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The Communication Matrices and the Choice of the National Development Model Russia

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The debate about what is happening to Russian mass media and in what direction the national journalism develops is being held from the very beginning of perestroika; and journalists as well as scientists are involved in it. The idea of the debate is to find answers to the following questions: why the media quality has declined, they became tabloid, yellow, and journalism – corrupt, incompetent, and servile; why we still can not have free, fair and objective press.

There is a variety of suggestions to it: from the corrupting influence of the West and the Jewish-Masonic conspiracy to the iron hand of the Kremlin. The tone of the imposed conclusions is also different: from restraint and balanced scientific statements to the apocalyptic emotionality of journalistic media criticism.

It would appear that involvement of pundits into this ‘exploratory’ activity should lead to the desired result. And, indeed, numerous scientific studies on the analysis of media and journalism were carried out, where scientists were trying to identify patterns and trends of media processes. Thus mass media research area is adequately covered by three main complexes:

- **socio-centred researches**, considering the mass media as a specific social machine that performs a set of functions (over the composition and content of which are disputable);

- **media-centred works**, analyzing the organizational aspects of the media companies;

- **anthropic-centred publication**, where the problems of journalist creativity and audience behavior are brought to the forefront.

Obviously there have been quite serious attempts to get answers to the questions formulated above; however, it is equally obvious that almost 20 years of discussions did not lead to any desired result. So why do those really important questions still remain open?

In my opinion, the answer is simple: *Mass media is a social institution that organizes the activities of people involved in its sphere of influence using certain rigid matrices that were formed for centuries and are extremely difficult to transform.*

I'll try to expand this rather lapidary answer.

Mass media as a social institution

I remember the year 1979, when being a young scientist I spoke at a scientific conference and proved that the work of the journalist shall be determined by the norms and rules. To this the Head of Journalism of Kiev University, D.M. Prilyuk, stood up, frowned and said, that I was wrong, because journalism is a creative profession, and there can be no rules.

Now the idea that the media is an institute of mass communication, acting according to certain rules, has become a commonplace. Today you do not need to prove that mass communication as a system providing rapid production and mass distribution of semantic constructs, the core of which is a way of life in a changing environment, creates (of course, using elements already available in the community) a set of social institutions and activities, ensuring its operation and development.

Mass media is one of such institutions, and journalism is one kind of activities ensuring this institution functioning. Mass media as a social

institution require journalism to follow regulations and rules of professional conduct, which are based on certain principles and legal basis and perform a stimulating and sometimes force functions (through prohibitions, permissions, obligations, etc.)

Just like any social institution, mass media arise in response to a social need to have an objective process of labor division, and in more general terms – the differentiation process of human sensuously objective activity and public relations. The needs and wants form the respective interests and target setting that act as direct genesis determinants for social institutions establishment and development. Therefore, one of the specific features of such institutions origin is that they appear as a result of a joint goal-directed activity of a group of people, realization of their target settings. The institutionalization of the activity presupposes a certain standardization of these settings, their consolidation in certain forms and creation of conditions for their reproduction.

This means that the media in general is not just a set of organizations and teams, performing freely chosen certain obligations. This is a rather rigid system of rules, regulations, public expectations, according to which these obligations should be performed¹. These rules, norms, expectations are objectified in the form of a certain status of people providing mass media functioning, as well as in roles which are assigned (and sometimes imposed) to people associated with the institution.²

In this sense, the media, as well as any social institution, appears as a part of the social whole, which according to the expectation of other

¹ Journalists should ...'. 'Journalists should not...' The President, the Prime Minister, the speakers of both houses of the ministers, the oligarchs – the list goes on until the last drunkard – all they know what journalists are supposed to do and what they should not. And woe to the journalist, whose opinion about his duties does not coincide with the public's expectations.

² The concept of 'role' (as a rule, together with the definition 'social') traditionally assigned to an individual and is used to denote the set of rules, determining the behaviour of individuals acting in a social system depending on the status or position they have, and actions implementing the these standards. However, in my opinion, the powerful heuristics potentiality of this concept gives a possibility to represent a specific aspect of the functioning of the various social actors (organizations, institutions – various subsystems of society, with the status, position in the system of social interactions).

elements should have a certain behavior, that is, to realize well-defined functions. But just as the behavior of an individual can be deviant in a positive or negative sense, the functioning of a social institution can whether or not meet the expectations of the social order and other social institutions. If the institution evades to perform its functions (or there are inappropriate deviations), it (namely, individuals performing it) faces various sanctions.

However, it is time to move on, starting out from an understanding that the media is a social institution.

Communication matrices

Contemporary science has proven that any communicative action is mediated by binding regulations, which determine the mutual behavioral expectations, and which must be understood and recognized, at least by two communicating subjects. Everyone involved in communication, intuitively aims to follow some rules and regulations, which allows, in their opinion, to communicate effectively and successfully. These ‘regulators’ are defined by different concepts: principles, postulates, rules, policies, discourses, conventions, and codes.

For example, one of the linguistic studies states that ‘domestic and foreign scholars in the field of speech act theory – A.A Leontiev, L.S. Vygotsky, M.R. Lvov, A.E. Suprun, E.V. Kluev, T.G. Vinokur, J. Austin, J. R.Serl, G. Grice, G. Sanz and others – have developed rules (principles) of speech communication: the co-operation principle, the consistency principle, the preferred structure principle, the politeness principle, the equal security principle, the de-centric orientation principle, and the utterance perception principle’³.

³ Umantseva, L. V. Kommunikativniy kodeks kak osnova vospitaniya grazhdanina [Communication Code as the Basis for Bringing up a Citizen]: <http://www.t21.rgups.ru/doc2007/8/20.doc>.

The concepts ‘discourse’ and ‘convention’ are the most popular at the moment.

The word ‘**discourse**’ (*fr. discours, lat. discursus* – reasoning, argument) is translated in Russian as speech, statement, and reasoning. However, these words do not convey the meanings that experts associate with this concept. Discourse is seen not only as a tool to master the reality through ‘articulation’, but the construction of normative models – perception frames and behavior scenarios. Thus, the discourse is both a process and a result (as established methods, rules and logic to hold a discussion). With this idea, discourse is considered as the way to organize reality settled and dug in the language, the way of seeing the world, realizable in a variety of (not only verbal) practices, and, therefore, not only reflecting the world, but also developing and co-creating it.

Any discourse relates to the institutional form of communication. Institutional discourse is a discourse, carried out in social institutions, where communication is an integral part of their organization.

The main parameters of the institutional discourse are:

- A set of typical communication situations (speech events),
- Presentation of the typical patterns of speech behavior in the performance of certain social roles,
- Certain (limited) topics of communication, a specific set of intentions and related speech strategies⁴.

The **convention** refers to the forms of interaction accepted by the society (and regulated by a given society), including speech. Most of communicative acts are regulated to some extent.⁵

⁴ Cit. on: Sheigal E. I. Semiotika Politicheskogo Diskursa [Semiotics of Political Discourse. – Moscow: Gnozis, 2004. - P. 42.

⁵ See: Austin J. How to Do Things With Words P. 8-156. // Austin J. Selectas. – Moscow.: Idea-Press; House of Intellectual Book, 1999; Austin J. Performative Utterances, P. 263-281. // Three Ways of Spilling Ink. Philosophical Papers – St. Petersburg: Aleteya, 2006; Searle J. What are Speech Acts? P. 56-74. // Philosophy of Language. – Moscow: Editorial URSS, 2004; Strawson P. F. Intention and convention in speech acts, P.35-55. // Philosophy of Language. – Moscow: Editorial URSS, 2004.

If we bear in mind the social conventions, regulating the initiation of a communicative act, it will be convenient to consider the communicants as members (strict and non-strict) of some social hierarchies, such as:

- boss / manager / employer – a subordinate;
- superior officer (for example, in the army) – inferior in rank;
- teacher / master / lecturer – student / apprentice / audience;
- parents / adults – children;
- leader – team;
- owner – tenant;
- host – guest.

Quite often in order to refer to the rules of communication, the term ‘code’ is used. L.V. Umantseva writes the following about it: ‘In the dictionaries the word ‘code’ is defined as a set of laws. The Criminal Code, a set of rules, beliefs (fig., book.). In verbal communication, there are also rules, beliefs, i.e. communicative code’. According to her, ‘the basis of the communicative code is built of such basic categories as communicative (speech) purpose and communicative (verbal) intention. Communicants should comply with the criterion of truth (faithfulness to reality), the criterion of sincerity (faithfulness to you), the criterion of knowledge of the native Russian language and its literary norms (allegiance with the Motherland, and its heritage – Russian language), and the criterion of morality (trust your mind, your heart)⁶.

Recently the concept ‘**Format**’ has become extremely popular. In Latin, ‘format’ means a ‘look, external appearance’. The term was used in the printing industry in the XVIII century and meant ‘the size of the printed edition, paper size’. Format was used as a term, plus printing names and nomenclature attached to it, meaning specific sizes of publications, say A4 format, A3 format, and A2 format. It is no longer just about the appearance

⁶ ://www.t21.rgups.ru/doc2007/8/20.doc.

and size, but about quite a specified size, a benchmark, a standard in the printing industry. Then the concept was used by computer scientists to refer to some parameters, properties, and opportunities that allow operation of certain computer programmes. Derivative concept ‘formatting’ came from the computer vocabulary: 1) erase the old data and install new software; 2) specify text’s appearance, for example: text to the centre, left, right. Both meaning of the verb ‘format’ have remain the same: the structure, the standard.

According to T.I. Surikova: ‘it was this actualized sema ‘standard’, ‘benchmark’ that lead to the use of the concept ‘format’ in theory and practice of mass communication when such notions as media type, genre, style, reflecting the systemic nature of this phenomenon, ceased to convey standard and benchmark notions. And the word became fashionable...

Such set of linguistic and extra-linguistic circumstances, in our opinion, could lead to the situation in mass communication when ‘format’ would replace the named concepts or, at least, began to be used as their modern, trendy synonym matching the linguistic taste of the times. This is indicated by its contexts and compatibility’⁷.

We shall outline our position without analyzing these categories. It is that the most appropriate term for all possible regulators of communication, is the concept ‘**matrix**’. This concept was used in the cult sci-fi movie, filmed by brothers Andy and Larry Wachowski to indicate an interactive computer program simulating reality for billions of people connected to it forcefully by insurgent machines, so that they could obtain energy necessary for their continued existence from people.

Of course, this concept existed long before the movie ‘Matrix’ and had a rather specific meaning. It comes from the Latin ‘matrix’ (womb), and was used in metal processing to identify tools with cross cutting hole or recess which were used in stamping and pressing, as well as in printing to

⁷ <http://www.mediascope.ru/node/416>.

identify a metal plate with intaglio of a letter or a character which served as a form to mold literals.

And this meaning – a form setting the parameters for something – provide ample opportunities for the use of this concept.

With regard to public processes the concept ‘institutional matrix’ was used by K. Polani and D. North. Douglass North defines the institutional matrix as a structure of institutions determining economic and political behavior of actors and their limits⁸. S. Kirdina develops the idea of institutional matrices in more detail, originally she proposed a model of institutional matrix to describe two types of economies (market and planned)⁹.

Institutional matrix as a sociological concept is a stable, historically developed system of basic institutions, regulating the interconnected operation of the main social spheres: economic, political and ideological.

According to S. Kirdina, institutional matrix is a triune social form; it is a system of economic, political and ideological institutions that are in constant accord. Or, in other words, the institutional matrix is a peculiar genotype of the society – it forms at the time when the State is originated and preserves its nature throughout the state’s development. These matrices represent a set of knowledge, values, and norms, providing human adaptation to the environment or the environment transformation by the individuals in accordance with their needs, goals and ideas. They reflect the reality of ethnic and social groups who lived here before and effectively adapted.¹⁰

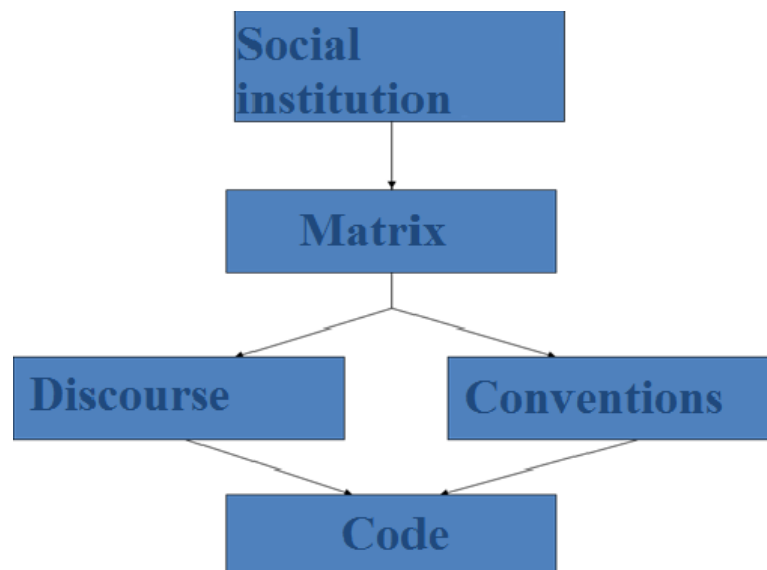
⁸ North, D.: Understanding the Process of Economic Change. /translated from English by Martynov K., Edelman N.; State University – Higher School of Economics. – Moscow.: Publishing House of the State University – Higher School of Economics, 2010. – 256 pp.

⁹ Kirdina S.G. Institutstionalnye matritsy i razvitie Rossii [Institutional matrices and the development of Russia]. Novosibirsk: Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2001. – 308 pp.

¹⁰ In a sense, defined term "institution" has something in common with the concept of "culture", which is widely used in the Russian social science. Any culture is a set of programs that ensure the survival and

Institutional matrices are always bound to a particular social or geographical area, i.e. they have their own space with certain imperatives. In other words, we are talking about some real or virtual area, with a population that recognizes the authority of a certain matrix.

According to S. Kirdina, humanity knows two basic matrices, which largely determine the lifestyle and social activities of the people: the X- and Y-matrices. Each of these matrices is based on the specific economic, political and ideological institutions. All the above allows us to formulate the thesis that the most appropriate term to refer to systems of knowledge, values and norms defining specifics of various subjects' communication in different situations and reconciling these systems with the general social situation, is the notion 'communication matrix' manifestations of which are the discourses, conventions, codes. Schematically, this idea can be represented as follows:



Types of communications matrices

development of the community, a group or an individual. Any culture emerges as a response to requests from people, who are seeking to survive and develop under the specified conditions in the most effective way.

A variety of different communication matrices that determine the communicative behavior of individuals and social institutions can be combined into three main groups: vertical, horizontal and diagonal matrices.

The vertical matrix:

- Vertical distribution of subjects of communication (parents – children, bosses – subordinates, the state – citizens);
- The state plays a dominant role in most communicative processes;
- Access to information is complicated due to a set of special regulations;
- The right to free expression of opinion is not exercised.

The horizontal matrix:

- Partnerships between the subjects of communication;
- Established mechanism of feedback;
- The right to free access to information, to expression of views, to personal choice of communication channels is legislatively enforced and exercised.

The Hybrid matrix:

- Allocates subjects of communication in classes with a horizontal relationship, and vertical – between them;
- Provides partial access to various information massive, however, access to a significant part of information resources requires special permission.

Today, in Russia all three communication matrix co-exist. The hybrid matrix is basic, and vertical and horizontal play the role of complementary matrices.

Media matrices

Functioning in the media space, communication matrix is realized in the form of a media matrix that is a set of more or less stringent standards and rules according to which, a mass-media product is created. Media matrix operates at all stages of the journalistic and editorial activity: the selection of news, the definition of genres, etc.

Media matrix in its turn parts into several types that realize various mass media purposes. In its most general form, the following media matrices can be identified: journalism, advertising, promotion, and PR.

The fact that the media as a social institution and journalism, as a type of social activity, function in accordance with the norms and rules based on the specifics of social system was recognized by experts thanks to an old work of American sociologists Siebert, Peterson and Schramm "Four Theories of the Press", published in America in 1956.¹¹ Having named these norms and rules "theories of the press" the authors identified four such theories: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility theory, and Soviet (communist).

McQuail¹² added two more theories: model of developing countries, a model of democratic participation.

According to the Raymond Williams' concept¹³, a mass media system may be authoritarian, paternalistic, commercial, and democratic. Authoritarian system is such a mass media system, where "the main task of communication is to convey instructions, ideas and attitudes of the ruling group".

Paternalistic system is an authoritarian model, where, however, the ruling group retains responsibility towards society, i.e. "values and goals that

¹¹ Siebert F. S., Schramm W., Peterson T. Four Theories of the Press. Moscow., National Press Institute and Vagrius Publishing House, 1998.

¹² McQuail

¹³ See.: Sparks C., Reading A., Communism, Capitalism and the Mass Media. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi. SAGE Publications. 1998. P. 52.

go beyond the power retention”. Although the commercial system differs from the authoritarian or paternalistic by greater degree of inner freedom, “it has its limitations arising from the difficulties to make profit from some form of communication”: “you can say whatever you want, provided that you can afford to say it, and say it with a profit”. Williams could not find an actual example of the media democratic model, that’s why for him it was rather a system of principles to be followed than specific proposals on the basis of accumulated experience.¹⁴

In Russia the problems of media typology are actively discussed by A. Akopov, L. Resnyanskaya, M. Shkondin and many other researchers.¹⁵ However, the object of their interest usually was to find an effective formal classification of the media, which would create a sort of media periodic table, and in its cells all the possible types of media will be included.

My approach to analyze types of media and journalism was first formulated in 1988 in the article that was published in the now-forgotten magazine "Slovo lectors" (Word of lecturer). Afterwards I outlined it in some of my other publications during perestroika era.¹⁶

¹⁴ There are also other more emotional definitions of the social role of journalism: “Night Watchman”, “Watchdog of Democracy”. etc.

¹⁵ See: Akopov A. I. Metodika tipologicheskogo issledovaniya periodicheskikh izdaniy [Methodology of typological research of periodical publications]. / Basing on the example of trade magazines. Irkutsk, 1985; Bakshin V.V. Tipologicheskiye kharakteristiki ezhenedelnika [Typological properties of a weekly periodical]. - Vladivostok, 1984; Grabelnikov A.A. Massovaya informatsiya v Rossii: ot pervoy gazety do informatsionnogo obschestva [Mass information in Russia: from the first paper to information society. Moscow, 2001; Metodika tipologicheskogo analiza periodicheskoi pechati [Methodology of typological analysis of periodical publications] Moscow, 1995; Resnyanskaya L.L., Fomicheva I.D. Gazeta dlya vsey Rossii [Paper for the whole of Russia] Moscow, 1999; Sredstva massovoi informatsii Rossii [Russian Mass Media] Moscow, 2005; Tipologicheskoye razvitiye zhurnalistiki [Typological development of journalism] Rostov-on-Don, 1993; Tipologiya izdaniy [Typology of publications] Moscow, 1990; Tipologiya periodicheskikh izdaniy [Typology of periodical publications] Rostov-on-Don, 1983; Tipologiya periodicheskoy pechati [Typology of periodical press] Moscow, 1995; Shkondin M.V. Sistemnaya tipologicheskaya model' SMI [Systemic typological model of mass media] Moscow, 2002; Shkondin M.V., Resnyanskaya L.L. Tipologiya periodicheskoy pechati [Typology of periodical press] Moscow, 2007.

¹⁶ Dzyaloshinsky I. Esche raz o tekhnokraticheskom podkhode [Once again about technocratic approach] // “Slovo Lektora [Lecturer’s Word]” magazine 1988 No. 4.; Dzyaloshinsky I. Zhurnalistikoye myshleniye: osobennosti struktury i funktsionirovaniya na sovremennom etape [Journalistic mentality: specifics of structure and functioning in this day and age]. In the book: “Sredstva massovoi informatsii v formirovanii novogo myshleniya [Mass Media in the Formation of the New Mentality]”. L., 1989; Dzyaloshinsky I. Sovetskaya zhurnalistika: tri paradigmy tvorchestva [Journalism in the Soviet Union: three paradigms of creativity]. In the book: “Zhurnalist. Pressa. Auditoria. [Journalist. Press. Audience]” L., 1991; Dzyaloshinsky I. Kategorii i paradigmy zhurnalistikoi deyatel'nosti [Categories and paradigms of journalist activities] In the book: “Osnovniye ponyatiya teorii zhurnalistiki [Key notions of journalism theory] Moscow, 1993.

Later, these ideas were more or less clearly expressed in my book, "The Russian journalist in post-totalitarian era" and other publications.¹⁷

The approach was to claim that within the framework of the Russian professional journalistic culture several alternative paradigms of professional activity co-exist, which differ from one another by all the components, including the moral and ethical ones. All of them are located in a peculiar "space" formed by three vectors which are fundamental, social and professional settings that determine the general attitude of journalists to the audience.

The first settings puts the journalist above the audience determining his right to treat their readers as an object of management (training, development) and a journalist as the carrier or the translator of management programs of different types and levels. If we try to convey the ultimate meaning of activities of journalist professing this approach, it will be the word "impact".

¹⁷ Dzyaloshinsky I. Rossiyskiye SMI v izbiratel'noi kampanii: uroki effektivnosti [Role of Russian mass media in an election campaign: efficiency lessons] Moscow, 1996; Dzyaloshinsky I. Rossiyskiy zhurnalist v post-totalitarnuyu epokhu [Russian journalist in post-totalitarian period] Moscow, 1996; Dzyaloshinsky I. Kak sozdayutsya geroi i d'yavoly [How heroes and devils are created] // "Sovetnik" magazine, 1997, No. 1; Dzyaloshinsky I. V plenu manipulativnykh tekhnologiy [Prisoners of manipulative techniques] // "Sovetnik" magazine, 1997, No. 7; SMI i struktury grazhdanskogo obschestva: problemy vzaimodeystviya [Mass media and civil society structures: co-operation issues]; Moscow, 1999; Dzyaloshinsky I. Redaktsionnaya politika kak faktor uspekhov deyatelnosti SMI [Editorial policy as the factor of media success] Moscow, 2000; Dzyaloshinsky I. Tri tipa professional'nogo povedeniya zhurnalista [Three types of professional conduct of a journalist] // "Professiya Zhurnalist" magazine, 2001, No. 4; Dzyaloshinsky I. SMI, vlast' i grazhdanskoye obschestvo v regione [Mass media, power and civil society in the region] Moscow: Pul's, 2002; Dzyaloshinsky I. Kakaya zhurnalistika mozhet schitat'sya sotsial'noy? [Which type of journalism can be considered social?] - In the book: NKO i SMI: mostik cherez propast' [Non-commercial organisations and mass media: tiny footbridge across an abyss] Moscow, 2002; Dzyaloshinsky I. Politicheskiye tekhnologii v prostranstve mass media [Political techniques in mass media environment] // "Effektivnoye antikrizisnoye upravleniye [Efficient anti-crisis management]" magazine, 2003, No. 5-6; Dzyaloshinsky I. SMI, vlast' i grazhdanskoye obschestvo v poiskah balansa interesov [Mass media, power and civil society searching for the balance of interests. In the book: Regional'nye SMI i demokratiya v Rossii [Regional mass media and democracy in Russia] M., 2003; Dzyaloshinsky I. Russia: Cultural Transformations, Tolerance, and the Media. South Atlantic Quarterly 105(3): 617-636 (2006); Dzyaloshinsky I. Zhurnalistika souchastiya. Kak sdelat' SMI poleznymi lyudyam [Journalism of involvement. How to make mass media useful to people] Moscow, 2006; Dzyaloshinsky I. Rol' SMI v organizatsii dialoga vlasti i obschestva [Role of mass media in organization of the dialogue between the government and the society]. In the book: Rol' SMI v formirovaniy grazhdanskogo obschestva [Role of mass media in the formation of civil society] Moscow: Khroniker, 2006; Dzyaloshinsky I. SMI kak sub'ekt publichnoi politiki. Publichnaya politika v sovremennooi Rossii [Mass media as the subject of public policy. Public policy in modern Russia] Moscow, 2006; Dzyaloshinsky I. Innovatsionnaya zhurnalistika: modnoye slovosochetaniye ili put' razvitiya SMI [Innovative journalism: fashionable phrase or mass media development path] // Teletsentri magazine, 2007, No. 1 (21); Dzyaloshinsky I. Grazhdanskiye kommunikatsii v negrazhdanskom obschestve [Civil communications in non-civil society] In the book: Mediaobrazovaniye ot teorii k praktike [Media development from theory to practice] Tomsk, 2007.

This kind of journalistic practice got a quite fundamental grounding in the work of many researchers and theorists who have created a complex of harmonious and perfect concepts of control action, based on the idea of the active role of mass media that act as a subject of propaganda and the passive (despite numerous reservations) role of the audience that is regarded as an object of ideological, propaganda influence.

The second setting puts journalist near the audience and is focused on the informing relation. In this case, journalists consider that their primary professional responsibility is to provide audience with a variety of interesting information, data, and materials as well as to assist in expressing people's opinions.

Both of these settings, despite the significant differences between them, alienate the audience from the mass media.

The third fundamental setting requires that journalists should be inside a particular human community and consider themselves as interested participants of a search, performed together with the audience, to find solutions to the complex vital problems. The main idea of such journalism is that journalists should consider readers, viewers, listeners, not as a background or passive observers, victims of various circumstances, but as participants of the problem solving process. This journalism defines itself in such terms as humanitarian, personal, communitarian, participatory, etc.¹⁸

The main function/role of journalism is understood as a "dialogue moderator". It means that journalism can and should create an environment for equal dialogue between different social groups – no matter how great they are and how different their ideas, goals and organizations are – in the

¹⁸ In America, almost the same idea has been realized in the concept of civil (public) journalism. Civil journalism puts journalists' duties to society to the forefront not the rights of journalists. In other words, this journalism requires from editors and news organizations to perform the journalistic work so, that it would help people to overcome a sense of apathy, powerlessness and alienation, galvanize them into action, turning them from passive viewers into active participants of civil actions. The American experience of the citizen journalism is presented in the book: Edward D. Miller. *The Charlotte Project. Helping citizens take back democracy.* M., 1998.

course of which social contradictions and conflicts can be resolved. Journalism can and should combine conflicting opinions and attitudes into a single information space, which, on becoming known to the public, can find ways for rapprochement or, at least, provide arguments to prove own consistency. This feature is especially important in a society torn by conflict and split into different camps, when a society is unable to find reconciliation in the squares and the stands. It is the function that can convert the conflict destroying the unity into the conflict, revealing the problem, thus, brings it closer to resolution not at the level of a street brawl, but on the positions of a reasonable and pragmatic public dialogue.¹⁹

What conclusions can we make if we use the above classification to the Russian mass media?

The first group – ‘impact’ mass media belonging to the state and corporations – its main task is to influence public opinion and behavioral stereotypes of the population, represents the most powerful and secured communication resource. It is known that currently most of Russian regional newspapers and 80 % of municipal ones belong to state and municipal authorities, which is reflected in the editorial policy of these media,²⁰ as well as their economic independence, because all of them are subsidized from regional and local budgets in some way.

The second group of media, which are usually referred to as commercial, as they are focused on profit due to the interests and needs of

¹⁹ Technology dialogue in the media is outlined in more details in the following papers: Resnyanskaya L. Two-way communication: a methodology for public dialogue. M., 2001; Grusha A. Forms and methods of interaction between political actors. The press and political dialogue. Moscow., 2001; Prokhorov E. Dialogue mode for democratic journalism in open society. Moscow., 2002.

²⁰ The results obtained in different studies indicate that the relationship between the government and the media in Russia define themselves whether in terms of submission and servitude, or in terms of war. Another option – that is a dialogue, partnership – is impossible. At the regional level, heads of any rank are characterized by an absolute unwillingness to consider the mass media as an independent social institution, by the desire to turn journalists into their henchmen, who are supposed to carry out instructions sent down. Heads of administrations see the local press primarily as a kind of additional information and analytical service, and a department of public relations, but never as a controller and a critic of their actions. With all the individual differences in age, education, life experience heads of regional and local governments consider the media as neither an independent institution of civil society nor special, relatively independent informational business, but only as an advocacy attachment to the administration. Many of them are originally convinced that journalists’ duty is to help them, managers, to solve the problems they face.

the audience also feel good. Studies over the past ten years provide a basis for concluding that these media have favorable development opportunities. The advertising market is rapidly growing, unpretentious mass audience gladly absorb the content of not very high quality.

However, the commercialization of the media in a situation where other public institutions operate in X-matrix, has led to the fact that many of them have ceased to meet their informational purposes, as well as to perform the inherent cultural, educational and other functions. Civil society has no traditions, population is excluded from the political process –all these caused the situation when commercial media have to meet very narrow, mostly household and entertainment interests of their audience, which is very freely interpreted by managers of media companies.

The third group of media has position themselves as a social institution protecting the public interest from government and capital; the total number of this media group is insignificant and the fate of such media is unenviable.

What is the reason to choose a particular matrix?

Such ratio media types can hardly be called accidental. And it is unlikely to be the result of someone's ill will or incompetence. Most likely, this ratio is determined by the characteristics of the social system, which media serve to.

In order to understand where the vector of development aims and what will happen in the Russian media, we need to understand what was happening, is happening and will happen to the system of higher order, namely to the general public.

In Russia forms of interaction between X- and Y-matrix have been developed over many years. They all can be summarized in three basic

models which, in one form or another, are represented in the works of modern scholars.

Conservative-statist model. This model includes the heritage of Leontyev, Eurasians (P. Savitsky, L. Karsavin, N. Alekseev, etc.). At the core of this model there is the paradigm of an updated ideocracy and Byzantinism. Civic consciousness is treated as national spirit, a single national will, and European liberalism, democracy and pluralism as a hostile, sinful political environment, eating away the root of the Eurasian-Byzantine Russian society.

Today conservative-statist model is transformed into a fundamentalist (Conservative, Orthodox community) project, which focuses on the principled rejection of the Western values, is based on the idea of a "return to basics", "falling down before the deeper fundamentals of folk wisdom", "protection of national culture", etc.

The original principles of the fundamentalist project can be summarized as follows:

- society is understood as a sphere trying to do the will do God in a sinful imperfect world, not as the embodiment of a self-sufficient human desires;
- group and especially social interests are primary in relation to the individual;
- the state in this value system is a universal organization, organization capable to provide effective development of society and support the wholesome tradition;
- innovation, particularly targeted, deliberate reforms are perceived as undesirable;
- reforms are only permitted in line with the country's civilizational values.

Liberal-conservative model. This model has two main branches the liberal conservatism (B. Chicherin, P. Struve) and the new liberalism (P. Novgorodtsev, S. Kotlyarevskiy, S. Gessen, B. Kistyakovskiy).

The liberal-conservative model of civil society associates the freedom and rights of the individual with the principles of nation and culture, political freedom – with spiritual and cultural freedom, extending the traditional idea of liberalism.

The question of the participation of the people in the legislative process and state management, in reforming the political and economic and financial system is considered in the context of cultural liberation of the individual and the open society. This approach involves the alliance of the "ideal autocracy" with liberal and democratic social forces on the principles of tolerance and the rule of law and order.

Today's liberals mostly support Western project which is associated with strong belief in inevitable construction a universal world community, based on the principles of democracy and liberalism, scientific and cultural progress, widespread distribution of the model of industrial or post-industrial economy.

The terms of the proposed by S. Kirdina tell about the transition from the dominance of the X-matrix to the dominance of Y-matrix, that is, a complete upgrade of basic models of life. Such a transition is possible only if the government and society will take a special effort to provide the conditions necessary for such a transformation:

- a minimum standard of well-being;
- freedom of creativity;
- freedom of enterprise;
- fair competition;
- high level of education;
- development of science;

- industry of innovation;
- importance of social capital, trust.²¹

Revolutionary-radical model. Its interior includes models of civil society that are typical to the spiritual and political models of the revolutionary democrats, revolutionary populism, Russian anarchism, Russian Marxism (the social-democrats of all shades and the Bolsheviks).

In the late XX century the revolutionary-radical model got its continuation in the radicalism of the two types: national bolshevism and liberal radicalism. These directions, although based on different values and program-political grounds, are, in fact, aimed at narrowing the "corridor" of civil society initiative either influencing it "directly" through the ideocratic forces or using market and economic levers, or the mass media technologies.

Along with these models with a solid history, other projects to transform Russia have been developed in recent years. If we generalize the set of all possible ideas, we will find different versions of the modernization project. Supporters of the modernization project believe that "Western project of world order" in Russia faces intractable difficulties and should be replaced by a similar by form, but not alternative in effect, modernization process. Modernization is a special form of adaptations of traditional societies to the challenges of the globalized civilization. The essence of the modernization is to preserve cultural roots and combine them with elements of modern Western civilization. For example, the assimilation of certain market parameters of economic life organization is combined with genuine confidence in the uniqueness of Russian culture built on the principle of non-market basis. Unwillingness to decide to the political unification of the planet is combined with the desire for economic unification, etc.

²¹See: Yasin E.G. *Modesnizatsiya i obschestvo* [Modernisation and Society]. / In: *Modernisatsiya Ekonomiki I obschestvennoye razvitiye* [Modernisation of Economics and Social Development]. Moscow., 2007. P. 34.

Where are we going? Development Scenarios.

RLSC scenarios

Research Laboratory of Civil Society at the Higher School of Economics in 2008 performed a study entitled 'Prospects of civil society in Russia: evaluation and selection problems'. The study discovered a number of possible scenarios for the development of civil society.

In the first scenario, conventionally called the 'society of solidarity', civil society is characterized by high social activity of the population on growing incomes and educational levels accompanied by a strengthening of the civil society social base (increasing the share of core and reducing the buffer zone). Under this scenario, the majority of the population perceives the society as a united body with the growth of trust, responsibility and the sense of their capabilities to influence the ongoing processes. In this case, the activities of the third sector have rather stale character, thanks to the good personnel maintenance, NPO's services are sought by the authorities and the business community, and contribution of the third sector in the GDP is not less than one in the developed Western countries.

The second scenario is conventionally called 'inertial society', it is when the operation of the civil society institutions is manifested in concrete practices; however involvement of the Russians into this operation is at a low and intermediate level.

In such society the third sector organizations are diverse, but not stable; certain types of NPOs may contribute towards the local issues solutions; developed forms of cooperation with the authorities at the municipal level. Civic involvement in the community tends to be "privatized" by local authorities. There are also groups characterized by high activity, "that is, people with higher education, or our traditional

intelligentsia”. In this scenario, certain types of NPOs may contribute to the solution of local issues, but here interaction between government and non-profit organizations is possible at the municipal level”.

The third scenario – the "society of social passivity" is characterized by, in particular, weak social basis of civil society, especially in the periphery, the instability of the third sector due to the weak resource support. NPOs are not regarded as a development resource for municipalities, regions and the country in general. Such society is characterized by low levels of social activity of population and willingness to join with others, by backwardness of the attitude to participate in the civil society practices. Feature of this scenario are: social base of civil society is weak; the periphery is more than half of the population; the third sector is unstable due to the weakness of the resource base; forms of cooperation with the authorities are not diverse, with the prevalence of non-material forms.²²

Defining the realization prospects of the described scenarios, the research authors refer to the first scenario as the best one, and suggest that the probability of to realize it in Russia does not equal zero. Specifically for this scenario the Roadmap for civil society development was designed. This map indicated that to realize the first scenario it is necessary to increase the sustainability of the NPOs, develop charity activities and volunteering practice by the individuals in enterprises, provide effective support for these activities at the regional and municipal levels, form positive attitudes of citizens in the civil society social practices.

It is also important to expand the demand of government and business organizations for the NPOs’ services, develop infrastructure for NPOs information and consultancy support, promote civic education and territorial self-government, monitor the status of civil society and monitor the activities of the federal and regional executive authorities on the civil

²² See: Dorozhnaya karta grazhdanskogo obschestva [Roadmap of the Civic Society]. <http://www.hse.ru/news/recent/6228644.html>.

society development. The implementation of these measures affects such critical factors as: the quality and standard of living, way of life, cultural integration of society, and the state of the rights and freedoms institutions, socio-structural dynamics.²³

ZIRCON Scenario

Other research that made an attempt to form a set of different scenarios for the Russian civil society and assess the likelihood of their implementation was performed by group of sociologists under the guidance of I. Zadorina. The experts were well-known and respected professionals from a variety of social and political spheres, directly related to the civil society in Russia, including the leaders and activists of the NPOs, public and other civil society organizations; representatives of state and municipal authorities working in the regulation areas of civil society activities and constantly interacting with civil society organizations to perform their professional activities; heads and senior staff of public and private funds of civil society organizations; researchers, scientists, analytical centers professionally dealing with the problems of development of civil society in contemporary Russia.

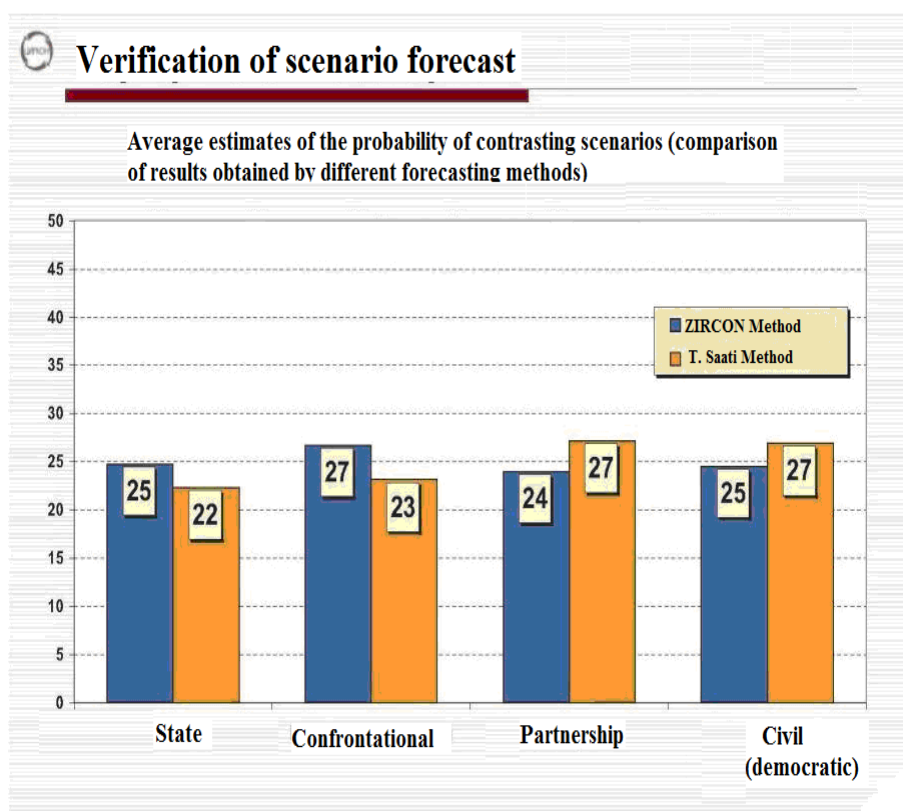
The experts have identified the following three factors, most significant for the development of civil society in Russia:

- The level of civic engagement in the community (from high to low);
- The level of influence of the state on civil society (from a strong influence to the lack of influence);
- The level of state support for CSOs (from substantial support and funding to the lack of support and funding).

²³ Dorozhnaya karta grazhdanskogo obschestva [Roadmap of the Civic Society]. <http://www.hse.ru/news/recent/6228644.html>

Based on the analyzed combination of three main factors four contrast scenarios were developed: partner, statist, confrontational, civilian (democratic).

Thus, expert opinion does not reveal any single dominant (most likely) scenario. A statist scenario is considered by many experts as slightly more likely than others in the short term, where the state plays the leading role in the development of civil society organizations. However, there are reasons to believe that, as a result of a possible weakening of resource support for civil society organizations by the State and the growth of social activity of population, we may have a confrontational (more likely) or civil (less likely) scenarios.²⁴



²⁴ Public initiative. Four expert forecasts of the civil society development in Russia. <http://www.infopublic.ru/content.asp?pn=2609>.

G.Satarov's scenarios

Another predictive project was realized by a G. Satarov's group.²⁵ During the project, experts have identified and assessed the likelihood of several scenarios of Russian society development.

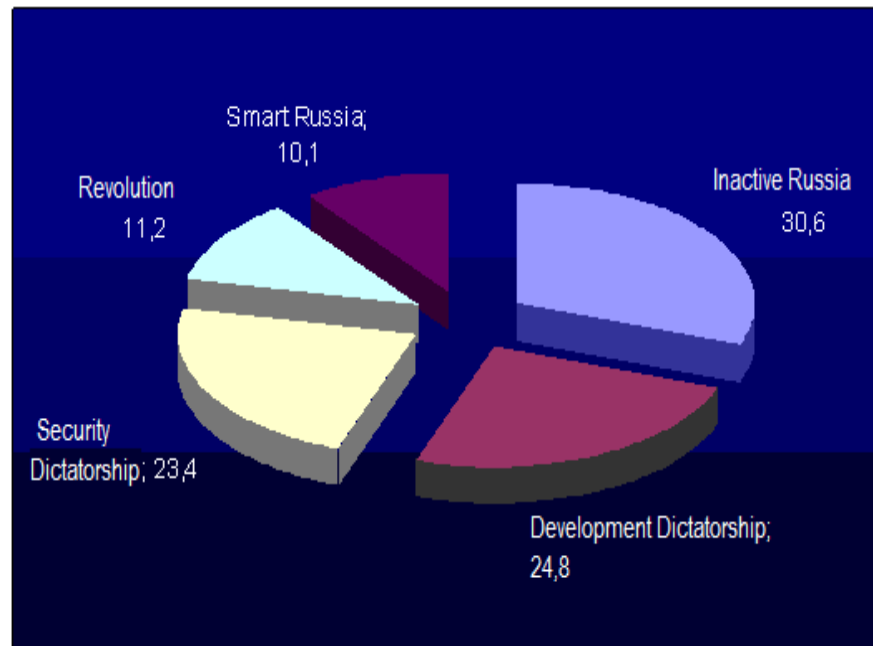
Main scenarios

| № | Name of scenario | Scenario Description |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Inactive Russia | This inertial scenario, reflecting the continuing trend of instability and potentials of any other scenarios. Reforms are sporadic and imitative, power is weak and ineffective, elites are disunited, and society is demobilized. |
| 2 | Development Dictatorship | The tightening of the regime by group forces that take responsibility to restore order in the country, prevent or stop larceny and lawlessness in order to accelerate the modernization. A sort of Pinochet variant. |
| 3 | Security Dictatorship | Sharp tightening of the regime sake of keeping the power of the sitting group or any part of it, winning the other competitors. In the modernization sphere there is imitation with larceny. |
| 4 | Revolution | Quasi-legitimate or illegitimate regime change, resulting from a street activity of large groups of the population. Actual political coloring of force seizing power is insignificant. |
| 5 | Smart Russia | Movement to modernization according to the Western scenario, the restoration of normal political competition, improving the efficiency of legal institutions, etc. |

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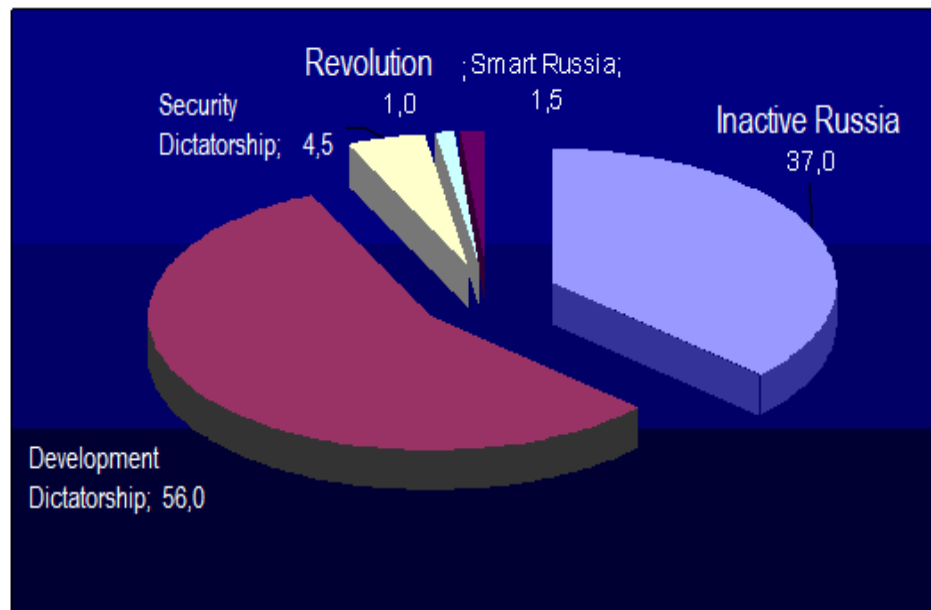
²⁵ What will happen to Russia? Political scenarios for 2008-2009. Analytic report <http://www.civitas.ru/docs.php?part=83>.

This is the likelihood of different scenarios in 2005:



Scenario "Inactive Russia" was in a lead. The next two places, with about the same result, shared scenarios "Development Dictatorship" and "Security Dictatorship". "Revolution" and "Smart Russia" held the last two places with an insignificant difference from each other. Meanwhile the chances of all five scenarios were in the interval from 10 to 30 per cent, which means there were neither clear leaders, nor obvious outsiders. Such a small variation between the probabilities of scenarios is typical for an uncertain situation (if not real, then at least in the opinions of experts). It is even more interesting because it is a question about the period, which was perceived and evaluated as rather stable: regime controlled all aspects of political and social life, and economic prospects were very rosy.

In 2008 the situation, according to experts, has changed as follows:



Compared to the assessment of scenarios likelihood in 2005, which located in a small range, in 2008, it was different: two scenarios were in the lead – "Development Dictatorship" and "Inactive Russia" and the rest of scenarios had a vanishingly low probability.

In 2012, due to dramatic change in the political situation in Russia, it was considered necessary to change the set of scenarios so that they would more accurately reflect both the current political situation and the range of core opportunities to change it. Here is an updated list of scenarios defined by experts:

Table. List of scenarios presented by the name with a brief textual description

| | N | Scenario Description |
|--|----------------------------|---|
| | Inactive Russia | The regime imitates some concessions and willingness to engage in dialogue with the opposition. The protest movement can not self-organize and express their demands and, as a result, dies out. Violations at the |
| | Interception | During the election campaign, between rounds and after the elections the regime takes a number of steps to partially satisfy the protesters and muffles the waves of protests. A number of laws and personnel decisions are |
| | Dialogue | With the growth and institutionalization of protest, with a recognized core, capable to set uniform requirements to the power, regime starts dialogue with representatives of the protesters. The program of fast and the progressive |
| | Tiananmen | Regime cracks down on a protest using the massive force and repressive measures towards opposition leaders and a large number of protesters |
| | Political chaos | With the growth and institutionalization of protest, regime continues to ignore the ongoing social changes. Elections are held with gross violations, street protests are supported by a number of previously loyal elite groups. It leads to |

The analysis showed that there are two competing scenarios: “Inactive Russia” and “Interception”. The likelihood of scenario “Inactive Russia” decreased to 46 %. The three remaining scenarios have less than seventeen percent. "Dialogue" is the least plausible scenario. There are two scenarios which are now named differently, but have a clear close political

meaning. It is scenarios "Revolution" (before) and "Political chaos" (now). Here, however, likelihood increases.

A year ago, the likelihood of "Revolution" scenario was almost zero, but now the likelihood of "Political chaos" has reached eight percent.²⁶

Thus, we can state that the initial desire of a certain number of Russians focused on Westernization to participate in realization of this historic project faced the fierce resistance of the elites and the mass reluctance to integrate the westernized scenario in the Russian reality. Today, we have a hybrid, or rather a mixture of modernization of the fundamentalist projects. It is no accident that today as a basis for further reforms traditional Russian targets were chosen: patriotism, great power, and social solidarity. The main task is improving the efficiency of executive power rather than the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of a full-fledged civil society, balancing and controlling authorities, despite the fact that the main threat to human rights and freedoms, democracy in general comes from the executive power. Rigid vertical of centralized power, manipulated population, "pocket" and obedient civil society institutions, theatrical democracy, "tame" State Duma – these are calling cards of the national project currently implemented in Russia.

As for the prospects of the transformation process in contemporary Russia, from the point of view of the institutional matrix theory, the forecast is as following: "the main result will be, firstly, strengthening of dominant positions of redistributive economy basic institutions in its new forms, unitary centralized political system, and communitarian ideology. Secondly, efficient niche for embedding and functioning of complementary-to-our-country market economy, federal structure and subsidiary ideology will be found and determined. Thirdly, we shall expect the achievement of social consensus on country's structure and development prospects, which will consist in expansion of the legal framework, i.e.

²⁶ For more information, see: Stsenatnoye prognozirovaniye politicheskoi situatsii v Rossii [Predictive Scenario-Based Modelling of the Political Situation in Russia]. Analytical report No. 2, February 2012. http://www.liberal.ru/upload/files/Doklad_3.pdf

more complete articulation of law, and consolidation of social life civilized forms peculiar for "life and idea" of our society" (See: Kirdina S. *Institutsyonalnye matritsy i razvitie Rossii* [Institutional matrices and the development of Russia]. // <http://kirdina.ru/public/autoreferat/index.shtml>)

Thus, returning to the question asked in the beginning of the article, we have to state, that in these social conditions when two incompatible social, communicative matrices are overlapping, mass media on the whole and can not be free, fair and objective Mass media can not, but journalists can. But that is a topic for another conversation.