic society with priorities for the public. State and market perform in such an indivisible tandem that between them no free space is yet seen to allow strong initiatives for true civil society. The professional roles of journalists - propagandist, organizer and entertainer - are required by the government and economic groups close to the authority.

The case of St. Petersburg media proved optimal for the reflection of Russian practice. Its findings confirm the character of contemporary journalism described in the studies of the 1990s. Exemplifying both centre and periphery, St. Petersburg displays intensively developing informational market of services and new technologies (Internet and mobile connections), whereas it also remains significantly peripheral under the monopoly of the local authority, with the majority limited to low purchasing power. Thus, St. Petersburg is an appropriate laboratory for research on transforming Russia.

The close alliance of media and authorities in the 1990s became a solid basis for professional collaboration of journalism and power at the beginning of the 2000s. Some Russian experts claim that all media are in a situation with two ways to go: either to convert them totally into pure business void of politics operating according to its own laws, or then the complete transition of

media to state control (Kuzmin 2000, 223). The second way seems more probable. Thus, Richter (2002, 165-166) points out such essential features of the present time in comparison with the era of Yeltsin as less political dependence of Russia on the West owing to the growth of prices of oil, less dependence of the Kremlin on oligarchs, a bigger role for government in governing processes in the media sphere, attempts to refuse the media general and all-round state support, the return of the Kremlin to the idea of creation of doctrine with national (state) interests in informational policy.

Yassen Zassoursky (2002) writes about Russian media in the XXI century as moving "upwards the stairs leading down":

It seems that media return to some extent to the vertical, which media magnates, local and federal authorities attempt to build for deciding their problems. Although at first sight the media are moving forward in a new direction, in reality this movement is rolling along a familiar road. (ibid., 195)

Indeed, the forces of continuity seem to dominate over the drive for change. This has become more and more obvious during the last few years, and in this respect the optimistic perspectives of the younger generation journalists in this study may have been somewhat premature. The new era of freedom does not necessarily lead to a higher level of professionalism and democracy. In his historical review of the Russian media system Ivan Zassoursky (2001, 5-6) concludes that the chaos and freedom of the 1990s was replaced by stability and certainty at the turn of the millennium. A new national idea appeared. It is being personified by political players and other communicators. Its main source is the common cultural memory of the citizens of Russia — beginning with the patriotic textbooks throughout the Soviet era and ending with televising old favorite movies.

An intriguing question is the nature of the Russian model which is emerging out of the chaos of the 1990s - in political theory as well as normative media theory (Nordenstreng & Pietiläinen 1999). Hedwig de Smaele (1999, 173) predicts a "Eurasian" model for the development of the Russian media because "media systems are given shape not only by economic but also by political and cultural factors" and Russia, occupying a unique position between Europe and Asia, combines "western (European) and eastern cultural and philosophical principles" (ibid., 186). However, the idea of Russia as Euroasia is far from new for Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet discourses; every Soviet pioneer knew from the geography lessons that he/she lives in a unique Euroasian country occupying a sixth of the world and embracing part of Europe and part of Asia.

The discussions on the third way for Russia have continued at least for two centuries including the opposition of Slavophiles and westerners in Russia. It could be said that a "Eurasian" model of the media was already embodied in the known communist concept of the Soviet press based on the European idea from Marx and realized in practice by the Kazan student Ulyanov (Lenin). In the post-Soviet era (the transitional time of the 1990s) the Russian media and society got first the vaccine of democracy, which led to an inoculating period. After that the vaccine destroyed naivety about capitalism. At this stage enters the government of Putin mobilizing the society and the media to recover, drawing forces from their cultural past and the present political predictability.



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## Appendix 1

### QUESTIONS IN INTERVIEWING ST.PETERSBURG JOURNALISTS

(Total 72 questions)

#### 1. Background (22 questions)

- 1.1 Sex (male,female)
- 1.2 Pseudonym of respondent
- 1.3 Age (year of birth)
- 1.4 Marital status
- 1.5 Education (kind of school, institute, faculty) and training
- 1.6 Time of coming to journalism.

*Turn on tape recorder here*

- 1.7 Motives: Why did you come to journalism? What way?
- 1.8 Place of work (from the beginning of working career). Present type of publication. Ownership.  
Do you have some shares in your media?
- 1.9 Post and speciality (former and present)
- 1.10 Form of employment (on staff or not, working full time or not, salaried or hourly wage worker)
- 1.11 Membership: Are you a member of the Union of Journalists of Russia? Why?  
Are you a member of some other professional organizations?
- 1.12 Gender influence in profession
  - a) When did you begin to work in a newsroom, what was the reaction to your gender from the employer?
  - b) How do you feel about gender? Does it help or hinder you in your career? Why?
  - c) Do you perceive a connection between gender and size of salary in the newsroom?
  - d) Do you have a division into male and female specializations in the newsroom (topics, business trips...)?
- 1.13 Income (size of your income, is it enough or not)

#### 2. Job (35 questions)

##### 2.1 Working Methods (how is the job practised, what is allowed, what is not, why)

What methods in the preparation of material do you usually apply, what methods sometimes, what methods do you consider unacceptable?

Then I invite respondents to think aloud about the following reporting methods:

- 2.1.1 making up facts or stories
- 2.1.2 misrepresentation (distortion) or suppressing facts
- 2.1.3 publishing unverified information
- 2.1.4 using hidden microphones or cameras
- 2.1.5 using dubious sources
- 2.1.6 publishing material for money or other services (ordered text, hidden advertising, 'jeansa')
- 2.1.7 using confidential business or government information without authorization

- 2.1.8 using personal documents (letters, photo) without permission
- 2.1.9 payment to a source for information
- 2.1.10 claiming to be somebody else in order to gain inside information
- 2.1.11 publishing the names of criminals
- 2.1.12 disclosing names of rape victims

2.2. Aims of Job (Moral content: what for and for whom is the job carried out)

- 2.2.1 What tasks do you consider the most important for a journalist?
- 2.2.2 On what criteria do you select facts or problems for publication? Why?
- 2.2.3 Who gives topics for publication?
- 2.2.4 Do you prefer to be a neutral or involved participant when creating material?
- 2.2.5 When do you comment or analyze facts on which your position depends?
- 2.2.6 How do you try to create material: mixing facts and comments or not? And why?
- 2.2.7 What is more important in text: fact or comment? And why?
- 2.2.8 Do you try to give one point of view or various opinions in the comment and why?
- 2.2.9 Do you try to give your own point of view in the comment?
- 2.2.10 When you receive the information do you check it or not?
- 2.2.11 How do you manage the information coming from official bodies?
- 2.2.12 Who is your audience?
- 2.2.13 Do you think that your materials influence the reader to some extent or not?  
Would you want to influence on the reader and for what aim?
- 2.2.14 What role has your editor-in-chief for you?
- 2.2.15 Whose interests does he protect?
- 2.2.16 To what extent is he dependent on journalists, owners of media?
- 2.2.17 Whom do you feel solidarity with? (reader, editor, yourself)

2.3 Outcomes of Job

a) About job satisfaction or dissatisfaction

What gives you the greatest satisfaction in your job?

What causes you the greatest dissatisfaction in your job? Why?

b) About commitment

Do you want to stay in the profession?

**3. Profession** (15 questions)

3.1. Opinions on system of values in the profession and professionalism

- 3.1.1 What values are the most important for you as a journalist and why?
- 3.1.2 What are the deadly sins in the journalist's profession?
- 3.1.3 Do you feel a necessity to enhance your professional education and skills?
- 3.1.4 Do you agree with people's statements that all journalists lie? Why?
- 3.1.5 What do you see as your professional responsibility?

3.1.6 If your friend became an object of your negative material would you write about him in the same way or differently than about an unknown person or an enemy?

3.1.7 Tell me the unwritten rules in your journalist's community.

3.1.8 Who is a professional in journalism? Why?

3.1.9 Do you consider yourself a professional and why?

3.1.10 What do you consider the most unprofessional signs in a journalist?

3.1.11 What do you think is the difference or similarity between the Soviet professional and the post-Soviet professional? And what is the difference? What is the similarity?

3.1.12 It became a commonplace to talk about the corruption of Russian journalists, widespread practice of writing articles for money. How is this phenomenon connected with the notion of professionalism?

### 3.2 Appraisal of the present and future of the profession of a journalist in Russia

3.2.1 How do you estimate the profession of a journalist today and what will it be after 10 years?

3.2.2 Are you a member of some political party, voluntary organization? Why?

3.2.3 What professional role is more suitable for you? (here show 3 professional roles from Weaver: disseminator, interpreter and adversary). Give me your own definitions of the journalistic roles.

## Appendix 2

### Interview Respondents

Person	Born	Family	Educat	Begin Journ	Media	Post	Staff	Income	Memb	Shares
S 1 F	1948	married	LGU/J.	1969	StRadio	edit/ch.	on staff	4000	Journ.U	none
S 2 F	1965	married	LGU/J.	1983	StRadio	editor	on staff	4000	Journ.U	none
S 4 F	1968	divorc.	LGU/J.	1983	StRadio	editor	on staff	4000	Journ.U	none
S 6 M	1962	<i>married</i>	<i>LGU/J.</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>weekly, daily</i>	<i>corresp. corresp.</i>	<i>freelanc freelanc</i>	<i>4000</i>	<i>Journ.U</i>	<i>none</i>
S 7 F	1968	divorc.	LGU/J.	1984	weekly, TV	corresp.	on staff on staff	4000 6000	not	none
S 9 M	1966	<i>single</i>	<i>Marx/LI</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>corresp.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>3500</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
S 10 M	1939	<i>married</i>	<i>Univ/J.</i>	<i>1963</i>	<i>m.daily</i>	<i>corresp.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>4000</i>	<i>Journ.U</i>	<i>yes</i>
S 13 F	1949	married	Theat/I.	1976	m.daily	corresp.	on staff	4000	Journ.U	none
S 14 F	1952	married	LGU/J.	1970	m.daily	corresp.	on staff	>3000	Journ.U	sold
S 16 F	1961	married	LGU/J.	1979	daily	column	on staff	> 4000	not	none
S 20 F	1954	divorc.	LGU/J.	1968	daily	column	on staff	>3000	Journ.U	none
S 21 F	1944	married	Univ/P	1966	daily	edit/cor.	on staff	2000	Journ.U	none
S 23 F	1941	single	Tech/J.	1970	daily	cor/man	on staff	1500	Journ.U	none
S 30 F	1945	single	LGU/P	1970	TV	edit/ch.	on staff	4000	Journ.U	none
P 27 F	1952	divorc.	Cult/In.	1996	TV	corresp.	on staff	N.A.	not	none
P 28 F	1976	married	Academ	1997	TV	corresp.	on staff	3000	not	none
P 29 M	1973	<i>married</i>	<i>Teac/In.</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>corresp.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;7000</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 26 M	1967	<i>married</i>	<i>Tech/In.</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>PrRadio</i>	<i>edit/ch</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>AIBC</i>	<i>none</i>
P 25 F	1977	married	Univ/J.	1994	PrRadio	corresp.	contract	2500	not	none
P 24 M	1968	<i>single</i>	<i>Tech/In</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>PrRadio</i>	<i>edit/cor.</i>	<i>contract</i>	<i>N.A.</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 22 M	1966	<i>single</i>	<i>Theat/I.</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>column.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>TheatrU</i>	<i>none</i>
P 19 M	1974	<i>single</i>	<i>Chem/U</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>daily weekly</i>	<i>corresp. manag.</i>	<i>on staff on staff</i>	<i>&gt;5000</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 18 M	1974	<i>single</i>	<i>Tech/In</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>corresp.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;4000</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 17 M	1960	<i>married</i>	<i>LGU/J.</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>edit/cor.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;3000</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 15 M	1962	<i>single</i>	<i>Tech/In</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>daily</i>	<i>edit/cor.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;6000</i>	<i>SportU</i>	<i>none</i>
P 12 M	1976	<i>single</i>	<i>unc/hig</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>m.daily</i>	<i>edit/cor.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;3000</i>	<i>AIBC</i>	<i>none</i>
P 11 M	1977	<i>divorc.</i>	<i>LGU/J.</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>m.daily</i>	<i>corresp.</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>&gt;8000</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>none</i>
P 8 F	1979	single	LGU/J.	1995	weekly	corresp.	on staff	>3000	not	none
P 5 M	1969	<i>married</i>	<i>LGU/J.</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>StRadio</i>	<i>editor</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>4000</i>	<i>Journ.U</i>	<i>none</i>
P 3 M	1973	<i>single</i>	<i>LGU/J.</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>StRadio</i>	<i>editor</i>	<i>on staff</i>	<i>3500</i>	<i>Journ.U</i>	<i>none</i>

S = Soviet time, old generation professional

P = Post-Soviet time, new generation professional

F = Female

M = Male (in italics)

### **Appendix 3**

#### **St. Petersburg as a case. Characteristics of economic and social life at the end of 1999-2000**

The statistical data was provided by the St. Petersburg government's publication *Osnovnye Itogi Raboty Administratsii Sankt-Peterburga za 2000 god iZzadachi na 2001 i posleduyushchie gody* (2001); by the data from ETLA (the Research Institute of the Finnish Economy) - Solid Invest Group (from St. Petersburg) (December 2000, December 2001) and by the report by the Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration (December 2000).

Today St. Petersburg is related to the number of advanced regions - both in the sphere of economic and social reforms (Yakovlev 2001, 4).

#### ***Economy***

According the St. Petersburg's government publication (*Osnovnye Itogi 2001*, 6) over the majority of indices of economic growth St. Petersburg comes *into the five most actively* developing regions of Russia. Since the middle of 1999 there have been stable positive tendencies: the growth of business activity in industry, building, transport, communication. On the whole for 1999 the bulk of GRP (Gross Regional Product) grew up to 5.6% and for the first half of 2000 according to the data of Peterburgcomstat the summary index of output of production and services of basic branches of economy for the same period of the previous year amounted to 116.5%. In 2000 industry production grew 1.4 times in comparison to 1996. The data of ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2001, 1) also testify to the growth of industrial production in St. Petersburg: 1998 -1.0% (in Russia -4.9%), 1999 6.0% (in Russia 8.1%), in 2000 26.2% (in Russia 9.0%).

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi 2001*, 6) the level of registered unemployment (0.7% of economically active population at the end of 2000) is one of the lowest in the country. ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2001, 4) reports that "during the last three years unemployment in St. Petersburg remained lower than in Russia on average due to the boost in economic activity especially in industry". The unemployment rate was in St. Petersburg in 1999 was 10.5% (in Russia 11.7%), in 2000 7.9% (in Russia 10.2%).

The government source (*Osnovnye Itogi 2001*,6) reports that "growth of real money revenues of the population was 106.9% in 2000 of the level of 1999". The ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 5) confirms that "Real incomes and wages in St. Petersburg started to rise again in September-October 1999 and this continued also in the first half of 2000. The remarkable growth of St. Petersburg's

GRP per capita over the comparable indicator for Russia started in 1995 and has continued until now. GRP per capita in RUR thousand in St. Petersburg in 1998 18948 (in Russia 16442), in 1999 was 33118 (in Russia 27785). This tendency coincides with the increase in the relative share of St. Petersburg in Russian GDP".

The government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001 7, 19) states that in financial matters St. Petersburg remains one of the most stable regions of the Russian Federation. As of 1998 the city successfully implements the budgets entailing no deficit. In 2000 the regional budget from preliminary data amounted to 102.1%, increase of budget revenues for 1999 amounted to 44% (17% in comparable prices); with this index St. Petersburg leaves behind many regions including Moscow.

ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 4) reported that "in 1999, the budget deficit was minimal totalling 0.7% of revenues and 0.12% of GRP. According to the adjusted budget plan for 2000 no deficit is expected to appear". In its next report ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2001, 4) confirms that "St. Petersburg remains one of the most successful Russian regions in budget performance".

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 8, 36) taxes in industry are lower than in many regions in Russia. Regional tax rate over profit of industrial enterprises and organisations in 1997-1998 amounted to 20%, in 1999-2000 it was 19%. Established zones of economic development stimulate the growth of business activity and social reforms owing to tax privileges, which make these territories attractive for investments. For the period 1995-2000 there were created 400 new workplaces in three zones, *Pushkinskaya*, *Severnaya verf*, *Gavan*. Every zone accordingly got investments of \$ 3.5 million, nearly \$ 2 million, and nearly \$ 5 million respectively.

ETLA -Solid Invest Group (2001, 3) reports that "the favourable taxation and administrative privileges provide foreign investors with considerable advantages for making investments. In 2000 St. Petersburg received 11% of all foreign investments in Russia (the second place among regions after Moscow). The use of offshore zones will still be a priority channel for attracting capital to the Russian companies, and St. Petersburg in particular".

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 14-15) 60 operators realise different kinds of communication, the common volume of the services amounted to 12 billion rubles (for population - 4.1 billion rubles) in 2000. 51 000 telephone connections were installed and their common quantity amounted to 1, 846, 000. 350 000 city-dwellers use cellular radio services.

14 organisations with different forms of ownership provide collective reception for television programs and cable television.

The data from the Research Company Comcon -2 (ref. Zassoursky 2001, 228, 225) indicate that St. Petersburg occupies *the second place* in Russia regarding the bulk of services connected with Internet. 54 organisations provide access to the resources of the global net. More than 1.5 million city-dwellers use the computer in everyday life. Of these more than 30% have a personal computer at home. However, this is only 12% of the total number of users of Internet in Russia. The majority of users of Internet live in Moscow - 75%, the rest of them as follows: the Urals 12%, the Volga regions 10%, West Siberia 8% (<http://www.comcon-2.com>). The overall Russian density of Internet providers is: Moscow 40%, St. Petersburg 35%, the European Russia 26%, the Urals, the Siberia and the Far East 23%.

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 16) the St. Petersburg share of total volume of foreign investments in the Russian economy grew steadily from 1997 to the first half of 2000: 2%, 4%, 7%, 11% respectively each year. As a result St. Petersburg became *the second region* after Moscow, which gets the most of all foreign investments. Among successfully realised major investments projects on foreign capital are the food and manufacturing industry, communication, telecommunications and building construction.

The data from the Helsinki School of Economics and Business Administration (December 2000, 3) testify "in St. Petersburg and the Leningrad province investments have grown more rapidly than generally in Russia since 1995. In St. Petersburg most of FDI (foreign direct investments) has been made in industry (68% in 1999). Among the investors, Finland ranks second after the USA in St. Petersburg and third in the Leningrad province after the Netherlands and the USA in 1999". ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 2) reports that "in 1999, St. Petersburg's economy attracted 5.24% of the total investments in real assets in Russia, thus acquiring a twice-larger share than in 1990. The main investment recipients were in the food and beverages industry, transport, communications and catering". Thus, "in 1999, the most attractive branch for foreign investments was industry, which managed to attract 68.6% of the total investment resources, followed by transportation and communication -17% and catering -10.7%.

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 27) in 2000 the foreign trade circulation of St. Petersburg amounted to 5.4 billion \$. In Russia the city occupied *third place* on this index after Moscow and Tyumen region. For the first time in recent years there has been a growth of a



commodity circulation with the countries of the CIS (7%) especially with Byelorussia. The trade with Byelorussia exceeds the volume of trade of St. Petersburg with all other countries of the CIS taken together. ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 3) reports that "The share of CIS-countries in St. Petersburg's foreign trade decreased sharply during the 1990's and as of 1999 does not exceed 11% of the total".

### ***Social life***

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 39) by 01.01. 2001 the city population was 4,628,000 with 2.8 million of working age; 1.1 million of pension age; 0.7 million children under 16 years. The number of pensioners was 1.5 times more than the number of children. Every fourth pensioner continues to work, so factual labour resources amount to approximately 3.05 million people. Index mortality exceeds birth rate. In 1999 this index was 2.4 times, in 1997 and 2.6 times in 1998. However, in 2000 the growth in births exceeded the index of mortality. The migration index was positive at 2-3 thousand in a year.

The data of ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 5) notes that "the population of St. Petersburg peaked in 1991 and has been constantly decreasing thereafter, although the rate of decrease today is somewhat lower than forecast earlier. This trend is driven by the increase in the mortality rate and the low fertility of the population. Domestic migration, although positive since 1994, is not compensating for the population decline and ageing. Thus, regarding the population and able-bodied citizens, in 1998 the city population was 4, 749, 000 (able-bodied 2, 330, 000), in 1999 it was 4, 728, 000 (able-bodied 2, 553, 000), and in 2000 the population was 4, 715, 000 (able-bodied 2, 523, 000).

The government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 46) reports that the labour market remained stable even during and after the economic crisis of 1998. From 1996 the level of registered unemployment decreased more than two times to 0.7% of the economically active population. In Russia this index on average is 1.2%. In 2000 the number of officially recognised the unemployed decreased by over 5.5 thousand. By 2001 the city Service of Employment registered 17, 200 unemployed although general numbers of vacancies announced by the enterprises and organisations of St. Petersburg in the Service of Employment amounted to 54, 000 and there were *more than three vacant working places for one unemployed person*. For 1996-2000 some 35, 000 unemployed were educated on vocational courses and more than 90% of those were placed in a job; there were created 1611 working places having the status of independent employment and free enterprise from the number of the unemployed; in 2000 - 411 working places.

The data from ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 3) show that "the structure of employment in the branches of St. Petersburg's economy has changed significantly since 1991 reflecting the development in the structure of the city's economy. The main trend has been the decrease in employment in industry (from 28% to 22%) in favour of the service sector and especially trade, catering, material and technical supply".

According to the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 47) in 2000 nominal average salary increased 1.5 times in comparison with the salary of 1999 (allowing for inflation 22.1%) whereas real money incomes of the population increased by over 8.8%. The growth of pensions in 2000 (22.7% in March, 26.6% in June, 35.5% in September) moved faster than the increase of salary of working people. However, the pensions cover on average only 84.3% of the living wage whereas the average salary 1.8 of the living wage of the working population.

According to the data of ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000, 7) " the living conditions and standards remained very low (1998 - 27.2% of the population had an income of less than official life subsistence minimum), though rather stable. The pensions and salaries of state employees were mostly paid on time".

The government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 40-42) reports that almost 2 million city-dwellers every month receive state support in the form of pension, unemployment benefit, family allowance and other social payments. The servicing of St. Petersburg's pensioners is acknowledged the best in Russia. In the city there are 605, 200 invalids. 37 000 pensioners and invalids have services at home. Poor city-dwellers receive different kinds of aid: money, food packages, hot dinners, clothes and other things. However, the number of those who apply for different kinds of social aid grows annually. The tendency is caused by the ageing of the city population, low pensions, the growth of the number of invalids, and low level of incomes of families where parents work in state service. The system of privileges operates in the city. Thus, the city-dwellers have free medical services guaranteed by the obligatory state insurance. The pensioners have privileges when buying medicines (in 2000 the city budget assigned 366 million rubles for this), and can also buy privilege tickets on city and rural transport (for these needs the city administration assigned 100 million rubles).

ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2001, 4) confirms that "The main priority of the city budget is the social sphere. The majority of resources are allocated to the maintenance of housing and communal services, education, social policy and health care".

As the government source (*Osnovnye Itogi* 2001, 71) reports in 2000 crime decreased by over 4.9% in comparison with 1999 and amounted to 97, 700 crimes; among them the number of serious crimes decreased by over 14.2% (in Russia by over 6.1%). The number of murders decreased over 4.5% (in Russia - increased by over 2.2%), the number of crimes causing serious harm to health decreased by over 5.6% (in Russia - increased by over 4.4%), the number of rapes decreased by over 38.4% (in Russia - 5.3%).

ETLA - Solid Invest Group (2000,7) notes that "although the level of crime in St. Petersburg has fallen in general, there were some notorious murders (including political ones), which caused the city to be regarded as the criminal capital of Russia".

## **Appendix 4**

### **EXPERTS INTERVIEWED IN ST. PETERSBURG IN JULY 1998**

1. Fomicheva Lyudmila - observer of ITAR TASS
2. Gelman Vladimir - professor in political science of St. Petersburg European University.
3. Goncharenko Marina - deputy editor-in-chief of the daily *Smena*.
4. Khabchik Lyudmila - chief of the advertising sector of the daily *Vechernii Peterburg*.
5. Matveev Alexander - editor of the Radio *Peterburg* of the Television Radio Company (TRK) *Peterburg*.
6. Shelin Sergei - deputy of the daily *Vechernii Peterburg*.
7. Shishkina Marina - dean of the Faculty of Journalism of St. Petersburg State University.
8. Sidorov Igor - managing director of the St. Petersburg Union of Journalists.
9. Timoshenkova Viktoriya - deputy of the weekly *Pyat Uglov*.
10. Vdovin Yury - deputy in chief of the St. Petersburg Public Human Rights Organization *Citizens' Control*.
11. Yurkov Alexander Alexandrovich - deputy of the daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*.

### **EXPERTS INTERVIEWED IN ST. PETERSBURG IN April 2001**

1. Ambrosenkova, Valentina Konstantinovna - chief of the primary journalist organisation of the Union of Journalists, senior lecturer in the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
2. Fokina, Marina Ljvovna - head of the board of directors VGTRK *Sankt-Peterburg*, head of the North-Western section of the Media Union of Russia.
3. Gavra, Dmitry Petrovich - professor, head of theory of communication in the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
4. Kuzin, Vladilen Ivanovich - senior lecturer in sociology in the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
5. Mikhailov, Sergei Anatolyevich - senior lecturer in international journalism in the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
6. Puju, Anatoly Stepanovich - professor, head of international journalism in the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
7. Sharkova, Elena Sergeevna - vice chief of the St. Petersburg Union of Journalists.
8. Shishkina, Marina Anatolyevna - professor, dean of the Faculty of Journalism, St. Petersburg State University.
9. Sidorov, Igor Alexandrovich - managing director of St. Petersburg Union of Journalists.
10. Tretyakov, Yury Valentinovich - vice chief of the committee for the mass media and the public relations of the City Administration of St. Petersburg.
11. Vasilyev, Vladimir Konstantinovich - vice chief of the committee for the mass media and the public relations of the City Administration of St. Petersburg.
12. Yurkov, Alexander Alexandrovich - deputy of the daily *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti*.