

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

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The current state and future forms of Russian music magazines

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This Master Thesis aims to reflect the current state of Russian music magazines, identify the reasons for the lack of their success and discover appropriate remedies, such as the form, content, audience or writers. The year 2008 was a significant one for the structure of the media in Russia: media management cut the staff, closed some magazines and newspapers and shortened the issues of others. This shift ignited serious debates amongst journalists, publishers and music experts about the future of Russian music magazines. Some argue that there is no future for them at all; others suppose that it will take the form of an online journal in the manner of Pitchfork.

A study on Russian music magazines is of particular interest because print might be dying in music journalism more rapidly than in any other niche media. Music press is not only market dominated and cannot be solely explained through the market logic and finances. It depends largely on both generational characteristics and the surrounding environment.

The main theoretical framework of this study lies on Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and Aristotle's classification of causes in order to give an instrumental, functional, and strategic view of the subject. It provides a deeper insight into the complexities of the problem, bettering answering the questions of "How?" and "Why?"

While the main focus of the research is on the reasons for an unsuccessful nature of Russian music magazines, the study suggests their future forms that could succeed in Russia in the long run.

*“They go into music journalism, believe me, for other reasons:  
Mainly they are idealists; sometimes they are adventurers”*

Artemy Troitsky

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It has been a long way starting from the choice of the topic till the very last sentence in the study. The materials for this research as well as the articles and books cited have been collected all through this way. It resembled a dive for a pearl – it turned out to be not so easy to find the material about music magazines either in Russia or anywhere else. Every time I had a chance to stop by a bookstore, I would investigate its shelves in search for anything music-related. Sometimes I was lucky and came back home with a treasure – a brand new book on music journalism.

My thanks go, first of all, to my supervisor, Jukka Pietiläinen, for his patience in this long journey and, of course, support and valuable instructions. I would also like to thank my family – my mother Anna Germanovna Khartanovich and grandmother Galina Ivanovna Sklokina – for helping me for all these years, and also my friends for their advice and motivational speeches.

Tampere, April 4, 2015

Margarita Khartanovich

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The death of print is high, and no current publication reflects the paperless future of journalism more dramatically than music magazines. As there's no way to stream a song from paper, print might be dying in music journalism more rapidly than in any other niche media. Services that allow embedded media streams, like Soundcloud, YouTube, and Spotify, have done as much to kill the music magazine as any tablet computer or mobile operating system. It seems unlikely that a bi-monthly print subscription would resonate with music fans that have access to a wealth of quality, constantly updated music journalism across the web every day.

The year 2008 was a significant one for the structure of the media in Russia: media management cut the staff, closed some magazines and newspapers and shortened the issues of others. The music press turned out to be one of the first to suffer, with popular music magazines Fuzz and Play ceasing to exist, and the Russian version of Rolling Stone losing several pages. This shift ignited serious debates amongst journalists, publishers and music experts about the future of Russian music magazines. Some argue that there is no future for them at all; others suppose that it will take the form of an online journal in the manner of Pitchfork. This thesis aims to analyze the current state of Russian music magazines and discover which forms of them could be successful in Russia.

By a music magazine I refer to a magazine dedicated to music and music culture, which includes music news, interviews, photos, concert and album reviews, and occasionally covermount with recorded music. The most well-known music magazines come from the USA and UK such as NME, Q, Metal Hammer, The Wire, Classic Rock and Rolling Stone. In Russia they are Fuzz, Play, Rolling Stone, Птюч (*Ptyuch*), OM, КонтрКультура (*KontrKultura*), Ровесник (*Rovesnik*), NME Russia and Rockmusic.ru – most of them have been closed recently. A music magazine is not a typical niche magazine – it depends largely on both generational characteristics and the surrounding environment. For example, MTV is no longer a music video channel: the generation has simply changed. The new generation does not want to see their idols, nor to worship their stars. Rather, they want to see themselves: they want to be stars. Music press is not only market dominated, and it cannot be solely explained through the market logic and finances.

My research exclusively considers Russian-language popular-music publications (online and print). It focuses on print and online media, which in Russia for the most part excludes other kinds of music media (radio, TV), classic music, and trade publications. It also excludes the “musician’s magazines” oriented toward guitar players, DJs, keyboard players, and music technology. I focus on interviews with significant music critics and editors, as it results in the most thorough and informative examination of the profession.

This study attempts to answer the questions: 1) what are the reasons for the unsuccessful nature of Russian music magazines? And 2) what forms of music magazines could succeed in Russia? Once the reasons for the lack of success of Russian music magazines have been identified, it will then be possible to consider appropriate remedies, such as the form, content, audience or writers.

Although the Russian media have been the subject of research for many media experts, specialized magazines do not seem to be among its main topics. Non-Russian music magazines (predominately in the UK and USA) have been studied from the point of view of media business, music journalism and their relations to the music industry. They speak of the death of music journalism as a current worldwide trend. Thus, research into Russian music magazines is important both as a part of Russian media studies and journalism in general.

Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory and Aristotle’s classification of causes are utilized in the thesis as a theoretical framework in order to give an instrumental, functional, and strategic view of the subject.

It is obvious that arriving at a successful solution to a problem is based on finding and elaborating upon its reasons. However, the majority of problems are caused by a plethora of reasons: these complex systems consist of numerous dual-sided cause-and-effect relations. In his “Posterior Analytics”, Aristotle distinguished four main types of causes: efficient, material, formal, and final. I aim to consider the problematic state of Russian music magazines in terms of the reasons that caused it, and I identify them according to Aristotle’s classification. I examine the history of music magazines in Russia (efficient cause); I study the current factors, elements of the functioning of music magazines (material cause); I attempt to reveal mental patterns\maps of people involved in its functioning (formal cause); and I point out the main aims of existence of music magazines in Russia (final cause).

To analyze material and formal causes of the problem, Bourdieu's field theory is important as it helps to study the elements of the social world and the relations between them. It provides a deeper insight into the complexities of the problem, bettering answering the questions of "How?" and "Why?" If we look at the world as a social space with numerous fields of practice functioning in it, then we could consider music magazines, music business (industry), music scene, and society to be four different fields with different rules and capitals (economic, cultural, social, symbolic). I will examine each of them and point out its main agents, capital, and their interrelations. Further investigation of another Bourdieu term "habitus" (knowledge, interests, and experience) will help me to further understand the mental maps of the agents.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, each field strives for maximization of its capital and autonomy. Losing one can either result in submission to this domination, or an attempt to redefine its own forms of capital in a way that aims to balance the power structure. I argue that "asymmetry of power" (between the above mentioned fields) is the main reason for the lack of success of music magazines in Russia. While media should act as a "neutral territory" for three other fields (music industry, music scene and society), it becomes a part of an unbalanced collaboration, loses the value of its capital for all these fields, and dies out as it is the least autonomous among the three. Thus, in order to succeed as a field of practice, music magazines should restore the balance of power by wisely using its capital, in conjunction with all fields formulating a new joint frame of reference (with the help of "mapping") that they could use in the "neutral territory". This will ultimately result with a successful form for Russian music magazines.

The material of the study includes 54 interviews conducted with the representatives of the above-mentioned fields by the journalists of such Russian media as LookAtMe and Afisha from 2008 till 2014. These interviews have been selected to be content analyzed and systemized as they are part of the prominent discussion on the future and past of Russian music media started by the professional community of contemporary music journalists in Russia. In addition, previous research and statistics were consulted and utilized. The first part of the thesis contains the description of my theoretical framework and methods, and an overview of music journalism as a field of practice. The second part is devoted to the field and habitus analysis. The final section includes the analysis of the reasons for the problematic state of music magazines in Russia, and suggestions for efficient and viable forms of music magazines in the current environment.



## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Questioning the function of the social world, this paper is grounded with Pierre Bourdieu's Field Theory, which has proved itself as a fruitful sociological toolkit for studying journalism in last two decades. In one of the articles in *Journalism Studies*, a researcher of Bourdieu's works, Erik Neveu, argued that journalism specialists should read and use Bourdieu because he is a major sociologist, whose theory can give an overall understanding of any social practice: it allows to think relationally, to move from micro to macro and to go beyond binary choices such as structures versus agency<sup>1</sup>. Although, Bourdieu's writings on journalism are limited – that is why we should address his other research regarding education and culture.

This chapter seeks to disclose the key elements of Bourdieu's Field Theory and the ways of its application to the study of music magazines in Russia.

### **2.1. Previous research**

The research based on field theory can be roughly divided between those aiming to apply it to different subjects (such as education, arts, politics, television, etc.); those trying to study its elements and thus develop the theory (social space, habitus, capital, strategy, field, value, power); and those using the theory to solve a particular social problem. I would like to concentrate on the last approach, as this study attempts to find a solution for the problem of music magazines becoming extinct in Russia.

In 2008, Goran Bolin, Professor at Department of Media and Communication Studies in Södertörn University, Sweden, presented his research on symbolic production and value in media industries. According to Bolin, Bourdieu's analytical tools, which he claims to have modified, have helped him to analyze the value created in media and cultural industries. He identifies the problem of commercialization of the media, stating that radio and television production is increasingly aiming for surplus value and economic profits<sup>2</sup>. The discussion also encompasses print and music media. Bolin further suggests that music business and print journalism have become more reliant on immediate commercial success and the economical margins by which they have previously worked

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<sup>1</sup> Neveu, Erik. Sociologist of Media, or sociologist for Media scholars? *Journalism Studies*. P. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Bolin, Goran. Paper presented to the 58th ICA Conference. Montreal, Canada, May 22-26, 2008. P. 1-2.

have narrowed, leaving little room for experimentation and daring ventures. This trend is present not only in the public service/commercial broadcasting dichotomy of Western Europe and the economic shock therapy in Russia and Eastern Europe, but also in the US where journalism is overly commercial and solely yielding to economic values.<sup>3</sup> Bolin argues that economic value should be generated with the help of other values (political, cultural, and educational), because media is an area of mostly symbolic production. Thus, he uses Bourdieu's Field Theory to analyze the conditions for the production of economic value and other kinds of value (political, social, cultural, etc.) in order to understand how they relate and contribute to the valorization process in the field of media production.

Further research aimed at problem solving is conducted by David W. Park, who has conducted research which suggests that Bourdieu's ideas can be adopted for the study of communication and applied to particular problems in the field (media production and media audiences). His study on the Political Economy of the Media<sup>4</sup> attempts to connect Bourdieu's idea of habitus with contemporary developments in the political economy of the media. This approach allows consideration of how structural arrangements become essential with terms that a layperson could understand.

Finally, the International Communication Association in Netherlands conducted the research "Bourdieu's Field of Practice in Entertainment-Education Television" that inspired the current study.<sup>5</sup> The research aims to improve the entertainment-education strategy (EE) that is used by health organizations to incorporate health promotion messages into popular television entertainment, in order to reach the hard-to-reach groups. The scholars are trying to answer the following questions; how is the programme content selected and created; how do health communication and television professionals collaborate; and what are the hindering and facilitating collaboration factors? Bourdieu's Field theory allows them to study the collaboration process between the television and health communication field. They argue that there are certain differences in field mechanisms that create asymmetry of power, and which can be only resolved by jointly creating a new TV genre accepted and forged by both the television

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<sup>3</sup> Bolin, Goran (2008) P. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Park, David W. Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus and the Political Economy of the Media. *Democratic Communique* 23, No. 1, Spring 2009, P. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Bouman, Martine International Communication Association in Netherlands. *Bourdieu's Field of Practice in Entertainment-Education Television*, Paper ICA, 2007.

and the health communication field.<sup>6</sup> Prior to arriving at this conclusion they analyse the relations between the two fields of practice, applying Bourdieu's idea that the field that is most subject to the demands of the market will dominate the market orientation of other fields, and other fields can either submit to this domination, or try to utilise their own forms of capital in a way that aims to rebalance the power structure.<sup>7</sup>

As Bourdieu makes clear, antagonism between fields is hard to overcome. Thus, the authors of EE TV research believe that a solution may be the construction of a neutral territory; a domain where both parties can meet without the strict and excluding rules of their field. This neutral territory has to become common ground. Constituting this common ground is the construction of a joint frame of reference, which is a key condition. One strategy to attain a joint frame of reference is mapping, or translating from one frame to another. If such frame-mapping or translation were reciprocal, health communication and television professionals might come to understand one another's conflicting views, and thus might enable them to make an informed choice among their conflicting frames, or to synthesize elements in a new frame that they would both jointly construct.<sup>8</sup>

The researchers argue that in order to create a win-win outcome instead of a win-lose outcome, the following premise may provide a pointer: The design of an optimal EE television programme is not possible when the frame of reference of one of the collaboration partners dominates that of the other. This will result in an unbalanced collaboration setting (asymmetry of power) and hence lead to unwanted field antagonisms. Bourdieu's general theory of practice is of assistance in gaining more insight into the subtle complexities of the EE collaboration process. Especially his key concept of habitus is of interest here. It is clear that health communication and television professionals belong to different fields and thus employ a different habitus. In collaborations, however, where fields more or less have to integrate in order to reach a common goal, it is necessary that both parties attune their habitus to that of their collaboration partner.

In the EE collaboration processes they studied, health communication and television professionals experienced high incongruence because they had different interpretations

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<sup>6</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 16

of the habitus the collaboration required. Television professionals discussed viewers and viewer's satisfaction, and health communication professionals about target groups and behaviour change. With regard to programme content, television professionals looked at potential topics in terms of visualization and gaining the attention of the audience, seeing these as goals in themselves. Health communication professionals were interested in the topic's potential for vicarious social learning and influencing audiences' awareness, attitude and behaviour. What was an end in itself for television professionals was a means for health communication professionals. Consequently, both wanted to obtain and maintain steering power during the whole EE collaboration process. Health communication professionals wanted to work along the principles of behaviour change theories and to have influence on all programme aspects: content, form, angle, and context. Television professionals, however, expected a clear division of tasks: health communication professionals to deliver and to take care of the content of the message, and television professionals to design the format in which the health message could be best visualized. So it appears that instead of creating common ground (or habitus), both fields first just employed their own habitus. Then almost automatically the question arose as to whose habitus was the strongest and could force the other to comply with its rules.<sup>9</sup>

According to Bourdieu, in order to be accepted by a field (to be consecrated), one must possess the habitus, which predisposes one to enter that field. Without full recognition of the habitus, a field will always reject or try to exclude new players. Although television organizations often took the initiative for the EE collaboration, and in that sense were the requesting cooperation with regard to health organizations, practice showed reversed positions. Besides paying an entrance fee (delivering economic, cultural and/or social capital), health communication professionals were more or less forced (not always consciously) to incorporate the television field's habitus in order to be consecrated and allowed to play along. For health communication professionals, especially when they were newcomers to the television field, this proved to be a complex and demanding task that often made them feel they were drifting away from their own field. In their eyes, working along the television professionals' frame of reference caused an asymmetry of power. This was not what they had in mind when they started the collaboration. Moreover, this acquisition of the habitus of the television field jeopardized their relations with their own organization. By going native, they put

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<sup>9</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 17-18.

not only the backing of their organization at risk, but also its symbolic capital (fear of misrepresenting their health message, losing their respectable image, damaging their networks). Considering this knowledge, the health communication professionals became hesitant to assimilate the television field's habitus, and experienced difficulties in shifting between the two fields.<sup>10</sup>

Differences in field mechanisms also played a significant role in the complexity of the collaboration. According to Bourdieu, the field with the greatest economic and commercial interests will dominate other fields. Ultimately, the competition for high viewing rates always determined the way the EE television programme was designed. In this case, the television field dominated the health communication field. Health communication professionals had to prove that an effective EE television programme could not be made without their professional input and expertise with regard to behaviour change. To design EE television programmes for social change, the knowledge and expertise of television professionals are not sufficient, and there is a requirement for the specific expertise of health communication professionals about the way the programme can be attuned to the goal of prosocial behavioural change. Therefore the merging of professional cultures becomes inevitable. Because of all this, combining entertainment and education in the television field means working within a high-risk context.<sup>11</sup>

What the researchers offer as a solution for the problem is to stimulate the fusion of one habitus with the other and to build EE collaboration based on symmetry of power. What is required is a joint frame of reference, which incorporates elements of the habitus of both professional fields. Both partners have to acquire a new EE habitus that materializes in an EE television programme with specific genre features and working principles, and which is "consecrated" by both constituting fields.

Nonetheless, the scholars fail to answer one important question: how both types of professionals can be convinced of the advantages of collaborating on common ground. They only assume that when health organizations experience the asymmetry of power in the collaboration as a crucial factor hindering success, they may find ways to exert their power to exclude: if the television field does not collaborate on our terms, they cannot

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<sup>10</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P.18

<sup>11</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P.19

have our money or expertise. They argue that this will certainly help health communication professionals to gain self-esteem, and maybe even stimulate the expansion of their habitus. However, it would be an antagonistic strategy and could result in unwanted adverse effects on the power balance in the long term.

Therefore, health organizations as well as television organizations are recommended to invest in establishing the features for this genre, and to stimulate the formation of capital relevant to EE habitus. Establishing professional standards and achieving success can form cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Cultural and social capital originate where a body of knowledge and expertise is acknowledged and distributed by a core network of professionals. Symbolic capital is ultimately confirmed by success. In order to achieve this, a substantial investment is inevitably required from both fields: health organizations must become more television literate, television organizations must combine commercial interest with social accountability, and both must move from a production-centred to a truly audience-centred attitude.

The research concludes by underlining that television professionals have a lot to lose by accepting their collaboration partners as equals: authorship, creative freedom and editorial control for instance. In practice, this loss of status for television professionals appears to be an important barrier to successful collaboration. The question of how this barrier can be pulled down is not yet answered. The challenge of jointly creating a new popular television genre may, to say the least, not suffice. However, at a time where funding is restricted and television organizations are searching for a new identity, defining a new genre with new collaboration partners may also be an interesting option.<sup>12</sup>

In this paper it is argued that music magazines in Russia are also a case of asymmetric power between the fields of practice (music industry and music magazines) and thus, a new form of collaboration should be adopted. That is why I believe that Bourdieu's field theory can be applied to identify the problem and its causes and work out its solution. On the other hand, there is a strong criticism putting in doubt the idea that Bourdieu's theory can actually be applied to different social problems and processes.

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<sup>12</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 20

As Alejandro Portes emphasizes<sup>13</sup> the set of processes encompassed by the concept of social capital (as well as field) is not new and has been studied under other labels in the past. He argues that calling them social capital is just a means of presenting them in a more appealing conceptual garb. Portes is skeptical of the belief that social capital will provide a ready remedy for major social problems. He says that recent proclamations to that effect merely restate the original problems and have not been accompanied so far by any persuasive account of how to bring about the desired stocks of public civiness. At the individual level, the processes alluded to by the concept have both positive and negative connotations; social ties can bring about greater control over wayward behavior and provide privileged access to resources; they can also restrict individual freedoms and bar outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences. For this reason, he concludes, it is preferable to approach these manifold processes as social facts to be studied in all their complexity, rather than as examples of a value. A more dispassionate stance will allow analysts to consider all facets of the event in question and prevent turning the ensuing literature into an unmitigated celebration of community. Communitarian advocacy is a legitimate political stance yet it is not good social science. As a label for the positive effects of sociability, social capital has, in Portes's view, a place in theory and research provided that its different sources and effects are recognized and that their downsides are examined with equal attention.<sup>14</sup>

## **2.2. Applying Pierre Bourdieu's field theory**

This chapter introduces the key concepts of Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and suggests the ways of applying the concepts in this particular study.

### **2.2.1. Field**

Bourdieu speaks of the social world as a space, which is constructed out of a set of properties that are active at any one time. Social relations within this space exhibit the deployment of various forms of power or capital, which may act singularly, or in accord with each other. The main types of capital in his work, each of which have their own subtypes, are cultural, social, symbolic, and economic capital. These objective forms of

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<sup>13</sup> Portes, Alejandro. Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. Annual Reviews, 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Portes, Alejandro (1998) P. 21-22

power are held to be neither reducible to the intentions of agents as such, nor simply directive of their interactions. Agents are thus defined by their relative position to one another. The distribution of people within social relations, therefore, does not vary according to properties, or chains of properties, in terms of their relation to the means of production. Instead, they are distributed according to the overall volume of capital in their possession, as well as its composition.<sup>15</sup>

According to Bourdieu, field is an amount of the multi-dimensional space of positions and the position-taking agents. The position of an agent is the result of interplay between that person's habitus and his or her place in a field of positions as defined by the distribution of the appropriate form of capital. The nature and range of possible positions varies socially and historically. Its own agents, its own accumulation of history, its own logic of action, and its own forms of capital characterize each field. The fields are not fully autonomous: capital rewards gained in one field may be transferred to another, and there are struggles over the power to define a field.<sup>16</sup>

A social field is a sub-territory within society, which has been created in a specific process of social separation into a semi-autonomous entity. Social agents (individuals and/or institutions), who are engaged in struggle over assets, inhabit it. It functions according to a specific logic: economic transactions in the wide sense of the word are taking place. Investments are made and gains and losses are registered. The play – or the fights – are unfolding according to rules which the participators have incorporated and the stakes of the play are related to power and power positions. There are dominant positions and there are dominated ones. The former enables their beholders to speak with authority and impose meanings.<sup>17</sup>

The specific and differentiated fields are sites of collective symbolic struggles and individual strategies, the aims of which are to produce valuable cultural goods (or be associated with their production in the case of institutions and marketers). Victory in a symbolic struggle means that one's symbolic goods have been judged to possess more value than those of one's competitors. The fruit of such victory is the right to impose one's symbolic goods on the social field.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> May, Tim. *Situating Social Theory*. Berkshire, GBR: Open University Press, 2008. P. 127.

<sup>16</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe. *Bourdieu. Critical perspectives*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 1993. P. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Rosenlund Lennart. *Social structures and changes: Applying Pierre Bourdieu's approach and analytical framework*. Stravanger University College, 2001. P. 41-42.

<sup>18</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe (1993) P. 197-198.



The central axis of variation in the fields is their degree of autonomy. Bourdieu is not entirely consistent in his assessment of just what this autonomy is from: dominant agents, the entirety of the field. Bourdieu neatly captures the degree of such autonomy via the economic heuristic. The more autonomous a field, the greater the extent to which production in that field is only for other producers and not for consumers in the social field. The most autonomous of fields is the scientific field, and least autonomous is the political field.

Struggles and strategies within the fields also have at stake the degree of autonomy. For example, as the scientific field emerged historically from the religious field, some agents struggled against others for autonomization.<sup>19</sup>

According to Bourdieu, in the scientific field it is not the production of valid statements but the socially recognized capacity to speak and act legitimately, the monopoly of scientific competence or authority. The political field (the value of positions, programmes, analysis, commentaries, concepts, and events) is largely determined outside the political field. It is dependent on the symbolic capital of the political agent and his or her party, and the extent to which these political symbols correspond to the interests and central meanings of consumers in the social field.<sup>20</sup>

A concept related to Bourdieu's autonomy of the field is that of control. In EE collaboration, many stakeholders (broadcasting organization, production companies, advertisers, social issue groups, media legislators and scriptwriters) struggle for control or access. This is a dynamic, interactive process in which some of those who participate in the creation of television have more power in determining the content than others. According to Cantor, there are levels of control within the legal context, the organizational context, the creative context and the audience context. All exert their own influence and power over the content of the programme. If some stakeholders who participate in the design process have more power and influence to determine the content of the programme than others, the balance of power may become asymmetric.<sup>21</sup>

Field is a mesolevel concept denoting the local social world in which actors are embedded and toward which they orient their actions. In his review of field theory, Martin delineates three senses of the concept of field: a topological space of positions, a

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<sup>19</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe (1993) P. 198.

<sup>20</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe (1993) P. 199.

<sup>21</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 7.

field of relational forces, and a battlefield of contestation. We can identify fields by what is at stake within them. The fundamental species of capital (economic, cultural, and social) tend to operate in all fields, whereas specialized forms exist that have value only within a particular field, for example, scientific capital within the academic field.<sup>22</sup>

At first, forces external to the field have a major influence. Maximizing audiences and ratings appear here as the highest achievement that a journalist can claim. Here, a columnist or an anchorman is a great journalist firstly because he/she reaches a large audience, whatever his/her style, depth of analysis, and investigative skills. The influence of political force offers another case of heteronomy. Good journalism is defined here more by a strong and lasting commitment to one's party or ideology. For example, until the 1970s a political journalist in France meant a journalist with political commitment.<sup>23</sup>

The field approach is highly relational and invites us to think not of journalism but of a profession and practice structured and split by complex divisions. A field is the very opposite of what was coined as an apparatus in the Marxist sociology of the 1960s. An apparatus is a vertical and hierarchical organization, in which roles and powers are clearly established, unchallenged and stable. The repressive/ideological state apparatus analysed by Althusser, which have been a fashionable concept in the French Academia and intellectual field of the 1970s, suggest the image of conflict-less organizations, working with perfect efficiency to support the aims of their rulers. To put it in a nutshell: apparatus, and even some uses of Institution, suggest frozen structures, static organizations, whereas field invites thinking relationally, to pay attention to competition, and to the daily wars and dynamic movement of social life. One can thus be surprised to read in a paper seeking to explain the rules of the journalistic field that Bourdieu describes journalists as an undifferentiated category and that he interprets and theorizes the media world as a very unitary field. To quote Bourdieu: "The liberating power of journalism that you mentioned, one could link it, not to journalism, but to the struggles inside the journalistic field, between journals, but also, inside each journal between young and old, men and women". Field analysis also avoids the short-cut fallacy, which reduces all cultural struggles to questions of class or economic interests. Such interests do weigh in, but never in the crude form of the last instance of mechanist

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<sup>22</sup> Sallaz, Jeffrey J. and Zavisca, Jane. Bourdieu in American Sociology, 1980–2004. Department of Sociology, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona Annual Review of Sociology Vol. 33. P. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Neveu, Erik. P. 336.

Marxism, deducing from the wealth, economic situation or payroll of a creator or journalist the real, hidden or unconscious cause of his/her creations and commitments. A movie columnist of *Liberation* or *The Independent* may pay attention to her readership, she may even soften criticisms if her paper is owned by the same group as the movie company, but she might also write with the (un)conscious will to write something different (more modern, impertinent or fashionable) from her colleague at *Le Figaro* or *The Times*.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.2.3. Capital

The construction of Bourdieu's model is based on the idea that there are different forms of capital circulating in society, i.e. material and symbolic resources which enables the beholder access to scarce goods and assets: things of value and worth struggling for. The possession of capital gives their owners a special position in the social space. There are two basic forms of capital: economic and cultural. Economic capital refers to access to economic values, money or other values that can be converted into money, property, valuables, etc. (income, right of disposal or inheritance). However, cultural capital is acquired through the family in childhood, and can be developed with the help of the educational system. Bourdieu has written about linguistic capital, juridical capital, and scientific capital. Arguably, anything can be regarded as a form of cultural capital. Capital presupposes the existence of a social field that emerged and was socially constituted as its home ground.<sup>25</sup>

With the reference to Wacquant's works, economic capital is the superior and the dominant form in contemporary society. Cultural capital is the subjugated form, although, in a long-term historic perspective it has gained in importance. Types of cultural capital include, first of all, an educational or scholastic type that is certificated knowledge guaranteed by the educational system. Its objectified form is the educational certificate that can be invested and produce profits in a labour market or a given social field. Cultural competence is the second time and means familiarity with the world of culture, legitimate art and the intellectual world. It can be invested and can produce profit. And the third type is the form of having a pleasant social manner, being

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<sup>24</sup> Neveu, Erik. P. 337-338.

<sup>25</sup> Rosenlund, Lennart (2001) P. 40-41.

cultivated, purely and simply. Wacquant uses Bourdieu's theory to refer to new professional groups in the media, PR, marketing which he labels "the new petty bourgeoisie". The professional function of the members of this fraction is to present and represent. It is therefore vital that they are able to perform in a pleasant manner, that they can articulate themselves in an easy, appealing fashion and inspire trust and confidence. Cultural capital is a symbolic resource, which can be utilised by social agents in certain specified context (social field), from which this symbolic resource receives its efficacy. Social capital is also known as social relations and connections.<sup>26</sup>

Cultural capital is primarily a relational concept and exists in conjunction with other forms of capital. Economic capital is wealth either inherited or generated from interactions between the individual and the economy. There are different proportions of the various kinds of capital.<sup>27</sup> Society is structured by the different distribution of capital. Individuals strive to maximize their capital. The capital they are able to accumulate defines their social trajectory (their life chances).<sup>28</sup>

The aim of the social action of the players is the accumulation of capital. Bourdieu refers to Karl Marx's four forms of capital. Economic capital is all forms of material wealth (assets, income and property rights). Cultural capital includes knowledge, culture, and evidence (e.g. academic title). Social capital means a membership in a group. It stems from the use of a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual knowledge or recognition and exists on the basis of physical or symbolic exchange relations (e.g. words, gifts, women). Symbolic capital is the interaction of capital to places of prestige, fame and rank of the actors in society.<sup>29</sup>

Within fields (such as the field of national health organizations) that are not economic in the narrow sense, practices may not be oriented towards financial gain and governed by a strictly economic logic. Yet they may nonetheless concur with a logic that is economic in a broader sense, in so far as they are oriented towards augmentation of some kind of capital or the maximization of some kind of profit. Bourdieu rejects the idea that interests are always narrowly economic, but contends: even when

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<sup>26</sup> Rosenlund, Lennart (2001) P. 42-44.

<sup>27</sup> Adkins Lisa, Skeggs Beverley. *Feminism after Bourdieu*. Blackwell Publishing, Norwich, 2004. P. 58-59.

<sup>28</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe. *Bourdieu* (1993). P. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Kressner, Tino. *Theory of Practice*. Book review. August 27, 2008.

organizations give every appearance of disinterestedness because they escape the logic of economic interest (in the narrow sense) and are oriented towards non-material stakes that are not easily quantified, practices never cease to comply with an economic logic. He terms this as having an “interest in disinterestedness”. According to Bourdieu as individuals within a field will always strive for maximization of capital - in any form, a field as a whole strives for autonomy - autonomy being the key to the power to include or exclude. The degree of autonomy of a particular field is measured precisely by its ability to refract external demands into its own logic.<sup>30</sup>

In order to collaborate satisfactorily in an EE television intervention, there has to be something in it for both partners involved. This can either be economic capital (money), social capital (people, network) or cultural capital (knowledge, expertise, image). For successful collaboration, partners must possess sufficient capital forms to make working together attractive, worthwhile and profitable. Bourdieu stresses that all these forms of capital can be transformed and converted into one another and negotiated and valued in terms of money in the short or long term (but not reduced to money). Bourdieu also labels cultural and social capital as symbolic capital or symbolic power, because this form of capital is non-material and less visible, while economic capital is material and more visible.<sup>31</sup>

Cultural capital encompasses such things as educational credentials, technical expertise, general knowledge, verbal abilities, and artistic sensibilities. Economic capital, on the whole, is more powerful but cultural capital is always needed to transform good fortune into legitimate fortune. Fields are arenas of struggle in which individuals and organizations compete, unconsciously and consciously, to valorize those forms of capital, which they possess. Inside the journalistic field, economic capital is expressed via circulation, advertising revenues, or audience ratings, whereas the specific cultural capital of the field is evident in recognition of formalistic excellence by the U.S. Pulitzer Prizes and other prestigious professional or academic awards.<sup>32</sup>

The earlier tradition had assumed that subcultures began as authentic and subversive expressions of youth, which were then taken over by the mass media and turned into commodities. Thornton argues that the media are implicated from the very beginning.

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<sup>30</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Bouman, Martine (2007). P. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Benson Rodney and Neveu Erik. Bourdieu and the journalistic field. *Theoretical Orientations*. P. 189-190.

Condemnation by the mass media is actively sought, while micro media (flyers, listings, fanzines, pirate radio, e-mail lists, and so on) are the sources of information that can supply subcultural capital. For example, clubbers produce these, and clubbers turn to them for information. Niche media (mainly the music and style consumer magazines) often try to identify and develop subcultures; *New Musical Express* was strongly associated first with punk and new wave and later Madchester, while the established magazine that linked itself most closely to clubbing was *iD*. Subcultural capital relies on the media (but not mass media), which, in turn, means restricted accessibility. Subcultural capital is about being in the know. Thornton also notes how the media make use of sociological discourse and concepts in making sense of club cultures. They use terms like subculture and moral panic. This is an example of what Giddens has called “the reflexivity of modernity”.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the more significant shock to the news media in the United States and elsewhere – and one that has been developing over a long period of time – is the broad transformation of capitalism toward a more intensely profit-driven, anti-union, anti-public sector model of “flexible accumulation”. One effect of this transformation has been an increasing polarization of income, wealth, educational, and professional opportunities, which only further isolates the formalistic fields from the everyday concerns of working-class and poor citizens. Another effect has been the strengthening of the hand of economic capital against all nonmarket forms of power (the welfare state, public interest conceptions of news media, nonprofit associations, etc.).<sup>34</sup>

In relation to the social class structure as a whole, the so-called diversity of this advertising-funded media system may begin to be seen for what it is: a relatively narrow clustering around a few positions within elite fields of cultural, political, and economic power. To the extent that a society values genuine ideological diversity – diversity rooted in class-structured social experience – it then becomes necessary to confront the limits of this commercial press.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, any explanation of attitudes, discourses, behavior, and so forth must draw on an analysis of both structural position (within the field, the field's position vis-à-vis other fields, etc.) and the particular historical trajectory by which an agent arrived at that

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<sup>33</sup> Sarah Thornton. P. 70.

<sup>34</sup> Benson Rodney and Neveu Erik. P. 193.

<sup>35</sup> Benson Rodney and Neveu Erik. P. 194.

position (habitus). Especially for research on the distinctive cultural production of columnists, special correspondents, or feature writers – journalistic roles that permit a greater ideological or stylistic range – analysis of habitus is just as essential as that of position in the field. What Sparrow describes as the typical structural determination, Bourdieu would categorize as only one possible situation, that of a close fit between habitus and field position, in which case the effect of habitus largely dissolves into that of field.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.2.3. Habitus

The habitus can be oriented primarily to the accumulation of symbolic capital (honor, prestige) or to the accumulation of economic capital. Habitus is a bridge between social structures and social practices. It is the concept in Bourdieu's theoretical system that connects the world of material conditions (social space and social fields) with the world of social practice. Bourdieu says that all social agents are equipped with a mental structure to think and perceive the social world in certain determined ways and act according to quite distinct patterns. In other words, the habitus is structuring. It is incorporated early in the child's life through training in everyday life, for example their mother tongue, and it is modified further by the influence of the material conditions associated with occupying certain positions in certain social fields and spaces. It retains its chief characteristics throughout the whole course of life, even if the position of the social agent in the social space should change.<sup>37</sup>

It consists of generalized schemes of perception and thought. Equipped with this habitus the social agents live their lives, giving meaning to experience and acting adequately. The habitus generates a kind of practical knowledge attuned to the positions in the social space. The objective power relationships are transformed into this practical knowledge, into independent choices and deliberate actions. It gives the ones who occupy the dominant positions in the social space little scope for understanding the social basis for their positions of power. They believe they occupy them by virtue of their superior intelligence, their breeding, or because they have been selected.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Benson Rodney and Neveu Erik.. P. 194.

<sup>37</sup> Rosenlund, Lennart (2001). P. 49.

<sup>38</sup> Rosenlund, Lennart (2001). P. 50.

The theory that informs Bourdieu's approach is a general theory of practice. The key concept that Bourdieu employs in developing his theory is that of habitus. The habitus is sometimes also described as a feel for the game, a practical sense that inclines agents to act and react in specific situations in a manner that is not always calculated, or a question of conscious obedience to rules. Practices should be seen as the product of an encounter between a habitus and a field which are, to varying degrees, compatible or congruent with one another, in such a way that, on occasions when there is a lack of congruence (e.g. health communication professionals dealing with popular entertainment culture) an individual may not know how to act.

In other words, the habitus is the sum of learned and incorporated knowledge; behavior and intuition that makes one belong to a field. To enter a field, to play the game, one must possess the habitus which predisposes one to enter that field, that game, and not another. Without full recognition of the habitus, a field will always reject, or try to exclude the new player. One must possess at least the minimum amount of knowledge, or skill, or talent to acquire the needed habitus and be consecrated and accepted as a legitimate player. Entering the game, furthermore, means attempting to use that knowledge, or skill, or 'talent' in the most advantageous way possible. It means, in short, investing one's (academic, cultural, symbolic) capital in such a way as to derive maximum benefit or profit from participation.<sup>39</sup>

With the growing importance of journalism education as entry into the profession, a significant part of the training of future journalists can be described as a process of habitus transformation. A leitmotiv of the teachers in the French schools of journalism is the need to re-socialize their students to simpler styles of writing, against what they perceive as over-academic, complicated and reader-unfriendly styles of writing and speaking learned at the university. The same transformation is achieved through on-the-job training, internships and shop floor mentoring. A second key notion is *illusio*, which suggests the idea of an investment in the stakes particular to a social field. *Illusio* is the subjective belief that the game is worth playing (and defending). The belief that journalism is one of the pillars of democracy or more cynically that it allows one to be where the action is gives impetus to the war correspondent to take risks. If *illusio* suggests illusion, Bourdieu, in one of his more cryptic yet illuminating sentences highlights that illusions do not only give birth to illusory effects. *Habitus*, *illusio* and

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<sup>39</sup> Bouman, Martine. (2007). P. 8.



(social, cultural, economic) capitals should be considered relationally, according to how they fit within the institutions and interactions of a field, and regarding their power to subvert its rules. Andre. Fontaine, who was the editor in chief of *Le Monde* in the 1980s, was famous for his long essays, crammed with historical references and literary quotes. This taste of intellectual high-culture expressed, at the time, a habitus finely tuned to the moral and intellectual authority of *Le Monde* in the French press. Such a habitus would be a handicap for a journalist of any of the European editions of the free daily *Metro*, ascribed to wrap-up in 500 basic words the most complex events.

Studying local journalists working for the regional press in western France, Le Bohec suggests one of the key factors to make sense of the behaviour of these journalists depends on the coherence between their habitus and their specific jobs. A primary school teacher, working part time as the local correspondent, they will often be proud to be perceived as the herald of the local community, having close relationships with the mayor, or the president of the soccer club. Satisfied of this closeness with the local elite, s/ he will spontaneously produce a kind of uncritical news, inspired by the official sources. The story of a student freshly graduated from a prestigious university, appointed as local reporter in a small town, suggests a different case of misfit habitus. Considering muckraking both as the supreme style of journalism and the only one that he could practice without losing his intellectual integrity he made a greenhorn blunder. He published a scoop about a highly toxic device of the electricity network located in the heart of the city and was instantly fired by the owner of the weekly who was also a local politician.<sup>40</sup>

Pierre Bourdieu argues that individuals are always placed in situations in which they will be uncertain of the outcomes, and thereby they have to draw on strategies to operate in particular situations: these strategies are objectively coordinated without the individual's consciousness, enabling the analogical transfer of schemes which permit to find the solution of similarly shaped problems.<sup>41</sup> The agents create strategies based on their total knowledge, interests, and experiences, which extend beyond the field and implement them in order to defend or improve their positions.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Neveu, Erik. P. 338-339.

<sup>41</sup> Adkins Lisa, Skeggs Beverley (2004). P. 84.

<sup>42</sup> Calhoun Craig, LiPuma Edward, Postone Moishe (1993). P. 16-17.

### 2.3. Aristotle's classification of causes

Aristotle's doctrine of the four causes helps answer the question on account of what and suggests the involvement of the causes in any natural change. However, it is important to keep in mind that Aristotle's "aitia" is different from our modern notion of a cause. As John Vella underlines, "for Aristotle, aitia can mean cause, reason or explanation",<sup>43</sup> which leads us to the conclusion that Aristotle rather intended to give four explanations for natural changes. Another key point to consider is that all these four explanations must be investigated in order to understand why something changes or stays unchanged.

These four causes are the 1) material, 2) formal, 3) efficient and 4) final. Jonathan Barnes offers to ask such questions as "what it is made of" and "what is its shape, plan, or structure".<sup>44</sup> The answer to the former question will give us a material explanation; the answer to the latter will give us a formal explanation. The efficient cause is close to the modern conception of a cause; it is the primary source of the change. If we think of a human action, the person who deliberates and chooses a course of action is the efficient cause of that action. It means that the efficient cause is about the relationship between the agent and the thing done.

Aristotle calls the first type of cause "cause as matter", while his commentators interpret it as "the material cause". It can be described as "the constituent from which something comes to be". Aristotle's second sort of cause is "the form and pattern", referred to by commentators as the "formal" cause. Aristotle's description of the efficient cause has features, which are now associated with the idea of causation, and modern readers feel most at home with it as it is an action of one thing effecting another. It is the "motive" cause. "Thus the examples seem to suggest that efficient causes are distinct from the objects they operate upon (the father is distinct from the son, whereas the bronze is not distinct from the statue), and that causes precede their effects (the man who deliberates does so before he acts, whereas the screening does not occur before the eclipse)", explains Jonathan Barnes. The fourth cause is "that for the sake of which" and "the goal", and it is usually known as the "final" cause. To express final causes one should use the connective "in order to" that does not easily translate into "because". They are

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<sup>43</sup> Vella, John. *Aristotle: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London, Continuum International Publishing, 2008. P 76-80

<sup>44</sup> Barnes, Jonathan. *Aristotle: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, UK, 2000. P 83-86

appropriate only to a very small number of cases, for example, human intentional actions, and they appear to post-date. In addition they can be effective without even existing.

Jaakko Hintikka defines the cause as “an explanation of the existence (being)” in his “Analyses of Aristotle”.<sup>45</sup> He suggests that “to know the cause of something is the same as to know what it is”. If we ask why something happened, the answer will be a specification of what set a flow of events, or what an object is made of, what it belongs to or what purposes it serves. It means that we can identify an object by its origin, matter, form or purpose. “Explaining is finding out why things are as they are, and for Aristotle there are four basic ways of doing this”, clarifies Julia Annas.<sup>46</sup> Aristotle accused previous philosophers of the narrowness with which they approached natural processes and things, as there is not just one type of explanation but also many, and they do not exclude one another. Aristotle’s theory is about the way the world is, not the way we explain it.

Julia Annas describes the material cause as “the physical make-up of the thing, which puts considerable restrictions on what it can be and do” and the formal cause as “the way of being alive which defines that kind of thing”. “The item initiating a change” is the efficient cause. The final cause is what the thing or process is for, “something that has to be cited in showing how it functions”. Julia Annas notes that modern theories of causality are limited to only Aristotle’s efficient cause as a cause.

Jude Dougherty<sup>47</sup> argues that Aristotle’s doctrine of four causes is based on our common-sense conviction that every change needs an explanation. Thanks largely to this conviction we need to understand out of which a thing is made (the material cause), as well as its determining principle (the formal cause) – that which makes the thing to be what it is. These two causes constitute the essence or nature of the being in question. In addition to it we need to know the primary source of change or rest (the efficient cause) and the end or purpose (the final cause), for which sake the change is introduced.

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<sup>45</sup> Hintikka, Jaakko. *Analyses of Aristotle*. Hingham, MA, USA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Annas, Julia. *Ancient Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, GBR: Oxford University Press, UK, 2000. P 84

<sup>47</sup> Dougherty, Jude P. *Nature of Scientific Explanation*. Washington, DC, USA: Catholic University of America Press, 2013. P 55

Dougherty remarks that the final cause is the most troublesome for the empiricist and positivist. Aristotle believes that a full explanation of anything must consider the purpose for which the thing was produced (the final cause). However it can be applied only to human actions that have some end purposes. It is rational for us to tend to explain the behavior of other things in nature on this analogy as fulfilling a purpose determined by certain intelligence responsible for order in the universe. Dougherty concludes that we do not have proper knowledge of something until we know its cause, and where an agent of a particular type regularly produces one effect rather than another. In other words, if it is not the final cause of the agent's action, then there is no sufficient reason it is regularly produced rather than some other effect.

These four causes together give us a complete picture of any natural process. They can be seen as necessary conditions for any change or rest. As Jonathan Barnes writes, "there is no natural process that can occur without all four of these causes or explanations in place".<sup>48</sup> Material objects change, and their changes are caused by something. The world is full of causes, and scientific knowledge requires the ability to state causes and to give explanations.

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<sup>48</sup> Barnes, Jonathan (2000). P. 86

### 3. MATERIALS AND METHOD

In this work I'm using qualitative content analysis as a research method. According to Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildemuth<sup>49</sup>, the goal of qualitative content analysis is to identify the main themes or categories within the content of the interviews and to provide a rich description of the social reality created by those themes/categories. After preparing the data carefully, (coding and interpreting the results) qualitative content analysis should support the development of new theories as well as validate existing ones. Hsieh and Shannon defined qualitative content analysis as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns”. Mayring suggests it is “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step-by-step models, without rash quantification” and Patton understands this method as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings”.<sup>50</sup>

Zhang and Wildemuth selected these three definitions as they illustrate that qualitative content analysis forms “an integrated view of speech/texts and their specific contexts”. They underline that this method allows understanding social reality in a subjective though scientific manner as it goes beyond counting words or extracting objective content from texts. It can be described as a process of condensing raw data into categories and themes based on valid interpretations. The researcher carefully examines and constantly compares themes and categories that emerge from the data using inductive reasoning. In addition, it is useful to generate concepts from theories or previous studies, especially at the inception of data analysis.

Hsieh and Shannon distinguish three approaches to qualitative content analysis: 1) the conventional qualitative content analysis, in which coding categories are derived directly from the raw data; 2) the directed content analysis, in which initial coding starts with a theory or relevant research findings; 3) the summative content analysis, which

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<sup>49</sup> Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildemuth. *Qualitative Analysis of Content. Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science* by Barbara M. Wildemuth May 2009, ABC-CLIO, Incorporated P. 308.

<sup>50</sup> Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildemuth, 2009.

starts with the counting of words or manifest content, then extends the analysis to include latent meanings and themes.

Qualitative content analysis focuses on individual themes as the unit for analysis, not the physical linguistic units (words, sentences, or paragraphs). An instance of a theme can be expressed in a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document. When using theme as the coding unit, the researcher is looking for the expressions of an idea. Categories and a coding scheme can be taken from such sources as the data, previous related studies, and theories. It is important to systematically compare each new text assigned to a category with those already assigned to it, as it helps to fully understand the theoretical properties of the category, and to integrate categories and their properties developing interpretive memos. The researcher can generate an initial list of coding categories from the model or theory and then modify it when new categories occur.

The next step is to make sense of the themes and categories and to present the reconstruction of meanings derived from the data. This will also include exploring properties and dimensions of categories, identifying relationships between categories, uncovering patterns, and testing categories against the full range of data. The success of this step will rely almost wholly on the researcher's reasoning abilities.

Qualitative research is fully interpretive where interpretation represents the researcher's personal and theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study. Validity, reliability, and objectivity are criteria used to evaluate the quality of the research. Credibility refers to the "adequate representation of the constructions of the social world under study"<sup>51</sup>. Lincoln and Guba suggested improving the credibility of the research results by using such tools as prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, checking interpretations against raw data, peer debriefing, and member checking. The knowledge and experience of the researcher have a significant impact on the credibility of the research results.

When the information the interviews convey has been condensed and made systematically, it can be considered an analysis. The process of conveying interviews is called content analysis. There are a number of procedures used by qualitative

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<sup>51</sup> Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildemuth, 2009.

researchers to analyse their data. Miles and Huberman<sup>52</sup> identify three approaches to qualitative data analysis: interpretative approaches, social anthropological approaches, and collaborative social research approaches. The largest advantage of content analysis is that it can be virtually unobtrusive and is cost-effective. The materials necessary for conducting content analysis are easily and inexpensively accessible. In addition, it provides a tool by which to study processes that occur over long periods of time or that might reflect trends in a society.

In my content-analytic research there were several steps: first I stated the research problem and the goal – what is it to be described and measured. At this stage I introduced hypotheses. Furthermore I proceeded with the decision that content analysis would provide me with the needed information. I selected the qualitative material based on the criteria of being topical, up to date, and deep as well as answering the majority of questions I would like to ask the same responders. The amount of the material was predetermined by the publications of the interviews available at the time of the research on the websites lookatme.ru and afisha.ru. When choosing a content analysis coding system I decided to use categories set in the research theoretical background. I read through an initial set of interviews and realized that the coding system that I chose matched with the meanings of the content and helped to obtain the information needed for my goal.

I have selected the interviews conducted by journalists of Look At Me and Afisha because they reflect in the best way the phenomenon being studied – the future and current state of music magazines in Russia. To learn about this state I have chosen the material from mass media assumed to be representative of subculture most focused on music and most likely to express interest in music magazines. Some of the interviews were more informative than others depending on what the interviewees considered important to be told. Content analytic research requires selection of both, the material to be analysed (interviews) and the sources of that material (persons, publications). Sample size affects the range, reliability and accuracy of the values measured. On that score the optimal size was chosen to be all the interviews available at Look At Me and Afisha on

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<sup>52</sup> Berg, Bruce L. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. California State University, Long Beach, 2001. P. 240.

the topic of written music journalism in Russia and its crisis. It fits the aim characteristics of my research.

The coding system is the heart of the content analytic method for it specifies the information to be obtained in the interviews. As Charles Smith notes in his “Handbook of thematic content analysis”<sup>53</sup> that “if appropriate categories of analysis are not used, vital information may not be detected, and the analysis may reveal nothing of interest”. Coding systems contain definitions of units and material to be analyzed, categories and rules for applying the system. In my research I recorded the information in a coding manual that helped me to understand what to code and what not to code for each category. My coding text units were interviews conducted by the journalists of Look At Me and Afisha, to be precise, their themes and response segments most significant for the research and applicable to the coding categories. By the theme I mean the expression of a single idea, a statement about a topic. A theme was usually expressed in a few sentences. I aimed to identify each theme in a text unit by specified criterion and classify it according to its property.

During the coding process, the quantification was used that was achieved by recording the frequency of occurrence of specified information. The coding categories were defined by an exhaustive list of what is to be included together with the examples based on the theoretical background of the research.

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<sup>53</sup> Smith, Charles. Motivation and personality: Handbook of thematic content analysis. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1992. P. 320.



## 4. MUSIC JOURNALISM

### 4.1. Arts journalism, music journalism and music criticism

Steve Jones, one of the most significant researchers in the field of music journalism, notes in his book “Pop Music and the Press”<sup>54</sup> that there is little systematic study of popular-music criticism even though it has developed since the 1960s in the press. A large variety of academic studies of popular music are available as publications as well as several scholarly journals acting as forums for popular-music scholars. Yet one can hardly find any research on popular-music criticism in popular-music scholarship, journalism, and mass communication scholarship. Another scientist, Roy Shuker, agrees with Steve Jones in his book “Key Concepts in Popular Music” saying that he has come across little critical analysis of how articles in music press construct popular music and influence the reception of genres and performers. He expresses his surprise with such a lack of interest towards the matter as there are quite a lot of publications about music: lifestyle magazines with major music coverage, music trade papers, weekly and monthly consumer magazines devoted to popular music or particular genres within it, privately published fanzines, book-length writings on popular music, and “quickie” publications that aim to benefit from pop sensations.<sup>55</sup>

According to Steve Jones, there are a handful of research articles on *Rolling Stone*, for example, showing the magazine from the point of view of the publishing industry and the counterculture as neglecting music criticism as a site for academic study. He also mentions a book of Abe Peck “Uncovering the Sixties” (1985), a history of the underground press in 1960s, studied within the framework of cultural and political debate, and he underlines that such periodicals served (and still do in the form of online and print fanzines) as a starting point for the journalists who want to pursue a career in mainstream or underground press. Steve Jones also points out that it was 1950s when writings on popular music began not to only analyze music but to show it as an element of culture based on the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the baby-boom generation.

Another question that Steve Jones raises in his book is whether a music critic has any impact on the sales of recordings and concert tickets. Thus, he addresses to the study of

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<sup>54</sup> Steve Jones. “The Intro: Popular Music, Media, and the Written Word”, Pop Music and The Press. Temple University Press, 2002. P. 1

<sup>55</sup> Roy Shuker. Key Concepts in Popular Music. London: Routledge, 1998. P. 195

Shuker titled “Understanding popular music”<sup>56</sup>, in which Roy Shuker depicts a general agreement that rock critics don’t usually have as much influence on consumers as drama critics, for example. He explains this with the fact that hearing music has a greater impact than reading about it. Nonetheless, it is important to assess critics’ own understanding of their role in relations to consumers, as it is an essential issue in professionalization of the music critic and in turn of the journalist. Here Steve Jones talks about tastes in music, elitism, beliefs and the difference of working in magazines from working in fanzines or newspapers. He concludes that little is known about critics’ own values beyond those that relate to music itself.

In the late 1980s Robert Wyatt and Geoffrey Hull conducted a survey<sup>57</sup> of pop music critics and their editors and came up with a general description of an average American critic: “a well-educated male in his 30s with about 10 years’ experience covering music”. Wyatt and Hull also note that his tastes do not change much and he does not attribute high aesthetic and philosophical functions to music but rather distinguishes its primary functions like diversion, escape and companionship.

The topic that should also be mentioned in the context of music journalism is the relations between two fields of practice: a media industry and the music business. Shuker notes in his “Key Concepts in Popular Music”<sup>58</sup> that music press is not necessarily integrated into the music industry even though music periodicals help the music business to sell artists, styles, concerts, CDs, etc. In the study of advertiser influence on music magazines<sup>59</sup>, Steve Jones found that both the music and media industries need one another and need to sell artists and their products, yet remarks that very little research into their symbiotic relationship has been done. Mark Evans studied the content of Australian rock magazines, mostly album reviews, and concluded that they all had the same fundamental elements: lyrical analysis, inter-artist comparison, artist background and musical analysis.<sup>60</sup> As Steve Jones puts it, some writers claim that

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<sup>56</sup> Roy Shuker (1994) P. 93.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Wyatt and Geoffrey Hull. The music critic in the American press: A nationwide survey of newspapers and magazines. Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention, Portland, Oregon, 1988. P. 20-21.

<sup>58</sup> Roy Shuker, 1998. P. 200.

<sup>59</sup> Steve Jones, 2002. P. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Mark Evans. “Quality” criticism: Music reviewing in Australian rock magazines. Perfect Beat 3, 1998. P. 38-50.

rock critics are responsible for turning music into money. Otherwise, the most notable research is still the one carried out by Shuker who notes that music magazines have “become part of a general magazine culture” and evolved from covering music alone toward being a certain guide to lifestyle.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from being connected with the music business, music press is linked to its readers, which are mostly young people. Charles Hamm underlines that rock journalism focuses on popular music as a manifestation of the culture of young people.<sup>62</sup> Youth culture is central to popular music criticism. That is why new media will not likely drive music critics to extinction. On the contrary, as Steve Jones points out, the Internet might create greater demand for music criticism. Most magazines introduced online versions, and according to researcher from University of Turku, Kari Kallioniemi, this is the reason why the importance of interaction between writers and readers is gradually growing.<sup>63</sup>

Steve Jones concludes that it is not clear yet how new media will serve to develop another generation of critics and what kind of critics it may develop, as we know little about the development of critics in general. He says, taking himself as an example, that most become music critics due to a connection with music (they might be musicians, students of music, scholars, or fans). Most “study” music criticism by reading all the publications available to them.

Tatiana Kurisheva, Professor of Contemporary Music Department at Tchaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory and an acclaimed expert in Musicology, clarifies in her book “Music Journalism and Music Criticism”<sup>64</sup> that while arts journalism focuses on arts as its main object, music journalism (being part of arts journalism) focuses on contemporary music processes, both artistic and organizational ones. Here it is important to differentiate between two notions that are often presented as synonyms: ‘music journalism’ and ‘music criticism’. According to Kurisheva, the notion of ‘music criticism’ reflects the character of mental activity, art assessing by its nature, oriented to

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<sup>61</sup> Roy Shuker, 1994. P. 92.

<sup>62</sup> Charles Hamm. Putting popular music in its place. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. P. 22

<sup>63</sup> Kari Kallioniemi. “Put the needle on the record and think of England”: Notions of Englishness in the post-war debate on British pop music. Ph. D. diss., University of Turku, Finland, 1998. P. 25.

<sup>64</sup> T.A. Kuryшева. Музыкаль'нага журналістыка і музыкаль'нага крытыка. Учебное пособие для вузов. Vlado Press, Moskva, 2007. P. 12-13.

the artistic element of the contemporary music process. Meanwhile the notion of ‘music journalism’ reflects the form of realization of a certain music-literary activity and can serve both as music criticism (assessment thinking) and music enlightenment, publicity and propaganda.

The notion of ‘music journalism’ can also be disclosed through another classification suggested by Kurisheva.<sup>65</sup> She systemizes musicology into three global fields of practice: scientific musicology, pedagogical musicology, and practical musicology, where music journalism belongs to the latter, as it satisfies the practical / cultural needs of the society. Furthermore, she divides ‘practical musicology’ into three parts, taking into consideration its main goals and forms: insight, assessment and distribution. She includes ‘music journalism’ in the “assessment section”, distinguishing websites on music from it and putting them into “insight section” (see Figure 1)

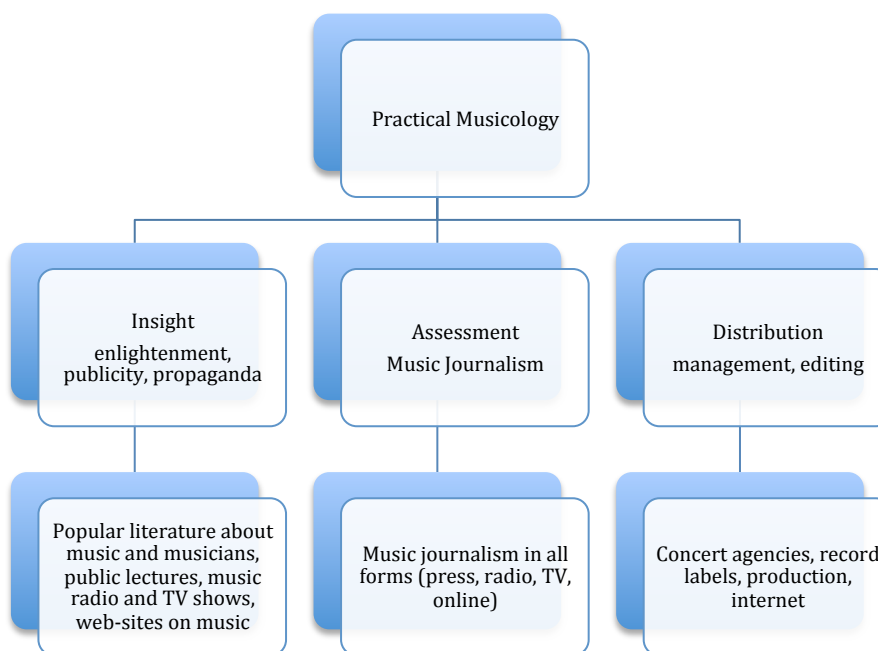


Figure 1. Practical Musicology by goals (based on Kurisheva’s classification)

As music journalism comprises music criticism, it is important to underline the importance of arts criticism for the art itself. Kurisheva notes that the roots of critical thinking are in the historical evolution of culture.<sup>66</sup> Thus, it possesses such features as 1) constant re-assessment of values, 2) relativity of critical truth, 3) variability of interpretations, and 4) open-ended critical judgments. The art exists within value-

<sup>65</sup> T.A. Kuryшева. 2007. P. 15-20.

<sup>66</sup> T.A. Kuryшева. 2007. P. 24-25.

conscious perceptions, and if the piece of art is not in demand, it doesn't exist. Music criticism expressed in print media acts as an element of self-regulation in music culture, concludes Kurisheva.<sup>67</sup> Public consciousness also plays a crucial role in cultural self-regulation. Formed under the stimulus of traditions, customs, norms, views, tastes, fashion, ideals, etc., it creates a complicated system of values that can influence the arts process by expressing its opinion (domestic criticism, discussions, concert sell-outs or low attendance). Music criticism reflects the claims of the society that it sets upon the art.<sup>68</sup> What do music journalists write about? Kurisheva defines four objects of music journalism: 1) music art, 2) participants of the music process, 3) organization of the music process, and 4) reflection of the music process (see Figure 2).

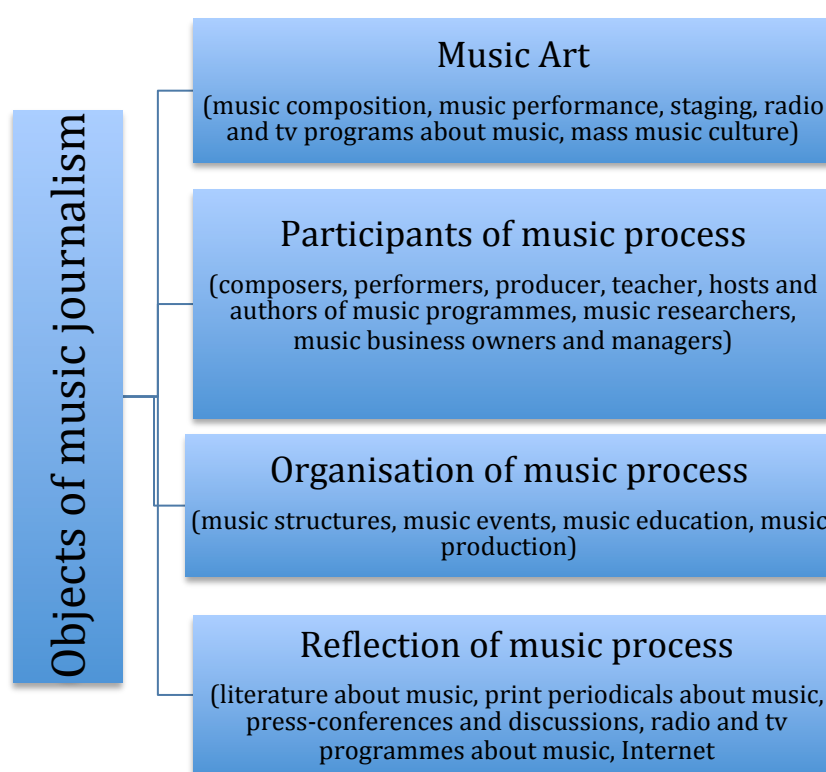


Figure 2. Objects of music journalism (based on Kurisheva's classification)

#### 4.2. Music industry and music media

Eamonn Forde, one of the leading researchers of the UK music press, studies British music magazines through the prism of their relations with two industries they depend on: music industry and publishing industry. He defines music magazines as “complex

<sup>67</sup> T.A. Kurysheva. 2007. P. 27.

<sup>68</sup> T.A. Kurysheva. 2007. P. 32.

socio-professional organizations run by a core full-time staff of between seven and ten, who occupy the major editorial and production posts within a newsroom hierarchy determined by status”.<sup>69</sup> The posts in publications distinguished by Forde are as following: editor, assistant editor, features editor, reviews editor, news editor, production (or sub) editor, art editor, staff writer and editorial (or office) assistant. He continues his definition of music magazines by describing them as “commercial enterprises with distinct goals and norms and, as such, they are produced under particular organisational conditions, shaped by particular economic pressures and structurally reoriented as a result of changes in editorial staff (throughout the editorial hierarchy) and socio-professional relations/politics”.<sup>70</sup>

He underlines the increasing influence of corporate publishing strategy on the editorial content and the market pitch of music magazines. Major publishers force editors to broaden their activities into lifestyle journalism aiming to boost readership and attract new advertising revenues. The strategy is known as branding or brand-extensions.<sup>71</sup> As Knowles puts it in his article “The Role of Brands in Business” in Media Week, branding strategies aim to provide a title with “an appeal over and above what can be explained by the functional benefits it offers”.<sup>72</sup> It means that on the one hand they help to differentiate in an overcrowded market, but on the other hand they re-imagine the benefits of the product itself. As it is hard for the music press nowadays to attract readers based on marginal music genres, the only way-out suggested by the publishing industry is to structure the business approach around the perceived personality of the periodical itself.

According to Forde’s study of the music press in the UK, the implementation of the branding strategy resulted in tensions between individual goals and collective goals as music magazines seek to respond to both cultural and commercial demands. Editors are under pressure to treat their publication as a “part of a carefully structured corporate portfolio rather than stand-alone magazines”.<sup>73</sup> They have to focus more on maximizing

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<sup>69</sup> Eamonn Forde. Music Journalists, Music Press Officers & the Consumer. Music Press in the UK. PhD Thesis, October 2001. University of Westminster. P. 96.

<sup>70</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 266.

<sup>71</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 2.

<sup>72</sup> J. Knowles. The Role of Brands in Business. John Wiley & Sons Ltd: Chichester “On the Brand Wagon”. Media Week. P. 21.

<sup>73</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 162.

sales and advertising opportunities. This bureaucratic relationship between editors and publishers leads to power domination of the latter. As examples, Forde cites two cases: when *Uncut*'s editorial had to reposition away from a mono-thematic film title towards a music-led hybrid music and film title, and when Andy Pemberton was sacked from the editorship of *Q*.

As for the relations between the music press and music industry, Forde argues that in fact it is the industry that depends on the press as it wants the media to promote its acts at low costs and provide the initial and valuable critical feedback, at least in the early stages.<sup>74</sup> But once the act becomes more successful, the industry starts to control the access to the major stars, as their presence on the front cover of the magazine can greatly boost its sales in such an unstable market. Press officers can also use it as a tool to get coverage of less famous acts. This goes against the traditional Marxist-influenced view of the press/industry relationship, where the music press is shown as “economically determined by the flows of finance and access from the record companies”.<sup>75</sup> Forde asserts that PR attempts of the music industry are never guaranteed successful outcomes because it cannot control all factors and forces. The market success of music stars is temporal and so is their publicists' lobbying power. “There is a constant turnover of acts in the press and within this a complex dynamic of editorial and aesthetic inclusion and exclusion.”<sup>76</sup>

The conclusion that Forde comes to in his research on the UK music press is that the branding strategy applied by the publishing industry has given the consumer music press more freedom from record companies and their fortunes: the advertising revenue now comes from outside the music industry (mainly clothing, alcohol, and tobacco manufacturers). The press can be considered “organisationally distinct, with particular norms, professional codes and pressures distinct to each newsroom”.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 36.

<sup>75</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 37.

<sup>76</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 266.

<sup>77</sup> Eamonn Forde, 2001. P. 268.

### 4.3. Music scene, subcultural capital and the role of music journalism

The success of a music magazine directly depends on the music scene it covers, which is in turn a part of youth subculture, and reflects the style, tastes, and values of a particular generation. Thus, it is important to understand the notion of a ‘music scene’ and how it relates to subcultures, generational differences, and music press.

Beatrice Jetto, a PhD student in Media, Music and Cultural Studies at Macquarie University of Sydney, Australia, carried out her research on the cultural and social impact of new media in music scenes and subcultures. In her article “Music Blogs, Music Scenes, Cub-cultural Capital: Emerging Practices in Music Blogs” she uses the definition of ‘music scene’ introduced by Bennett in 2004: “music scene is the clusters of musicians, promoters and fans, etc., who collectively share a common interest for a particular genre of music or musical taste, usually related to a particular local setting, such as a city, where a particular style of music has developed”.<sup>78</sup>

There are three types of music scenes: the local, the trans-local, and the virtual. A local music scene takes place in a delimited space over a specific span of time. A trans-local scene comprises several local scenes that are geographically divided with the help of exchange of cultural production such as music genres and bands. Virtual scenes are built in virtual spaces on the Internet such as chat rooms, Web sites and online forums.<sup>79</sup>

Jetto argues that the music scene reproduces social hierarchies based on status, and its members share the same music interests and compete over cultural knowledge. As her research targets indie scenes, she uses Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of field of cultural production to describe their structural functioning. She says that indie scenes are built on the principles of indie ideology: music must be autonomous from the commercial music industry. In order to possess the right status in indie scenes, one is supposed to like credible bands, show distinctive personal taste and differentiate between the true artist and the poseur.<sup>80</sup>

This logic reveals the existence of a certain capital in a particular music scene that can be defined and constructed through musical taste and recommendations of its members.

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<sup>78</sup> Beatrice Jetto. Music Blogs, Music Scenes, Cub-cultural Capital: Emerging Practices in Music Blogs. Conference Paper. 2010. P. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Beatrice Jetto, 2010. P. 3.

<sup>80</sup> Beatrice Jetto, 2010. P. 3.



Sarah Thornton introduces the notion of this capital in her study of club cultures – she calls it “subcultural capital”.<sup>81</sup> As music is an essential aspect of youth culture (young people buy and listen to more music than any other age group), taste in music accumulates subcultural capital along with clothing, haircuts, etc. Sarah Thornton suggests, “subcultural ideologies are a means by which consumers imagine their own and other social groups, assert their achieved distinctive character, and affirm that they are not anonymous members of an undifferentiated mass”.<sup>82</sup> That is why music journalists and DJs are considered masters of the scene: possessing high level of subcultural capital and also defining and creating it.<sup>83</sup>

Subcultural capital is about being in the know, and it relies on the media (but not mass media), which, in turn, means restricted accessibility. For this reason, niche media (mainly the music and style consumer magazines) often try to identify and develop subcultures, creating their own niche audiences. Marc Brennan, in his conference paper “Yet Another Reason to Hate Oasis: Circulation and Branding in the UK Music Press”, explains the closure of a several oldest UK music magazines with the loss of their niche audiences that evolved around the genre of alternative or indie music.<sup>84</sup> These audiences defined themselves through certain music (punk, grunge), movements (the Manchester movement), clothing, politics and anti-mainstream stance. And they relied on specialized media to be recognized for who they are (on magazines like Melody Maker, NME, Select). Brennan argues in his paper that this loss of subcultures/music scene/niche audiences has affected the function of music magazines and resulted in the uncertain state of the contemporary UK music press.<sup>85</sup>

The change of the music scene is closely connected with the change of generations. Brennan quotes former editor of Select and senior writer for Q magazine, John Harris, who suggests terming this loss of music scene “the loss of outsider culture”. He says that “young people are a lot more of an inclusive bunch than they used to be – they don’t have the need for badges of differences and that notion of rejecting the other

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<sup>81</sup> Sarah Thornton. *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Polity, Cambridge, 1995. P. 28.

<sup>82</sup> Sarah Thornton, 1995. P. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Sarah Thornton, 1995. P. 30.

<sup>84</sup> Marc Brennan. Yet Another Reason to Hate Oasis: Circulation and Branding in the UK Music Press. In Crowdy, Denis, Homan, Shane, & Mitchell, Tony (Eds.) *Musical In-Between-Ness: The Proceedings of the 8th IASPM Australia - New Zealand Conference, 27-29 September, Sydney, Australia*. 2002. P. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Marc Brennan, 2002. P. 1.

world doesn't really exist any more".<sup>86</sup> Thus, the genres of music associated with rejection and anti-mainstream are not a form of subcultural capital anymore.

For his study of the UK music press Marc Brennan interviewed editors and journalists from magazines such as the NME, Melody Maker, Select, Q, Mojo, Uncut and Kerrang!. When he asked them what they thought was the major reason for the decreased popularity of the UK music press and closures of a few leading music publications, an overwhelming majority of his interviewees cited the movement known as Britpop that was represented with an incredible success: British bands such as Blur, Oasis, Pulp, Elastica and Supergrass. It was such a triumph that the bands became regulars on national media channels and were featured across the full spectrum of newspapers and magazines in the UK.<sup>87</sup> But that also meant that the music press has lost its capital – the knowledge about those bands and the access to information about them and their upcoming shows. As Brennan concludes, “nobody really cared what the music press said any more”.<sup>88</sup>

In his exploration of the role of the music press, Shuker notes that music magazines often serve as “gatekeepers of taste, and arbiters of cultural history”.<sup>89</sup> However, Jacob Levenson, in his essay for *Columbia Journalism Review* titled “Why John Lennon Matters, the case for professional pop-music critics in an amateur age”, claims that times have changed for music magazines – “we are living in an age when the audience is happy to express its opinions without any assistance from the press”.<sup>90</sup> He questions the need for professional critics in the times when anyone can make music and anyone with the Internet connection can be a music critic. He suggests one solution for this case: professional critics should focus more on musicality and explanatory journalism. On the other hand, he admits that most critics – even those with grounding in musical theory – are not musicians, and they don't want to focus on the technical facility of a music performer.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Marc Brennan, 2002. P. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Marc Brennan, 2002. P. 4.

<sup>88</sup> Marc Brennan, 2002. P.5.

<sup>89</sup> R. Shuker. *Understanding Popular Music*. Routledge, London, 1994. P. 92.

<sup>90</sup> Jacob Levenson. Why John Lennon Matters. The case for professional pop-music critics in an amateur age. *Columbia Journalism Review*. July/August, 2009. P. 55.

<sup>91</sup> Jacob Levenson. 2009. P. 57.

The disappearance of traditional niche readership has led to attempts by the publishing industry to broaden the audience of the music press through extensions into other media. Brennan notes, “Printed titles in the UK music media are gradually becoming less individualistic and possibly less identifiable”.<sup>92</sup> They extended into other mediums: Kerrang!, NME, Q and Smash Hits have their own internet sites, digital radio stations, award ceremonies, and in the case of Q, even their own cable television network.

Researcher Stephen Hill from the University of Winchester has conducted a study on a British music magazine Smash Hits, titled “Lost in the Seventies: The Secret Story of Smash Hits”.<sup>93</sup> One of his main conclusions is that Smash Hits reflected a certain ideological shift in the way the audience thought about music, acting as “a barometer of culture taste”.<sup>94</sup> The magazine did not distinguish between genres and focused on the mainstream; its writing style was of consumer journalism – it evaluated music as a product. Its visual style was influenced by fashion photography, in A4 format, and the use of colour was very different from the previous generation of the UK music press. As Stephen Hill points out, the magazine embodied “a more post-modern aesthetic in which the consumption of music was viewed as a part of the reflexive construction of self”.<sup>95</sup>

A strong connection between the music scene/generational features and the success of a music publication is also underlined in the books covering the full history of two leading music media outlets: the New Musical Express (the U.K) and MTV (the U.S.A). In “The History of the NME: High Times and Low Lives at the World's Most Famous Music Magazine”, Pat Long admits that nowadays NME suffers the same loss of readership, advertising revenue, and influence as all print media, although it has played a very important role in the development of British culture for almost 60 years. He also explains the popularity of the magazine with the fact that “music is an inescapable part of the British cultural landscape”<sup>96</sup>, which means that a great deal of English citizens take music seriously, and have a need for reading the weekly music press.

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<sup>92</sup> Marc Brennan, 2002. P.9.

<sup>93</sup> Stephen Hill. Lost in the Seventies: The Secret History of Smash Hits. University of Winchester, 2006.

<sup>94</sup> Stephen Hill, P. 21.

<sup>95</sup> Stephen Hill, P. 8.

<sup>96</sup> Pat Long. The History of the NME: High Times and Low Lives at the World's Most Famous Music Magazine. Anova Books, London, 2012. P. 9.

Pat Long unveils the whole story of the NME through several generations, and his findings illustrate a direct correlation between the music magazine and the music scene it covers. Thus, in the 50s, NME was successful due to teenagers who were responsible for buying 40 per cent of all records at that time. They wanted to read NME because they wanted to know more about their “heroes with whom the young were able to identify in the immediate rather than the “when I grow up” sense”.<sup>97</sup>

In the 60s NME faced competition from other music magazines like Sounds, Cream, Melody Maker, and Rolling Stone. They competed for record company advertising money and access to the bands. The success of Rolling Stone had proven that there was a market for intelligent writing about rock music. At that time music expressed values of the underground, its slogans and focus, and depicted a certain lifestyle. The music industry was in blossom and could spend large amounts of money to get their act coverage in the media.

In the 70s NME had to change its approach as the music scene had become more fragmented into mixtures of subcultures, and thus started to cover gigs and scenes outside London. The magazine was seen “as the tastemakers and the gatekeepers of the whole music culture”.<sup>98</sup> In the 80s the music scene changed again, guitar rock music (the main genre covered by NME) was considered totally over.<sup>99</sup> Already in the 90s, the magazine started to have problems with filling its 51 covers a year. It needed to get rid of older readers and acquire new readership, which didn’t quite exist at that time. Therefore, Pat Long ends his book questioning the future of music journalism that “seems to consist of second-guessing the taste of the reader,”<sup>100</sup> giving consumer recommendations. And when you can access any recorded music via Internet instantaneously, the music press looks irrelevant.

Pat long also concludes that when the current music scene isn’t exciting enough, it becomes almost impossible to sustain a weekly paper. Among other interesting conclusions there is one of what the capital of music journalism is (in the book Pat Long calls it “currency”): “One of the main currencies of the journalist on the weekly music

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<sup>97</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 20.

<sup>98</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 97.

<sup>99</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 204.

<sup>100</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 218.

press is the esteem of peers in the profession”<sup>101</sup> and “when I amassed this knowledge [about music] I began to feel really accepted”.<sup>102</sup> Thus, the capital in the field of music journalism is the knowledge about music with which you also gain the respect in the profession.

The history of MTV is a great illustration of the music scene, as well as the music press connection. In the book “I Want My MTV: the uncensored story of the music video revolution” by Rob Tannenbaum and Craig Marks there is a collection of analyses, overviews and opinions on the path of the channel, and its success (of high value importance for this research, as well). First of all, it distinguishes four fields of practice that the music media served: the cable community (media), the advertising community (market), the creative community (music industry) and the consumer (the music scene).<sup>103</sup> Secondly, it described the success line of the media through several generations.

In the 80s, when the popularity of MTV started to escalate, the network mostly “benefited from a fluke of timing: it was a fantastic time for pop and rock music”.<sup>104</sup> For kids of the 80s MTV, especially outsiders, MTV had become a universe from which they gathered knowledge about music and felt a part of a community.<sup>105</sup> “It felt like my generation had its moment, and MTV was depicting it”<sup>106</sup>, suggests Steve Isaacs in his interview for the book. Regardless, in the 90s things changed because the idea of MTV as a special universe for outsiders, hidden from anyone else (adults and older siblings) had passed away. The initial MTV audience matured, and the next generation of kids didn’t share the same attitude towards the channel. “Offering MTV to a kid in 1993 was like offering a board game to a kid in 1981”.<sup>107</sup>

The decline of MTV as a music channel is related to the change of the generation. Young people of 2000s don’t perceive music in the same way as the kids of the 80s –

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<sup>101</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 147.

<sup>102</sup> Pat Long, 2012. P. 138.

<sup>103</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks. I Want My MTV: the uncensored story of the music video revolution. Revised with new interviews. Penguin Group, USA, 2011. P. 283.

<sup>104</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks, 2011. P. 167.

<sup>105</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks, 2011. P. 318.

<sup>106</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks, 2011. P. 486.

<sup>107</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks, 2011. P. 514.

they rather see it as a tool to gain fame and material wealth: “You don’t have young people saying. ‘I really want to be a singer’, they say, ‘I really want to be famous’”.<sup>108</sup> The current generation wants to see itself on the TV screen; it wants money and fame. Ultimately, this is why MTV is no longer about music as was its original intention.

#### 4.4. Music journalism audience and current music scene

Music journalism is always actively addressed to a reader. Music journalists or critics cannot write into an empty space, nor can they address the whole society in general, as it is dramatically stratified in its music culture attitudes. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to identify the types of music journalism addressees. Professor Tatiana Kurisheva divides the addressees into several groups with the help of four characteristics: education, age, social, and national/religious characteristics (see *Figure 3*)<sup>109</sup>.

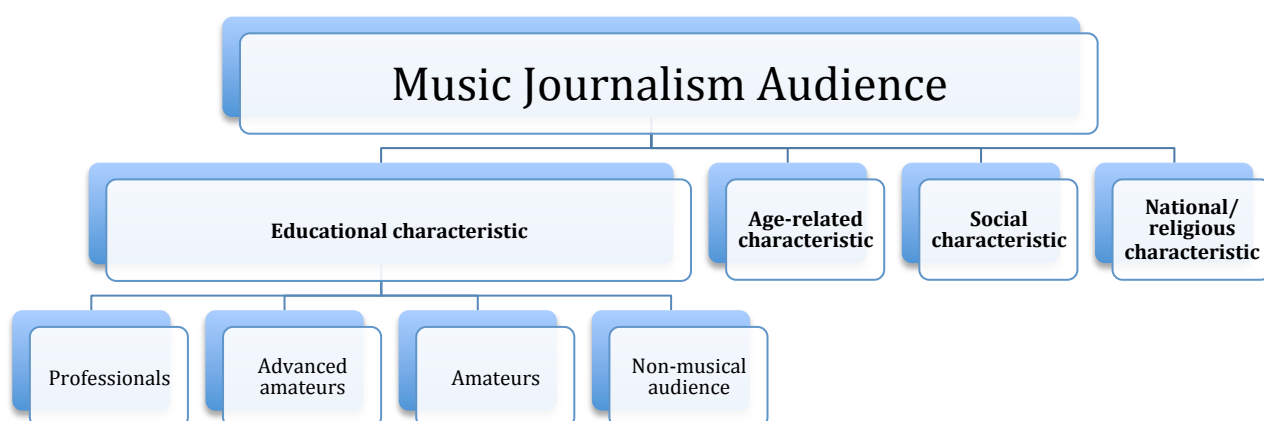


Figure 3. Music Journalism Audience (according to Kurisheva’s classification)

Kurisheva notes that for consumers of information about music, educational characteristics is the most significant one as understanding of the music culture demands certain skills – music interests and needs require to be educated. Once a high level of music values is established, there should be a high level of interest in the information about this field. Further on she introduces four groups of music journalism

<sup>108</sup> Rob Tannenbaum, Craig Marks, 2011. P. 524.

<sup>109</sup> Tatiana Kurisheva, 2007. P. 105.

addressees based on the educational parameter: 1) musicians/professionals, 2) advanced music amateurs, 3) regular music amateurs, and 4) musically incompetent audience.

Professionals are those who study and explore music culture due to their occupation (composers, musicologists, teachers, music researchers, musicians, show directors, concert managers, etc.). Advanced music amateurs can belong to any professional group but they must have some musical background through education or upbringing. They possess a deep knowledge of musical perception and specifications of modern music process and lead an active music cultural life. The musically incompetent audience consists of potential music listeners and potential consumers of cultural values. It is quite difficult to attract their attention and find the right communicational approach.

Other characteristics of the music journalism audience play an important role in understanding what to write about, in what way it is written, and how to make the music press successful. Currently, the “youth music” dominates the scene and spreads values of the youth culture that journalists should be aware of in order to cover the music process efficiently. Nonetheless, there are other types of music as well (adults, kids, older generation, etc.) that should be reflected by music journalists in the media. Progressing social stratification in post-Soviet Russia should not be neglected either: there are different ways to access music culture (expensive and affordable concerts, shows, TV programmes on national and cable channels, etc.) that form different types of information addressees and their qualities. And finally, for a country like Russia, with many nations and religions representing its culture, it is impossible to ignore the national and religious parameter of music journalism audience (ethnic music traditions, conditions, habits, etc.).

In his article, “Pop Music: Sales and Distribution of Popular Music in Europe”, researcher Roy Shuker differentiates between several kinds of music press readers to illustrate what type of audience music magazines address their content.<sup>110</sup> In Great Britain, there are magazines that are oriented to performers (HMV Choice, Guitar Player), teenagers (Smash Hits), critical listeners and classic rock amateurs (Melody Maker, New Musical Express), wide audience, for which music is a part of pop culture together with fashion (The Face), combination of several audiences (MOJO, Select, Hip-Hop Connection). In France, there is Les Inrockuptables that focuses on modern

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<sup>110</sup> Adam Briggz, Pol Kobli. Media. Vvedenie. Juniti-Dana, Moskva, 2005. P. 213.

alternative music; in Norway – Puls Furwe covering mostly rock; in Bulgaria, Popcorn is oriented to young readers, writing about rock music celebrities and genres.

Different audiences evaluate music in different ways and have certain attitudes towards, genres and performers, for example. Social status and education influence the knowledge of the audience about music styles, which in turn forms and impacts the taste and preferences of either light or serious music. In his book “Music Psychology” professor Valentin Petrushin notes that the audience, which lacks music experience gained by listening to serious music, will not simply understand anything but light music with primitive melodies due to the missing connecting element in its mind. Thus, the amateurs of primitive pop music will fail to understand serious classical music, while a musician with a profound academic background will not appreciate music of popular genres.<sup>111</sup> In Table 1 you can find the key differences between “serious” and “light” music specified by professor Petrushin.<sup>112</sup>

<b>Serious music</b>	<b>Light music</b>
High difficulty	Low difficulty
The most significant role among means of expression is played by melody and harmony	The most significant role among means of expression is played by rhythm
Large forms are important	Small pieces of music
Dynamic imagery	Static imagery
Concentrated and deep perception	Extraverted perception
The outcome of perception is reached through fantasy and imagery	The outcome of perception can lead to active moves
The piece of music requires that the listener would reach its high level	The piece of music goes down to the potential abilities of listeners
The music is isolated from everyday life, is not created as its background, it's a target for solving aesthetic tasks	The music cannot be separated from everyday life, to which it often serves as a background
Music introduces listeners to eternal values of the humankind based on the principle of “everywhere and always”	Music introduces individuals to the life in a certain social environment based on the principle of “here and now”
Means of expression tend to reach for originality and uniqueness	The listeners value new pieces of music the most
The popularity of music is based on the personality of the composer	The popularity of music is based on the personality of the performer

<sup>111</sup> V. I. Petrushin. Muzykalnaja psihologija. Akademicheskij proekt, Gaudeamus, 2009. P. 181.

<sup>112</sup> V. I. Petrushin. 2009. P. 164.



Self-actualization of a personality is concentrated in the individual perception of a listener	Self-actualization of a listener vanishes in collective perception
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Table 1. The differences between ‘serious’ and ‘light’ music (Petrushin)

“Light” music seeks to satisfy only one musical need – entertainment. According to Kurisheva’s classification, there are three different motives to listen to the music: 1) entertainment, 2) learning, and 3) devotion.<sup>113</sup> When someone uses music for entertainment solely, he or she wants some diversion and emotional changeover. The audience is oriented to habitual, familiar, well-known compositions in which the criteria of uniqueness is not significant. There is no wish to learn (rather recognize) or put any effort into contact with music. On the contrary, listeners that are motivated with knowledge are interested in the uniqueness of the whole creative activity of an artist, including his/her creative personality, inner world, and results of the individual work. The third motive – devotion – is related to treating music as art in general. Music journalists should realize what accounts for this or that musical phenomenon, what the reasons for its significance are and why it is in demand among certain listeners and society at large.

In Great Britain (as it was mentioned in previous chapters) the music scene is very diverse and its popular music (covered in the pop/rock music press) balances at the borderline between being “serious” and “light”. The motives of the music audiences are also drifting between “entertainment” and “learning”, and sometimes comprise “devotion”, as in the UK they tend to treat popular music seriously. However, in Russia the scene is dominated by “light” pop music. Kurisheva underlines that the personality of a music composer has become totally irrelevant for listeners – pop celebrities have attracted all the attention to themselves; even the music is something secondary (it only should have a key element – dance rhythm – and it will be able to address to the audience’s emotions). At the same time Russian rock music gravitates around original songs, music styles and other tools of a musician.<sup>114</sup> But the generations of listeners change too fast in youth subcultures, to which this genre of music belongs.

<sup>113</sup> Tatiana Kurisheva, 2007. P. 164-165.

<sup>114</sup> Tatiana Kurisheva, 2007. P. 287.

Nonetheless, the music scene is changing all over the world. One of the most acclaimed Russian music experts, Andrej Gorohov, identifies a number of global trends related to the music scene, music journalism, and magazines. In his book “Muzprosvet”<sup>115</sup> he draws a picture of a current state of music and its audience making a great deal of important conclusions that can be summed up as following:

- 1) Professionalism, bureaucracy, standardisation, and stratification dominate the music industry. There is a niche for everyone; every situation has a standard solution that is repeated over and over again. Everything is predicted; music production is just a serial of steps. Labels are gradually turning into PR agencies and focusing specifically on artists’ management.
- 2) From the end of the 90s there have been no actual musical breakthroughs and no musical revolutions. Large labels and companies lost interest in music; a lot of labels and distribution companies have gone bankrupt; independent youth music has stopped raising any interest with art galleries, public organisations and city government.
- 3) The hottest topics of the music scene are not connected with new music – they spin around record industry crisis and free-of-charge access to the whole music archive. Anyone who is not indifferent to music (be that a musician or a listener) becomes a melomaniac, collector, and accumulator automatically. New music is perceived as a variation of the old one; it doesn’t make one forget, rather recall. And as everyone is melomaniac, new music can’t exist – the accumulated music archives were not canceled.
- 4) A couple of years ago dance music seemed to be a repetitive ruck, as well as its authors. All other music was associated with individualistic personalities of its creators. Nowadays everything is vice versa. Individualists have become a ruck, and new musicians have to hide in the shadows of those, who arrived at music business before them in its better times.
- 5) Music has become a tool for psychological boosting. Even those who appreciate it (hipsters) add it as something extra to their fate and life perception, while the listeners of previous generations (hippies, punks, etc.) chose music to anything else in their lives.

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<sup>115</sup> Andrej Gorohov. Muzprosvet. ID Fljuid, Moskva, 2010. P. 480-503.

- 6) The record industry has concentrated on the purchase and sales of music, yet the problem is that people don't listen to the music they are told to buy.
- 7) An active listener is now caught in the situation when he/she needs to search for new exciting music constantly, at the same time checking all new information on blogs and forums. It means that he/she has to be attuned with the Internet sources.

According to Gorohov, as a result of all these changes and trends, music journalism and music magazines have come through several adjustments. First of all, as independent musicians share the same (minimal) level of significance, the music press has lost the ability to get excited about any act and to create new colourful music myths. Secondly, the strict systemization of music production, promotion and management has led to such a format of magazines when they are a mere reflection of music values pyramid: standard albums get standard "stars" in standard reviews. The band of "good old times" like Led Zeppelin, Joy Division or Oasis get all the praises, covers and profound feature, while other types of artists can enjoy only a combination of stereotypical phrases and clichés. So far it is not quite clear how to write about new music under new circumstances. Finally, Gorohov questions the need for music journalism as it is. Music is available on the Internet. Music that was before the global expansion of the internet is the history cherished by surviving music media – Internet bloggers refuse to cover it, sharing information only about "secondary" music with no particular credibility or necessity to remember the names of its authors. And as there is no need for special thoughts about music, tastes, and competence, and as no one has to learn, analyze or understand anything, there is no need for music journalism.

Roy Shuker doesn't share this pessimistic view about the future of music journalism. He argues that music is the most universal form of global communication, with the music industry earning billions of dollars every year.<sup>116</sup> Popular music for mass market (rock, pop, electronic dance music) is still commercially successful. A lot of people consume it on a daily basis and consider this routine to be essential, especially if music is part of their social identity. This exclusive need for music in the society gives this type of art economic power. The music press is one of the components of the music scene, and thus, it is thought to have some piece of this economic power too.

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<sup>116</sup> Adam Briggz, Pol Kobli. 2005. P. 201-215.

Even though there are some influential processes, like 1) changes within the pop music audience, 2) the decrease of traditional youth market, 3) potential and problems of new technologies (Internet, MP3) and 4) increasing significance of copyright sales, the music press continues to play a considerable role in marketing and selling music. It helps to analyze and comprehend music against the general background of contemporary culture. Music magazines do not simply tell their readers about music – they publish articles and commercials, contribute into developing genres and styles of music, and also build music audiences (future mass market consumers). They are part of general marketing promotion of pop music; they provide music industry with a certain feedback from music experts and active listeners. And they are rather influential: Shuker refers to an opinion poll<sup>117</sup>, revealing that 57% readers regularly turn to music magazines and buy music albums at least once a month. He notes that the frequent closure of music titles can be explained with the high competitiveness of the music press market. It is possible that a new magazine with a solid readership would be closed in 5-6 months failing the competition.

The opinion poll noted above is one of the methods to indicate the attitude of the audience towards certain media. Professor Irina Fomicheva from Lomonosov State University of Moscow allocates a number of media attitude factors, which are as follows: 1) motives to address to the media and separate parts of the content, 2) needs and preferences, 3) understanding of its role, 4) appraisals of the content and its parts through comparison with other channels of information, and 5) tastes and wants.<sup>118</sup> All these factors can be studied with the help of specialized surveys, and they can illustrate in a profound way what kind of interest the audience has in any select periodical.

Professor Fomicheva is an acclaimed leader in the field of empirical media research in Russia. In her book “Media Sociology” she uses several examples of opinion polls held among Russian media audience that show its preferences, interest, and tastes that include music content or music media. Three following tables demonstrate the attitude of the media audience in Russia to newspaper content, TV genres, and TV programmes (see *Table 2, Table 3, Table 4*)<sup>119</sup>.

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<sup>117</sup> Adam Briggz, Pol Kobli. 2005. P. 214.

<sup>118</sup> I.D. Fomicheva. Sociologija SMI. Aspekt Press, Moskva, 2012. P. 310.

<sup>119</sup> I.D. Fomicheva., 2012. P. 326-328.

Answer	In general	By age groups, years					
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60 and older	
Articles on household, useful tips	45	36	44	44	49	47	
Articles on socio-political topics	42	29	36	41	50	49	
Criminal world	35	40	39	39	33	33	
TV programme schedule	22	17	21	24	22	22	
<b>Celebrity life, entertainment</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	
Sports	13	25	16	14	9	3	
Finances, economics	13	11	13	13	16	10	
Advertisements	8	14	11	10	7	1	
Other	5	5	5	5	5	6	
Hard to say		7	3	5	7	7	9

Table 2. What content in the newspapers interests you the most? (% of responders, 1594 people asked in 2005, 153 cities in Russia)

This survey depicts that newspaper content related to music topics is interesting to 15 per cent of Russian audience and mostly to readers in the age groups of 18-24 and 25-34.

<b>Genre of TV shows</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>2001</b>
Informational	31	18	20	29
<b>Music</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>22</b>
Entertainment	23	26	24	22
Cultural, Educational	5	11	7	6
Kids	9	7	6	4
Sports	6	5	8	7
Sci-Fi	3	7	8	8
Journalistic	-	-	2	3

Table 3. Genre preferences of TV viewers (% of responders) by year.

As you can see in Table 3, music TV programmes enjoy a stable and high level of interest among Russian TV viewers, with slight fluctuation in 1997 and 2001.

TV Programme	1995	1997	2000
Movies	87	74	70
Comedy shows	64	49	54
Informational	57	63	82
<b>Popular music shows</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>38</b>
Series	44	37	33

Table 4. What kinds of TV programmes do you like watching the most? (% of responders)

This opinion poll indicates that Russian TV audience likes watching music shows. The decrease of interest in this kind of programmes is probably related to the launch of MTV in Russia, and youth audiences being attracted to this new channel devoted to youth popular music.

Alexander Starikov “Mass Media in contemporary Russia” cites the results of another interesting survey that characterize the taste and attitudes of Russian audience to music. Thus, in a questionnaire carried out in Donetsk University<sup>120</sup> about Russian heroes of the past and present, students mentioned musicians as well: Vladimir Vysotsky and Viktor Tsoi (past), Alla Pugacheva, Phillip Kirkorov and Dmitry Hvorostovsky (present). A student survey on the most prestigious professions in Russia held in 2011<sup>121</sup> illustrated that singers and music business individuals are highly appreciated by society – they were placed as 9<sup>th</sup> among 10 most prestigious occupations in the opinion of students.

#### 4.5. Music journalists and their mental maps

Talking about hierarchy in Russian Media, Professor Starikov addresses the notion of the ‘Media elite’ – “social groups or individuals owning Media or occupying the highest positions in them, and possessing wide opportunities to influence the society”.<sup>122</sup> He divides the elite into three levels: high (media owners), middle (CEO, editors-in-chief) and low (vice-editors, senior writers) (see *Figure 4*).

<sup>120</sup> A.G. Starikov. Mass-media sovremennoj Rossii. Feniks, Rostov-na-Donu, 2013. P. 202-204.

<sup>121</sup> A.G. Starikov, 2013. P. 212.

<sup>122</sup> A.G. Starikov, 2013. P. 45.

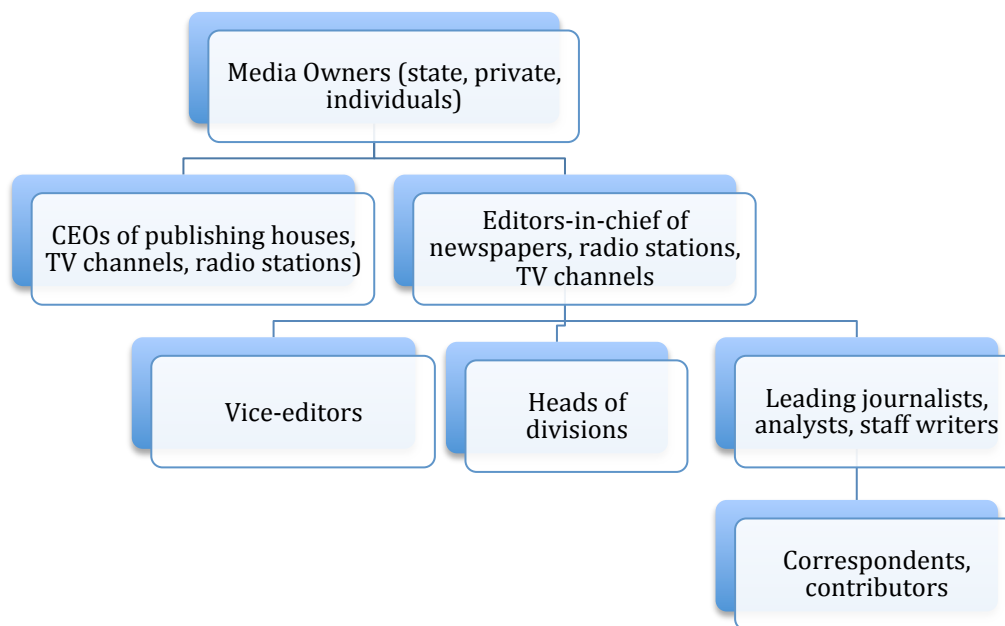


Figure 4. Levels of Media Elite in Russia (based on Starikov’s classification).

Fomicheva echoes the arguments of Starikov noting that one of the most important features of media, as a type of social communication, is its organizational character of professional activities in content production. These activities have a strict hierarchy in ownership and management but are not limited to only them. There are also *objective* and *subjective* factors<sup>123</sup> that have a direct impact on the structure of journalism as a field of practice. According to Fomicheva, *objective* characteristics of journalists influencing their behavior and attitudes are 1) professional experience rate, 2) career stage, 3) education and further training, 4) specialization in a certain area, topics, and genres, 5) involvement into media management, 6) pro-activeness, and 7) communication with the audience. Subjective factors form “professional state of awareness” of journalists, which is a combination of individual and group awareness of journalists. It is based on professional background, education and practice, and usually includes 1) belief system, 2) principles, 3) norms, 4) knowledge, 5) and skills, that serve as a capital for this field of practice.

Both of these factors, professional state of awareness and behavior of journalists, reveal the role of journalists in the society and their own understanding of the profession, as well as their contribution to society. The understanding of the role determines

<sup>123</sup> I.D. Fomicheva, 2012. P. 250-251.

journalists' motivation to enter the profession, realization of tasks, required skills, knowledge, values, and principles in the chosen type of media. In its turn, the content provided by journalists reflects this understanding in the form of the language, topics, priorities, standards, and response to social demands.<sup>124</sup>

Researchers from Moscow State University studied the perception of Russian TV hosts' qualities as understood by TV hosts themselves.<sup>125</sup> The results of the survey display that the journalists consider themselves as competent and hard-working enough, while their understanding of the "ideal host" depicts someone more talented, smarter and more charming. The qualities that were thought of as negative turned out to include stupidity, slowness and vanity (see *Table 5*).

<b>You yourself (responders)</b>	<b>Ideal TV host</b>	<b>Bad TV host</b>
Competent	Clever	Stupid
Open-minded	Smart	Slow-thinking
Tolerant	Talented	Secretive
Altruist	Competent	Lucrative
Clever	Intelligent	Evil
Devoted	Charming	Conforming
Straightforward	Sincere	Incompetent
Honest	Deep	Shallow
Independent	Goal-oriented	Unambitious

Table 5. Qualities of TV hosts (in decreasing order of frequency)

If we look at the professional background of Russian journalists, we will notice that more than half of them have worked in other fields of practice before they entered journalism. The majority of those who switched professions worked as teachers in schools and universities prior to the change. There is a correlation between the age and professional background: the younger journalists are more experienced and qualify specifically in the area of journalism (see *Table 6*).<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> I.D. Fomicheva, 2012. P. 253.

<sup>125</sup> I.D. Fomicheva, 2012. P. 254-255.

<sup>126</sup> A.G. Starikov, 2013. P. 48.



Original profession	All (%)	Year of birth		
		1945 and older (%)	1946-1959 (%)	1960 and younger (%)
Journalist	48	42	45	53
Teacher at school	21	13	19	29
Worker	17	23	17	13
Researcher, scientist	14	13	15	12
Engineer	13	17	17	6
Political party member	13	27	13	4
Businessman	7	-	6	12
Arts, culture worker	7	7	6	8
Civil servant	5	-	6	8
Manager	3	7	2	-
Writer	2	7	2	-
Other	20	13	17	27

Table 6. Original professions of Russian journalists (Starikov).

However, music journalists tend to see themselves as part of the larger professional category of journalists. Gemma Harries and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen from Cardiff University have studied the culture of arts journalists and discovered that arts journalists lay claim to “arts exceptionalism”, and consider their work as “improving public appreciation of the arts”.<sup>127</sup> The researchers underline that arts journalists think 1) of a conventional news reporter as being worse and less extensively qualified, 2) think that arts journalism differs in quality from news journalism, and 3) believe that arts journalism is responsible for communicating the transformative nature of the arts.

Harries and Wahl-Jorgensen use the terms of Deuze and Tunstall and describe arts journalism as “liquid journalism where media occupations increasingly lack firm definitions and sharp boundaries”.<sup>128</sup> Nonetheless, there is a subcultural hierarchy within this specialism that differentiates roles and expectations, while also creating

<sup>127</sup> Gemma Harris, Karin Wahl-Jorgensen. *The Culture of Arts Journalists: Elitists, Saviours or Manic Depressives?* Cardiff University. Conference Paper, International Communication Association. P.1.

<sup>128</sup> Gemma Harris, Karin Wahl-Jorgensen. P. 5.

inequalities of power and resources. Eamonn Forde calls them “journalists with a difference”, first of all referring to music journalists and suggesting that the academic study should single them out and consider them a unique case. He says that there is a “clear ideological, cultural, and professional distinction between their world and that of traditional journalists”. They have their own “professional traditions, employment conditions, goal definitions, newsroom power structures, position within corporate publishing organizations, and sources relations”.<sup>129</sup> As it is hard to distinguish concrete tasks and definitions in music journalism, journalists face the challenge of justifying the role of their profession. According to Forde, they even prefer to describe themselves not as ‘journalists’ but rather as ‘writers’, ‘reviewers’, and ‘music critics’.

With the arrival of the Internet music journalism as a field of practice has become even more complicated. Music blogs have been added to the general landscape of music media and have created new players – music bloggers. Fomicheva doesn’t consider them professionals but she notes that blogs have taken the monopoly of information from traditional media. Everyone has the access to the information needed, which complicates the definition of the role of professional journalists.<sup>130</sup>

Beatrice Jetto has carried out research on music bloggers in the UK and has come to a conclusion that music blogs possess a great amount of subcultural capital, focusing on niche contexts (genre-based music scene, local scenes). Music blogs have also developed into a prominent source of information that filters through the excess of music availability and fragmentation of interests.<sup>131</sup> They can influence fans’ tastes through the music they feature. Due to this capital, they have a high status with the music scene and can benefit from such advantages as guest lists, invitations to parties, and access to an artist. Gaining contacts with bands and music professionals, bloggers often start to consider their writings as a step to turn it into a career in music industry and become professionals themselves. They collaborate with record labels and PR agencies, increasing their popularity in the local scene through gaining validation in the

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<sup>129</sup> Eamonn Forde. *Journalists with a Difference: Producing Music Journalism*. Simon Cottle, Media Organization and Production. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. P. 113.

<sup>130</sup> I.D. Fomicheva, 2012. P. 270.

<sup>131</sup> Beatrice Jetto. P. 2.

music industry. Beatrice Jetto concludes, “music blogs have become so influential to a point that they have been considered as the new cultural gatekeepers”.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Beatrice Jetto. P. 11.

## 5. THE CURRENT STATE OF MUSIC MAGAZINES IN RUSSIA

### 5.1. History of Russian music magazines

The first number of the Russian version of “Rolling Stone” - an American magazine about modern pop culture in all its manifestations - appeared in 2004. Contrasted with the lack of music media in Russia, the edition, which printed multipage materials both about Pyotr Mamonov and Laibach band, and also irrepressibly thinking out new formats, couldn't but become a phenomenon. However, “Rolling Stone” from the very beginning told not only about musicians, but also about actors, politicians, writers and many others. In 2007 after serious personnel changes its freedom and hooliganism were restrained, and musicians almost entirely disappeared from the covers. From then on, there were more translated materials on the most unexpected plots, as well as conflict interviews, Andrey Bukharin's reviews, original headings, and ridiculous signatures to photos. “Currently Rolling Stone is the only mass magazine in the Russian language to which somehow it is possible to apply an epithet ‘music’”<sup>133</sup>, concludes Nikita Nevelichko, contributor to Afisha magazine project “History of Russian music media”.

The Russian version of England's New Musical Express lived a very short life and was very inconsistent with its heroes and readers. Some considered it to be overly excited and subjective, and others uncompromising in the best sense. To someone it was remembered only by the frequent use of the words “nakh”, “fukin” and “fack”, scandalous interviews and reports from concerts, in which authors demonstrated their complete ignorance of the artists' music. Sometimes they happened to discover new local talents and write about them, only existing in Russia from 2001 until 2003. Its journalists wrote in the charming yet boorish tradition of English journalism. Currently, there is an amateur project on the Internet called Musical-Express.ru.

*Ptyuch* magazine was issued from 1994 till 2003 and was devoted to a hardly-present club culture in Russia. DJs and electronic musicians became heroes of *Ptyuch*. They wrote about drugs and other attributes of club life. The layout and design were made so that it was often physically impossible to read texts. “Together with the club *Ptyuch* opened by team of founders of the magazine a bit later it became a symbol of an era of

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<sup>133</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykal'nyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov», September 12, 2013

the Russian rave”, say journalists of “Afisha” magazine in the book “History of Russian media 1989 – 2011”.<sup>134</sup>

Fuzz, which spanned the longest period in Russian music magazines (1991–till 2009) now exists in the form of a website (fuzz-magazine.ru). Fuzz became the assignee of the traditions of the Soviet rock “samizdat” in the early nineties, and failed to completely discard those traditions. The problem was not in the format (at first Fuzz was a monthly but in the mid-nineties it turned into a magazine) or its approach to the material, stylistics, or inevitable capital letters with which they wrote the names of all groups. According to Alexander Gorbachev, the magazine executed its main mission in the 1990s: “the population had no time for music, and the journalism was kept alive only thanks to the enthusiasts dominating the editorial of Fuzz”.<sup>135</sup> Saint Petersburg journalists covered the club scene of the town quite efficiently. With the advent of more professional print music media and moreover, the Internet, the demand of the magazine reduced slowly. In 2009 it was closed completely; having revived, however, one and a half years later in the form of the website of the same name.

OM was a monthly youth magazine issued in Russian from 1995 till 2006. Created by Moscow journalist and secular party-goer Igor Grigoriev, OM was one of the first glossy editions in Russia and precisely unique. Unlike *Ptyuch*, which appeared slightly earlier and focused especially on acid and dance culture, OM covered practically all spheres of life of young people, resembling the *Dazed & Confused* magazine. Formally for me, and about fashion, it dictated what to wear, how to look, and what to listen to for the whole generation, whose youth happened to be in the 90s. Andrey Bukharin who, unlike Grigoriev, was fond of industrial culture and the British mainstream, was responsible for the music part of the magazine. Reading reviews in OM, people rushed to the record stores to buy on Blur or The Smashing Pumpkins albums, and on covers of the magazine there were practically all significant Russian musicians of the 1990s.

Play magazine was a fully professional monthly music magazine with a detailed structure. At the very beginning, Play offered an innovative format of the edition in which the main place was taken by uncountable album reviews but eventually the edition slowly shifted in the direction of a more classical format; at the beginning –

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<sup>134</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev, Il'ja Krasil'shnik. *Istorija russkih media 1989-2011. Versija «Afishi»*. M.: Kompanija Afisha, 2011. P. 114-116.

<sup>135</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev. «Istorija rossijskih muzykal'nyh media. Fuzz». November, 25 2012. <http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/>

news, concert announcements and other routine; in the middle – big thematic materials and interviews; and at the end – reviews in a huge number. All in all it had around 164 reviews per issue. Play was quite an independent attempt to create a magazine in Russia similar to the British mainstream monthly journals in the manner of the Q magazine—with the corresponding range of subjects and heroes.

However, Grigory Prorokov remarks “the representatives of the musical industry weren't ready to provide a print magazine with enough advertising material even when CDs were still on sale.”<sup>136</sup> Apart from that, Play also had great difficulties with the design and layout, and its materials were sometimes too ambiguous from the stylistic and ideological point of view. The magazine appeared at the very beginning of the 2000s when the Internet wasn't widespread yet, and, it played an important educational role. Those who worked in the magazine were all professional music journalists that started working in other media. Its influence on the formation of the professional environment is not less significant than on the minds of its readers.

*KontrKultura* is considered to be the top and final magazine of an era of rock (“samizdat”): a reference-thick magazine for attentive reading. It contained articles reflecting on the sense and mission of the punk combined with pornographic plays, incendiary and epistolary skirmishes of editors, analysis of heritage to Markuza, hairpins to rock groups of an old formation and praise of the leading representatives of an underground of that time. A logical emphasis was placed on Siberia and Moscow, yet it didn't have advertising, or Soviet-like enlightenment texts and concert chronicles, which was a cornerstone of all amateur editions of that time.

“A very strong group of authors accumulated in *KontrKultura* – very few among them were journalists, but rather philosophers, rebels and inventors of all colors, therefore *KontrKultura* with its bright, ambiguous judgments, became a reference point for a print samizdat”, explains Felix Sandalov.<sup>137</sup> The magazine was not quite about music: it contained questions of an ontological character, especially suicide.

Its first number appeared at the very beginning of 1990. It inherited the strongest texts from self-published Уралайт (*Uralait*) magazine preceding it, and the central part was

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<sup>136</sup> Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)

<sup>137</sup> Feliks Sandalov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Kontrkultura – glavnyj zhurnal rok-samizdata», October, 4 2013 <http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/>

occupied with the material about the guitarist of Гражданская оборона (*Grazhdanskaya oborona*) who committed suicide. Having mastered unprecedented quantity (ten thousand copies printed by a typographical method) and quality of the magazine, the edition decided to dissolve itself on a high note, later having been engaged in the post-modernist magazine Pinoller. At the beginning of the 2000s the brand revived, but the edition, instead of a former united front, was actually done by a triumvirate of Sergey Guryev, Alexander S. Volkov and Sergey Zharikov — and it was already much more local but not less inventive.

Maxim Dinkevich calls Rockmusic.ru magazine “a strange media phenomenon which was only possible at the beginning of the 2000s — in the transition period from the dashing nineties to Putin stability”.<sup>138</sup> On the one hand, Rockmusic.ru applied for a status of a serious and fully-fledged music edition: a daily-updated site with announcements of concerts, current news, interviews, and an infinite flow of reviews.

All this was made in the most punk way: dashing columns of the leader of Тараканы (*Tarakani*) band Dmitry Spirin and surprising interviews performed by the co-founder of Аквариум (*Akvarium*) George Gunitsky were printed here. Rockmusic.ru was also an important edition of an early era of early Internet. Such a dashing thing could exist only thanks to good will of the publisher — and when it ended in 2004, Rockmusic.ru ended quickly.

*Rovesnik* magazine was created in 1962 by Committee of The Youth Organizations in order to write about delegations of the Soviet students, progressive youth of Third World countries and American contemporaries suffering from rotting capitalism, yet it became the only loud-hailer of the western culture for the Soviet teenagers. At the times of “Perestroika”, careful notes about The Beatles and Rolling Stones at the end of the magazine were replaced with more courageous articles like polemics about Ozzy Osbourne's figure or the publication of “Guns of Brixton” by The Clash. Among contributors one could find Artemy Troitsky and Roman Volobuyev, but the brightest period for the magazine came in the mid-eighties with Sergey Kastalsky's arrival. The rubric “Rock encyclopedia” started being published, covering rock music in the range from classical prog-rock like Emerson, Lake & Palmer to Eminem for ten years. In the 1990s in *Rovesnik* reviews began to be published for the first time in the Russian press.

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<sup>138</sup> Maksim Dinkevich. «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rockmusic.ru», December, 6 2013  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/>

With arrival of the 1990s *Rovesnik* lost monopoly on the information from the West. As Marina Zenkina explains, its circulations decreased dramatically, it focused on teenagers of a younger age and the regions where the information stream wasn't so plentiful as in big cities.<sup>139</sup> For many years the staff of the magazine – and thereof also the general vision of a format and principles – haven't changed, while not being present on the internet, which was arguably reaching further and further around the country. In spite of the fact that the edition always tried to regularly survey novelties of the music scene (on the cover of the latest number — Lana Del Ray) and write about young bands, from the middle of the 2000s *Rovesnik* is practically not present in the information field, weakening and shifting to the status of a provincial magazine.

## 5.2. Analysis of the interviews

**Denys Boyarinov**, music critic at Colta.ru, who has been writing about music in different media for more than 10 years already, talks about “music critics” (not “music journalists”) as “noticeable people who write about music”<sup>140</sup>. The symbolic capital of music media field, described by Boyarinov, includes authority, influence and public attention. Some journalists can have less influence not because they lack cultural, economic, or social capital, but for the reason of being in the field for less time than others. “The past always seems more significant than the present times”, he explains. Beyond that point he underlines the elitism of music critics that can't be more than 5-10 people per generation. The “ilusão” that keeps attracting new players to the field is basically the public attention that has been mentioned above: “Nowadays it is more difficult to create big names, to discover new stars and, consequently, to become a star yourself in the reflected glory”.

The contradiction, pointed out by Denys Boyarinov is that the music media field depends on the economic capital generated by music and media industries, while music scene produces its cultural, social and symbolic capitals. “Thus, the journalists will be torn between musicians that are interesting to them and advertising/ record companies that pay the money – there is no other way to receive income”, concludes Boyarinov.

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<sup>139</sup> Marina Zenkina «Istorija muzykal'nyh media. Rovesnik», August, 19 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/>

<sup>140</sup> Sasha Skolkov «Denis Bojarinov: zhurnalistika i muzykal'naja industrija», September 3, 2010.  
<http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103977-denis-boyarinov>



He continues that as the music industry is in financial crisis, fewer journalists will be employed full-time and with a good salary. “This is bad if we measure the wealth of journalists, but from the point of view of the quality, it is good”.

According to Denis Boyarinov, the habitus of the field is to write about what you want, like and what you are interested in, and share it with those whose opinion you respect. The unspoken rule is that you are supposed to cover only “good music” that can come only from independent record labels, while “the success is still measured in the earned income”. The question is how to gain economic capital from other sources, and not major record labels alone. “In our information society, public attention is a significant issue though it is not clear how to monetize it”, notes Boyarinov.

Denis Boyarinov sees the role of music media as a sharp reaction to the reality that the media both perceive and program. Among reasons for the failure of Russian music media, he mentions the weakness and underdevelopment of Russian music scene, ineffective social lift in music industry when you could rise to fame overnight, and the stubbornness of human mind: “The situation has changed, technologies have changed, but the mind of people remained the same so far”. The breakthrough is possible due to Western media attention only. Boyarinov suggests that Russian music critics should dig local music scene more profoundly: “You choose some local bands that are to your taste, and place stake on them. In return, they create a certain field around themselves that attracts other bands and so on”. In the future he would like to expand the circle of paid music critics writing about good music including local one from 5 people to 40 and more.

**Alexander Gorbachev**, former editor in chief in Afisha magazine, distinguishes between music critics and music journalists/reporters.<sup>141</sup> According to Gorbachev, the role of music critics is to navigate through music: to follow music news and filter it, to give hints about music and rank it. It is also possible that such a role can be taken on by online music services like Spotify, and music will be grouped there according to a certain system, for example, “music for a pajama party” or “music for a sunny winter morning.” In this case there might also be newsletters sent and some guide books provided, and it will be considered explanatory journalism.

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<sup>141</sup> Sasha Skolkov «Aleksandr Gorbachev: Budushee muzykalnyh media», August 24, 2010.

<http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/102789-buduschee-media>

Music criticism is contrasted with music reporting. Gorbachev underlines that apart from music navigation there should be music story-telling: “Not everyone can cover interesting stories in an interesting way but there is a strong need for this”. The role of music reporters is to find those interesting stories, talk to people and make a good article out of it. Gorbachev also mentions another category of music journalists – music reviewers, whose main purpose is to write “long reflective professional reviews”. The genre of music reviews is described as the least valuable one in music journalism habitus: “You don’t need to do anything special – you just have to be confident about your ability to put words into sentences and that your opinion about music matters to someone”. Another fact that invalidates music reviews to a greater extent is that no one reads them nowadays. This genre does not fit in the transformed system of music consumption, which operates faster and on a constant basis. Writing music reviews is time-consuming, and when they are published, they don’t have value for readers because the music has been already consumed long ago – the review doesn’t provide any new information, and the listener has already made his or her opinion about it. Gorbachev notes that this genre is popular among music bloggers, as you don’t need to have any particular professional background to use it.

The symbolic capital has been removed from the field of music journalism according to Gorbachev. He confirms that a music journalist enjoyed certain privileges, a position of elitism before as he or she had an access to the first-hand information about music. Currently, all the information and music sources are available for everyone immediately on the Internet. The loss of this privilege has a positive influence on the music journalism field as well, Gorbachev explains, for the reason that it makes it harder for those without a proper habitus to enter the field, put otherwise, it is harder to get a job in an editorial of a music magazine for those without a talent.

In terms of the future of music media in Russia, Gorbachev points out two types of media: profitable and non-profitable. Non-profitable media exist based on journalists’ *ilusio* and their strong focus on the cultural and symbolic capitals (znaki.fm, Gimme5.info, blogs, pdf-magazines). Their audience is segmented, and thus they don’t have any sizeable position in the field of music journalism.

For profitable media it is important to have economic capital. Gorbachev suggests it should be an Internet portal that would look visually pleasing and would have a fine structure. It should also help create a professional infrastructure that is lacked in Russia

at the moment and serve as a convenient tool for communication between promoters and musicians not only in Moscow but also in the whole country. This way the portal could make an income. From there Gorbachev continues providing an example – Pitchfork. “They have got a very comprehensive audience that they have cut teeth on and now target educating it at the same time. They use rather successfully all ways that music information can be presented in: premieres of songs, music videos, news, online TV”, clarifies Gorbachev. Economic capital is created with advertising lifestyle products for this audience.

Gorbachev admits that it is more difficult for print media to be profitable as their audience is abstract in the majority of cases. For example, Q magazine can be closed. Magazines should focus on a specific consumer, on a subculture. In other words, subcultural capital is essential for music magazines where through they serve the actual needs of their audience that treats the magazines as artifacts and convenient links to their cultural world. Music still plays a big role in self-definition. “You open a magazine and understand what is going on in this strange universe now”, writes Gorbachev about Wire magazine. Speaking about print music magazines in Russia, Gorbachev is convinced that there have never been any music magazines in Russia at all. He explains that the only authentic Russian magazine *KontrKultura* was a fanzine and that the Russian edition of the Wire is not possible because at the moment all speculative readers of it can read the English edition while its editorial has more recourses and opportunities. There are not enough people who would sponsor its launch, and neither there are enough people to read it.

**Alexander Kondukov**, Editor-in-chief in Rolling Stone magazine since 2009, understands the role of music media in educating the audience and introducing interesting things to it in an entertaining form.<sup>142</sup> The task of a music journalist is to analyse music information and turn it into an interesting article about a person, and his or her exciting life. The cultural capital of music journalism is the ability to create idols, superheroes, and icons out of regular musicians. However, Kondukov remarks that the source of the artists that could make an interesting story is limited and currently their amount has decreased dramatically. He also points out that Rolling Stone was founded to cover rock’n’roll lifestyle of people from San Francisco, and on the whole the magazine addresses to the subculture sharing this rock’n’roll attitude to life, which

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<sup>142</sup> Sasha Skolkov «Aleksandr Kondukov: komu nuzhna muzykalnaja pressa?» August 19, 2010 <http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103109-media>

means that their heroes can be not only musicians but basically any outstanding, bright, brave, remarkable public figures.

The Russian market is different for Rolling Stone magazine in terms of its music subcultures and their perception of music idols. According to Kondukov, Bob Dylan, for example, can be put on the cover in the USA whereas in Russia it won't work as a cover story – there is no subculture sizeable enough for Bob Dylan to sell. The biggest music subculture in Russia is that of Russian rock music. It would be possible to target it with analytical materials and profound stories about their idols but as the source of the idols has run low, and the subculture has analyzed them well enough already (not only through magazine articles but also strongly personal lyrics of Russian rock songs), Rolling Stone is not seen by them as valuable media. Another feature of Russian music audience noted by Kondukov is that people reading serious analytical articles are not ready to pay for it. They prefer to discover music by themselves with the tools like Last.fm, then to form their own opinion about it and only after that they can turn to other sources.

Kondukov describes the economic capital of music journalism as that of the income from advertising.<sup>143</sup> Russian advertisers simply do not have budgets for music media and rather focus on men's magazines. That is why all Russian media covering music solely have a negative income. Kondukov suggests that profitable music magazines should look like a multimedia website that would sell its content and advertising space. The symbolic capital of music media is prestige that has a value for publishing houses as well. According to Kondukov, this capital can motivate publishing houses to keep the magazine for branding purposes. What attracts and keeps music journalists in the profession is the *illusio* that this profession can help create new music idols. Other important elements of the *illusio* are the opportunity for self-education, communication with people, discovery of a great amount of new exciting things and a circle of like-minded people.

**Vlad Azarov**, music columnist and founder of Znaki.fm project, presumes<sup>144</sup> that the most important factor for a successful music magazine is a clear understanding of its audience. According to Azarov, the audience of the magazine is its economic capital for

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<sup>143</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

<sup>144</sup> Sasha Skolkov «Vlad Azarov: budushee muzykalnyh media» November 10, 2010 <http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103131-media-2010-08-19>

the reason that the more unique and bigger it is, the easier it is to attract advertisers and hereby to make profit. By all means a magazine should be able to build the audience around itself.

Another important aspect underlined by Azarov is the “fusion of habitus”, as the magazine should not limit itself with only publishing work. “It is necessary to arrange concerts, parties, festivals, lectures, workshops – in sum, to actively do much of the grass-roots work”. This way a magazine starts to be much more than just a magazine – it becomes a facilitator of a community. From this perspective the mission of the magazine is to create great texts that will be shared and actively discussed and, first of all, to inform the readers about music premiers. Speaking of habitus, the team behind the magazine must be highly enthusiastic and able to communicate their thoughts clearly and create unique content.

Azarov predicts that the future of music magazines is closely connected with the Internet, therefore, the format of a magazine will change significantly. There will be no difference between an interesting blog and big official media. The readers consume written texts not with whole magazines but with streams of news. The genres will change too since people will stop reading magazine reviews completely. A review might look as one paragraph of a text with a download link. The genres that will flourish are news, shortened topical columns, analytical articles, and interviews. What will be especially appreciated is originality of those successful genres.

**Artemy Troitsky**, music critic, researcher, promoter and broadcaster since Soviet Union times,<sup>145</sup> points out the importance of the music scene in Russia and its role in the success or failure of Russian music magazines. He says that even though there are enough music talents in the country, the pop music culture is not as deep in Russia as it is in the UK, USA, or Scandinavian countries. “In Russia rock music and any modern trendy music will be the music of the minority, and the music of the majority will always be pop, disco, chanson and other similar simple genres of tavern style. It will never be here like it is in England from this perspective. This would require a shift in the musical culture of the whole country to take place, and I do not think it's ever going

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<sup>145</sup> British Council «Artemij Troitsky» June 19 2009. <http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/67241-artemiy-troitskiy-2009-06-19>

to happen.”<sup>146</sup> Russian music scene does not provide enough cultural capital for music journalism field to flourish in Russia. Another dangerous factor is the fusion of habitus, as a resulting in the music industry becomes an obstacle for everything new, interesting, and trendy in music.

**Sergey Efremenko**, editor-in-chief in Rolling Stone magazine (2004-2007), sees the role of music in connecting people.<sup>147</sup> The cultural capital of Russian Rolling Stone was so substantial that it was considered the power head of the whole publishing house. The magazine was popular and citable notwithstanding the fact that it did not bring much profit. On the one hand the magazine tried to accumulate its cultural capital by covering topics related to Russia (news, interviews) and some youth culture issues (cannabis, drug interviews, politics, provocative articles), and on the other hand, it wanted to keep or increase the number of its advertisers that it occurred to be challenging. The conflict of capitals (cultural/symbolic vs. economic) created conflicts in the editorial and publishing house. In terms of the habitus, the editorial had a distinct feature: the editors were very young (around 28 years old), which also had an impact on the specialty of music magazines in Russia.

**Boris Akimov**, Deputy chief editor in “Rolling Stone” magazine (2004-2007), considers<sup>148</sup> the mission of a music magazine to be the fact that Rolling Stone could look at a certain phenomenon from such an angle that it would be become interesting. “We were surgeons who opened the proverbial body or phenomenon and watched what was inside.”<sup>149</sup> The illutio that attracted new members to the field of music magazines was “complete freedom”: “We did whatever we wanted. It was possible to talk about things seriously and not that seriously”. The mental maps revealed by Akimov show that first he considered his written materials to be very interesting – he tried to distinguish something strange and unusual about the characters he interviewed and dig something out of them. However, nowadays he views it as something unethical and

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<sup>146</sup> British Council «Artemij Troitskiy» June 19 2009 <http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/67241-artemiy-troitskiy-2009-06-19>

<sup>147</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

<sup>148</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

<sup>149</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

“disgusting”. Currently, Rolling Stone magazine of his times seems to be too eccentric to him.

**Pavel Grinshpun**, editor in Rolling Stone magazine (2004-2006), focuses on the freedom describing the nature of the issue during its first years of existence in Russia.<sup>150</sup> “We want to make our own Rolling Stone – cheerful, slovenly, tough, nihilistic, and witty. Such a magazine was not present in Russia at that time, and we have successfully occupied this niche.” It was part of their symbolic and cultural capital that they could write about anything. For example, they interviewed Director of “Channel One” Konstantin Ernst about politics, his personal principles and views, the war in Georgia, and the murder of Vladislav Listiev. Unfortunately, they could not publish the interview due to the fact that the management of both media considered that to be critical for their reputation and relations with each other. As opposed to Rolling Stone of 2004-2006, the magazine of the year 2013 is thought to be less “cool” but more commercially successful by Grinshpun. Talking about modern Rolling Stone, he says: “It looks great, it has an excellent design, cool pictures and the right Rolling Stone characters. It also has a surprisingly big number of subscribers in "VKontakte" and on Facebook. Everything is fine with its circulation and ratings by Gallup. It is everywhere: I notice it and can even look it through, but I don't want to buy it”. Grinshpun points out the professionalism with which the magazine is made and the missing element that used to be in the old version of the magazine – its wild, free nature.

The habitus underlined by Grinshpun includes such a factor as a “love for music”. It explains why the majority of articles of Russian Rolling Stone of his editorial were about music. After two years this tendency changed for the reason that the publishers wanted the magazine to be more profitable: they switched to the format of “a magazine about contemporary culture and music” and added a new rubric about gadgets in order to attract advertisers. The mental maps of Rolling Stone editors show their attitude towards Russian pop music scene that they tried to mock in their articles.

**Evgeny Levkovich**, Editor in “Rolling Stone” magazine from 2004, agrees with Grinshpun that the symbolic capital of the magazine is that one can write about anything there.<sup>151</sup> “I have never seen such a variance in topics and characters - no

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<sup>150</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

<sup>151</sup> Nikita Velichko «Istorija muzykalnyh media: Russkij Rolling Stone glazami ego sozdatelej i avtorov» September 12, 2013 [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_rs/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_rs/)

restrictions at all. I do not like moralizing in journalism. Yes, now Rolling Stone has become less rowdy than it was before, but it does not mean that it has become worse - it has become more serious, and a little bit more for men. But if something happens to the magazine or if I get fired, I cannot imagine theoretically, where else I would be needed and where else I could write the way I want”.

**Ruslan Shebukov**, Editor-in-chief in NME Russia (2001-2003), explains the mission of a music magazine as media monitoring the latest trends in modern youth music.<sup>152</sup> He underlines that as such, the magazine should be original, easy to read, interesting, and with excellent interviews. It should be written for young people as its audience starts from fourteen-year olds. The economic capital of a music magazine in Russia is affected to a large extent with the lack of advertisers and the attitude of publishers. According to Shebukov, the biggest amount of income should come from concert promoters and record labels. In Russia, concert promoters do not buy the advertising space in magazines but rather give free tickets to the concerts. As for record labels, they are not interested in printed media advertising as they lose a great deal of income due to illegal copying of their products.

The habitus of the field reveals such a problem, pointed out by Shebukov, as a lack of young journalist that can produce fresh ideas and express their views in an original way. He says the roots of the problem could be that historically there has never been a good journalism school in Russia. It is important to attract young talented writers into the magazine’s editorial. Another essential element is to express your mind freely. Shebukov is convinced that you must write about artists what you really think about them and their music (whether they are cool or not, whether their album is good or bad). Furthermore Shebukov claims that there is not a single music magazine in Russian that would be interesting to read. He says that in the future the audience will read only websites and iPad version of music magazines, as the generation has changed, and modern young people do not want to buy print media even if the print magazine is better than its website.

**Ira Filippova**, Deputy chief editor in NME (2001-2003), understands the role of a music magazine as a task of showing everything in music the way it is.<sup>153</sup> “That is what

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<sup>152</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija muzykalnyh media: NME Russia”, January 18 2013  
[http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_nme/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/)

<sup>153</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija muzykalnyh media: NME Russia”, January 18 2013  
[http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_nme/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/)



the reader needs,” she claims. In addition to this, music magazines should discover new local talents and promote them through its pages. In this way they will accumulate sub-cultural capital. Even though they could express their opinions freely in NME Russia, nowadays Filippova says she regrets that they crossed the line sometimes. “With age I understand that we sometimes went too far and had to sometimes behave leniently because different musicians have some artistic needs. But at the time we wanted to break away, to be evil and demand what English NME demanded, and feel at one with them.”

Speaking about how to write materials in music magazines, Filippova says that what is important is enthusiasm about music, ability to have one’s own thoughts and original texts and formats. “It was very important for people to write what they have in mind, to be based not on the public taste but their feelings and emotions. That it wouldn’t be like standard articles in other journals - because of this we did not have a lot of well-known authors. We were very pleased to work with such authors that loved music and had their own thoughts, even if they were not formed that well into a slim text.”

It is also essential to use different formats of articles: “We wrote in an unusual way: we went to some big tour with Hory Свело! (*Nogu Svelo*), to Riga into the studio of Brainstorm - some internal things, which at that time few magazines did in Russia. Not just to meet and ask questions about the album and leave, but rather stay in the world of a musician for some time.” As long as the future form of a music magazine is concerned, Filippova believes that a print magazine should be a toy – it should simply amuse – because one can find information anywhere.

**Anya Dorodeiko**, Correspondent in NME (2001-2003), notes that NME Russia was often accused of lacking serious analysis of music.<sup>154</sup> She assumes that the role of the music magazine is not to become a serious and analytical media – “our goal was to have fun and tell people about interesting bands not only in terms of their music, but also in terms of what they are as characters.” Dorodeiko was accused as well of lacking professionalism by other members of music magazines field. “I was often accused of being unprofessional, that I didn’t have enough knowledge of music history or journalism. Which is true, probably because everything I had learned, I learned from the Internet or from MTV and some magazines. But a more serious, more intelligent level

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<sup>154</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija muzykalnyh media: NME Russia”, January 18 2013  
[http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_nme/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/)

of music journalism is not very interesting to me.” She believes that there are enough talented bloggers and journalists writing about new music on the Internet.

What she considers important is to create a live, real, magazine and to write about what you think. “We even had no idea that something cannot be written, because someone might not like and not give tickets to concerts.” The habitus based on Dorodeiko’s understanding is the qualities formed at work, the opportunities used and interesting things tried.

Her colleague **Vlad Buhantsev**, Correspondent in NME (2002-2003), agrees that no professional background is needed to work in a music magazine.<sup>155</sup> What one must have is enthusiasm and love for music. The focus should be on the readers and freedom – it is essential to ask any questions and have no influence from outside. “But the publishers tried to influence our editorial policy and, of course, we did not like. It all ended up the way it did.” The magazine was closed by the publishers.

**Igor Shulinsky**, Editor-in-chief in “PTYUCH” magazine (1994-2003), currently Editor-in-chief in “Time Out” magazine, expresses a rather pessimistic opinion about the future of music magazines in Russia in his interview to “Afisha” magazine for the book “History of Russian Media 1989 - 2011”.<sup>156</sup> “The time when we were working at *Ptyuch* was wonderful but we didn’t use it right. The country has turned into shit, and there is nothing to do in the shit. The new generation is trying [to do something] but all that it can squeeze out of itself is Look At Me. The only thing that they can do is to go dancing in the club *Solyanka* or record an album in the style of Padla Bear. It’s surprising: Mujuice, the best electronic pop-project at the moment, sings whispering. It is an important metaphor: they all sing in a whisper... a similar situation can be observed in Syria or Egypt. Nowhere else”.<sup>157</sup>

At the time of *Ptyuch* magazines, they were generally valuable for the society: “It was the only source that shed some light on what was going on”, says Shulinsky.<sup>158</sup> Its cultural capital included the opportunity to speak freely. “When I’m reading our magazine, I wonder how we could express ourselves freely. It’s like living in a free

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<sup>155</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija muzykalnyh media: NME Russia”, January 18 2013  
[http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_nme/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/)

<sup>156</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev, Ilja Krasilshhik, 2011. P. 114-116.

<sup>157</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev, Ilja Krasilshhik, 2011. P. 296-297.

<sup>158</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev, Ilja Krasilshhik, 2011. P. 114-116.

society. Of course, then you realize that not every freedom has the right to be on the pages of the press. But we were learning back then, that was why it was so. We used a lot of slang”. As many others editors of the first Russian music magazines, Shulinsky admits that they didn’t know what they were doing – they were not professionals. That is an essential characteristic of the habitus in this field: they had no idea absolutely about the way they were supposed to work in.

Speaking about the reasons why music magazines have become so unsuccessful in Russia, Shulinsky explains that the magazines like that are closely connected with the generation, trends in the society, timing: “Why did *Ptyuch* end? Why did The Face magazine end? Or the magazine Details? They are nowhere - they disappeared along with their time. *Ptyuch* - the same generational magazine as, let’s say, OM or Matador. They are like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and The Who. They could only exist in a certain time. The idea is that they had to give some kick in the development of national journalism, but they were replaced by Western weblogs, but nothing authentic appeared to replace them. As a result, we have become monuments - people who have done something once. Of course, things should have been different. But we have only ourselves to blame.” The lack of professionalism had a serious impact on the fate of the magazine as long as the change of the generation and its interests.

**Alexander Dolgov**, Founder & Editor-in-chief of Fuzz magazine (1992-2009), calls Fuzz “the horn of the musical anarchy and sloppiness”.<sup>159</sup> In creating the issues, they were looking up to British magazines like Melody Maker, New Music Express, and Sounds. For a long time Fuzz was considered the best Russian music magazine. The main part of its cultural and symbolic capitals was that they were very close to young people, their interests, and language. The magazine had features of the underground self-made press, an ironical style, and a lot of jargon that was impossible to be found on the pages of official press. To some extent their success could be explained with the fact that the magazine was changing all the way through its history. Its habitus can be characterized as a mixture of famous professional journalists and total amateurs enthusiastic about music that would come to the editorial offering their materials and skills.

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<sup>159</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Fuzz». November, 25 2012. <http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/>

**Leonid Novikov**, Correspondent, Deputy chief editor in Fuzz magazine (1992-2004), describes the history of the issue from the side of its economic capital – the income from the sales, advertisers and award ceremonies. He says that for a long time its financial model was simple: they created an issue, sold it and used the earned money to pay the salaries. When they started Fuzz music award ceremonies, it helped solve their financial problems very well. Tobacco companies could buy advertisements at the ceremonies; companies selling alcohol products could also contribute from time to time. In general, Fuzz didn't have enough advertisers to stay profitable. Once it changed its format from being the underground press to being a magazine in the manner of the Q magazine in the UK. Later on it changed the format again to a more commercial, consumer magazine about popular celebrities and wrote about them in a praising way.

“Anyway, the magazine performed its function, it informed the readers. But when I left, someone in the editorial understood - to become famous, you need to write only about celebrities and praise them. And Fuzz started doing more obsequious interview with Zemfira, with Zinchuk, with Boris Borisovich Grebenshchikov. I have nothing against it, but as a result everything became emasculated. It has turned into a consumer magazine. There is nothing wrong about it- it's just a consequence of our lack of the financial freedom ... Fuzz stepped on the path of compromise, and this is unacceptable in independent journalism”. At the time when they created the magazine, it was difficult to find any information about music – there was no Internet. The main feature of the habitus was that people working in music magazines didn't have much of a professional background but read a lot about music and learnt on the go. Some of them started their studies at universities to become professional journalists. They wanted to create a proper magazine and to be respected.

**Ekaterina Borisova**, Contributor, editor in Fuzz magazine (1994-2009), mentions the lack of information sources about music in Russia as well and speaks about such a cultural capital of the field as total freedom of speech.<sup>160</sup> “We, journalists and editors, did whatever we wanted. All of us knew some musicians in person, we went to their concerts and listened to some albums. We could come in and say, "Come on, Sasha, I'm going to interview such a musician. You do not know him, but I guarantee that the artist is good.” She agrees with Novikov that it was hard to find any information about music: “At that time it was bad with the Internet, and I just searched for some magazine

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<sup>160</sup> Aleksandr Gorbachev. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Fuzz». November, 25 2012. <http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/>

clippings to write articles. I remember Lenya copied pages of “All Music Guide” - in sum, it was difficult. But this is still my material cited on the Internet.” It is part of the symbolic and cultural capital of a music journalist to be quoted.

**Andrej Buharin**, Editor in OM magazine (1995-2004), thinks that OM was an advanced magazine for its time.<sup>161</sup> It tried to copy what was done in the UK (NME, Q, Details, Dazed & Confused, i-D magazines). Buharin admits that later they realized that copying was the wrong way as it was too far from the Russian reality. Nevertheless, the magazine was planned as a commercial one and it turned out to be commercially successful. OM had rather significant cultural and symbolic capitals: it was very popular (“People bought it for a big amount of money”) and a great deal of celebrities were interested in being mentioned there. OM parties were a success story even though they didn’t invest any money in them – top people of the music scene would come there only because they highly appreciated the magazine. The symbolic capital of the magazine was so strong that it could contribute in the success of a musician to a great extent.

Speaking about the habitus, Buharin notes that OM was an example of high quality journalism. They didn’t write only about music, as they had a larger audience, and was not as independent as Fuzz, but this helped retain a very good quality. The majority of the writers were young for the reason that the Soviet journalists did not fit in the trendy journalism of that time and format. That was why they had to learn everything on the go. The staff of OM enjoyed such a symbolic capital as fame. They could even turn it into the economic capital as the Russian pop-music scene paid for the articles in popular magazines. However, the journalists of OM valued their reputation and honesty and did not accept the money. As the quality of the staff was so high later on all the editors of OM became editors-in-chief in other magazines.

The main reason why OM was closed, according to Buharin, was that the generation had changed. “This is the case with almost any publication where people are stewed in their own juice and no longer feel the change in the situation around, nor can they adequately react to it. In fact, the period of success in pop culture is very short. If you take any artist, you will see that the peak of his or her popularity is 3-5 years. And then after all, a completely different era came – Putin’s 2000s. But then the problem is of a different character – they could not make the machine for making money out of OM. Its

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<sup>161</sup> Marina Zenkina. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Andrej Buharin i OM». [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_om/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_om/)

format was too trendy, too bohemian, too marginal, and nothing could be done with it in general. It didn't have the right business framework”.

**Vsevolod Baronin**, Contributor in Play magazine (2001-2008), explains the idea behind the magazine as follows: Russians liked reading music reviews so they decided to start a magazine that would publish only reviews.<sup>162</sup> From the economic capital point of view such an idea paid back as it promoted music labels and their products for the legal usage only. The record labels were its main advertisers and they also sent free CDs for reviews.

The audience of the magazine was very broad as the genres of music covered in it were very different – almost all styles of music including classical one. In terms of cultural and symbolic capital it was not useful for the magazine as music professionals didn't respect it and the readers didn't appreciate it either. There was a plan to change the format of the magazine from writing reviews to having more pictures and celebrities in it. The publishing house refused this idea but a few years later it did change the format, as they wanted the magazine to be more profitable. Baronin finds it surprising that the publishers expected it to bring 30% of the income. Its new slogan was “pop-culture and digital revolution” but the only digital element was the sign “download” which promoted illegal copying of music CDs and alienated record labels. Play started publishing articles as the following: 100 best Russian and Soviet rock albums or articles about Konstantin Ernst and Andrey Malahov.

Baronin draws a conclusion that in Russia a music magazine can be only strictly niche: “Otherwise, people will not understand it and will be nervous everywhere. Still, in my opinion, quite a lot of people were annoyed that we were trying to write about music in normal Russian, and not with some insane phrases, as Capitolina Delovaya did as well as most of the journals of the metal spectrum. The main thing to understand here is that we do not claim to create some alternative reality with the help of the magazine Play. We tried to reflect directly without any distorting mirror what was happening in music at that time.”

**Artem Rondarev**, Contributor in Play magazine, notes that the habitus of the issue was characterized with the lack of professional understanding of how the market works and

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<sup>162</sup>Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)

the excessive amount of people who were interested in writing for it.<sup>163</sup> The staff of the magazine consisted of people that would cover music for the rest of their lives and in the editorial they also got paid for it. The cultural capital of Play was that they could write about music the way they wanted: “There was no other publication where they could not care about the fact whether it was trendy or not and whether it corresponded with the policy of radio Maximum.” A chance to contribute to the fame and success of a musician was its symbolic capital. Rondarev admits that the powers of the magazine were limited and they could not make celebrities out of unknown musicians overnight, yet they had some impact on it. He says that it would have been possible in the US but in Russia the media doesn’t play such a prominent part, and it is unlikely to ever do so.

Explaining the reason for the magazine being closed, Rondarev blames the format, culture-specific trends and wrong business decisions: “I believe that the very first format of Play – a booklet with reviews - is an ideal format of a magazine about pop music generally. When this idea failed, and it failed a little bit earlier than the magazine itself, the prospects of music journalism in Russia died. Now this format could not exist, of course. But if the magazine has won a certain reputation, if it had not started to pull back and forth and try to become lifestyle, at least it would now be valued as an expert opinion and in some modified form could still exist - well, as a certain reference material.” Another reason mentioned by Rondarev is a significant lack of the economic capital: “It all ended, well, because our country is like this. The man who gave us the money found out that advertising did not work. He demanded that the magazine would sell better. At first it was a booklet with reviews. Then it was a booklet with reviews plus photos of Morrissey in his jacket, then of "VIA Gra", because the investor decided that they would be able to create advertising. Then other investors decided to make a glossy magazine out of it. Naturally, Play therefore ended. Besides that, Savoskin tried to keep it as a music magazine until the very end.”

**Anton Oboznij**, Editor in Play magazine (2002-2005), sees the mission of Play in informing the concerned audience about what is new in the music scene.<sup>164</sup> At the time when the magazine started the sources of such information were limited. “Initially Play positioned itself as a messenger for some music lovers who came to the record store and

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<sup>163</sup> Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)

<sup>164</sup> Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)

did not know what there was on the shelves, and they needed some kind of guidance. Then it all started to grow into some featured articles - in general, there was a mutation in the direction of a traditional magazine”, says Oboznij. As surely as Rondarev, Oboznij is skeptical about Kulturtrager mission of the magazine in boosting careers of musicians: “Everyone was pleased to think that this work was associated with some cultural mission. But I have to be honest, both then and now I share a huge skepticism about the Russian mass audience, so I personally worked in the magazine for some selfish reasons. I was interested in talking to people with whom I encountered at work. Of course, it would be nice to think that the magazine could influence and shape someone's tastes, but not in such quantities that it would make sense to talk about it.”

The illuſio of the field according to Oboznij was certain connections in music industry, getting to know interesting people. Remarkably, the habitus of music magazines is subject to changes due to the generational factor that brought the change of editorial tastes. Oboznij assumes that this change in the habitus had an impact on the fate of the magazine: “It was a funny and difficult time closer to my quitting the job, when Sergei Stepanov, Gleb Lisichkin, Gorbachev joined in - a lot of people who had similar tastes. There were no problems with covering Radiohead or Sigur Rós. But to review a new album, let’s say, of Stratovarius, you had to think hard whom to give the task. There was a tremendous amount of talents who would like to write about indie rock or some modern Icelandic music, but they did not want to cover any marginal mainstream things.”

**Miloslav Chemodanov**, Editor in Play magazine (2003-2006), on the contrary is optimistic about the mission of Play: “All that came out in Russia on CDs was reviewed there. The image of the magazine was based on the fact that you could read about everything there. You would always find a record that you wanted in our magazine. People did not simply learn our opinions about new albums - they learned from us about the existence of various other bands. Now things are different but at that time you realized that you had to make people aware that there was such a band, that it was a cool one, do not miss it because if you did not say that there was a chance that they would really miss it.”<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)



Speaking about the habitus, Chemodanov notes that it consisted of very professional and known music critics; quite many of them were around forty years old. On the other hand, the magazine helped accelerate the careers of young journalists as well creating the core, elite circle of entertainment journalists: “We have created a new generation of journalists. The people we chose, which we kind of guides that we dryuchili and texts which we edited mercilessly. It is encouraging to see that most of them now form the basis of intelligent entertainment journalism.”

Chemodanov points out such reasons for Play being closed as to the dissonance between the economic and cultural capital. The economic one was in the hands of the publishers and investors who didn't care for the cultural capital. They didn't understand the audience for which the magazine existed and didn't want to take into account the opinions of the journalists – what mattered most was the advertising income. The publishers cancelled reviews of key albums and interviews with key musicians due to the fact that a certain label didn't buy an ad in the magazine. They started to dictate what the editorial should write about and how, and it resulted in journalists quitting their jobs and the magazine going out of existence.

**Gleb Lisichkin**, editor in Play magazine, shares the opinion of Chemodanov that the periodical was closed due to a dissonance between its cultural and economic capitals: the pressure from the publishers created an unhealthy environment in the editorial and blurred the purposes of its existence. “When the era of mp3 started, we simply began to write in plain text that you could download music instead of buying it. In this situation, the genre of reviews become not really necessary because, if you can get music free, you can click on a button and listen to it. We made some quite a fool's errand: we did not serve the industry, we pretended that we were doing it not for the money but for the music. It was all a bit absurd. And at some point it ended”.<sup>166</sup>

What Lisichkin sees as the mission, cultural and, symbolic capitals of Play is to promote new musicians. He contacted Western indie record labels in order to receive promo CDs from them and it gave the magazine credentials to review the artists completely unknown to Russian audience at the time. Lisichkin points out that Play gained the status of a cult magazine based on its wide range of genres being covered. Later on, the issue started moving in the direction of Uncut and Q magazines. Lisichkin expresses his

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<sup>166</sup> Grigorij Prorokov. «Istorija rossijskikh muzykalnyh media. Zhurnal Play», March, 1 2013. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_play/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/)

scepticism about the fact that the editorial of Play thought the mission of it was to discover new artists and help to increase their success: “We had some strange ambition of discovering new artists that lead to nothing. There were no launching pads into music and social lifts at all: we just found that we liked and wrote about it but they had pretty much nowhere to go up.”

**Sergey Gurjev**, Contributor, Editor in *KontrKultura* magazine, calls the publication “richly illustrated and an underground printing monster”.<sup>167</sup> It was a form of a journalistic provocation and it didn’t have intentions to become popular amongst a mass audience. “The magazine was experimental - we carefully moved away from traditional review articles in an academic style. Thus, the Siberian punk ideological propaganda was mixed with eclectic postmodern in the presentation of the material, hence the materials of erotic character adjacent to serious interviews with heroes important for us. In fact, the ideology of "counterculture" stood at five figures: Letov, Neumoev, Janka, Nick Rock'n'Roll and Oldie - they were five leaders of the time.”

The magazine had a distinct sub-cultural capital based on the ideology of a concrete underground community – existential punks – with punk lifestyle and suicide as a form of non-conformism. “It was all kind of cultural code and the environment at the time. To promote it at the grassroots level did not feel right. Then Janka committed suicide - and it was clear that one victim was enough”, explains Gurjev.

The habitus shared the features of the underground community: “I drank like a beast. I sat down to write, put a bottle of whiskey in front of myself, drank a glass – wrote a paragraph, and wrote this way until I switched off. The next day I looked at my text, removed what could not be understood at all and put a new bottle. At some point I thought that if I continued like that, then I would really put my life on the edge of complete destruction”. On the one hand the change of the generation and time occurred, on the other hand – it was impossible for the staff to challenge themselves and journalism the way they did.

**Alexander Volkov**, Editor, Designer in *KontrKultura* magazine, agrees with Gurjev that *Kontrkultura* was the first underground publication that looked as a magazine and

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<sup>167</sup> Feliks Sandalov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Kontrkultura – glavnyj zhurnal rok-samizdata», October, 4 2013 <http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyj-zhurnal-roksamizdata/>

not as a self-made collection of printed texts.<sup>168</sup> Habitus-wise it had the authors that would ask existential questions like Zharikov and Gurjev – Volkov states that nowadays there are not journalists like that. Speaking about the mission of the magazine it aimed at challenging the world around. *Urlyat* and *Contra* were an attempt to change the world around us. I would like to live in a world where there are such topics for discussion, such an approach, such a design, and such a magazine in the end. And I lived in it. And I dream of not reviving *Kontrkultura* but of some kind of new and similar project to appear”, explains Volkov.

**Alexander Kushnir**, Distributor, PR in *KontrKultura* magazine, underlines the significance of the cultural and symbolic capital of the publication.<sup>169</sup> It was popular; people would really read it and copy and read again. “It was this micro epoch during 1.5 – 2 years: alternative films, avant-garde, rock-n-roll with intelligent lyrics, a little bit of noise music – all this came along. Now such a thing doesn’t exist that rockers would come to the screenings of underground movies and filmmakers would stop by the dressing rooms at rock concerts. It was like that back then. And *KontrKultura*, in particular, was just about a union of this kind. *KontrKultura* for us is any informal subculture, a kind of cultural studies opposition.”

The focus of articles was on important messages of the underground music, lyrics, ideas, and texts. The essence was not in how something was performed but rather what was said with it. The main features of the habitus included complete freedom, absence of hierarchy and functional roles in the editorial. It contained the elite of Moscow journalism and the brightest personalities of the time. Kushnir expresses his surprise with the fact that these journalists were able to work as a team for five years even though they had strong opinions of different kinds.

**Alexey Koblov**, Contributor in *KontrKultura* magazine, points out the free spirit of *KontrKultura* and its importance for its time.<sup>170</sup> *KontrKultura* is certainly one of the most important events in the history of Russian rock (and not only) Journalism. What was felt for randomly, on a whim, is appropriate to study at universities now. Not only

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<sup>168</sup> Feliks Sandalov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Kontrkultura – glavnyj zhurnal rok-samizdata», October, 4 2013 <http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyj-zhurnal-roksamizdata/>

<sup>169</sup> Feliks Sandalov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Kontrkultura – glavnyj zhurnal rok-samizdata», October, 4 2013 <http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyj-zhurnal-roksamizdata/>

<sup>170</sup> Feliks Sandalov. «Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Kontrkultura – glavnyj zhurnal rok-samizdata», October, 4 2013 <http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyj-zhurnal-roksamizdata/>

as a phenomenon, as a sound in unison with the reality, but something creating this reality to a large extent”, says Koblov. He is sure that the magazine made history – it was something huge in terms of its impact and activities (concerts, festivals, tours around the country with the main figures of the underground).

The cultural and symbolic capitals, that it had, revolved around the freedom to choose what to write about, and the impact on the history of Russia. “We chose what to write about and how. No dictatorship from colleagues – if you do not want to write about it, write about something else. Such liberty, freedom, and people who understand each other perfectly, united by common values but staying different. It is clear that later on it turned out that we were making history, but it was not the most important task for us: just everything matched very well – the time, us in it, and the music, all this Soviet Woodstock, Monterey and so on.”

**Grigory Feldman**, Editor-in-chief in Rockmusic.ru magazine, considers the cultural and symbolic capital of Rockmusic.ru to be in its independence and freedom to be not objective: “Perhaps, it was our guiding principle: no objectivity. We proceeded from the fact that objectivity is the invention of the bourgeois media, but in reality it does not exist. I was annoyed with boring materials prevailing in other music magazines: either dry pretentiousness or amateur delight with superlatives. We could afford to curse records that other critics praised or, at best, ignored - and vice versa. We believed that we were directly within the movement, rather than studying it as a bystander.”<sup>171</sup>

One of the conclusions that Feldman makes about the magazine being closed is that they were mistaken with covering all genres. From the point of view of the economic capital it is better when a magazine serves only one type of the audience. It might result in its being an outsider and not popular but it should pay back income-wise. This is a very important observation as it shows that the more subcultural capital a magazine, the more likely it is to succeed financially. Speaking about the economical capital of the magazine, Feldman underlines that Rockmusic.ru existed with the money of Igor Kozhechkin, its CEO. For a long time the magazine could not make any income with advertising until they created a few interesting and vivid issues that sold well and the magazine became a recognized brand popular among a great deal of people. They never

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<sup>171</sup> Maksim Dinkevich. «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rockmusic.ru», December, 6 2013  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/>

focused on Russian rock, popular at the time, for the reason that they saw it more a poetical phenomenon, rather than a musical one.

Another conclusion made by Feldman is that the magazine was closed due to the confrontation between its SEO Igor Kozhechkin together with Marketing Director and the creative editorial. He points out that creative people are very sensitive, and it is vital to take their opinion and creative process into consideration. According to Feldman, one of the main problems in Russia is that too many people interfere in someone else's business instead of minding their own responsibilities. Kozhechkin dictated to the editorial what they had to do and did not consider the fact that writing texts takes time and effort and it is different from working in a factory.

**Stepan Maximov**, Contributor in Rockmusic.ru magazine, distinguishes two main features of the periodical based on its mission and cultural capital: 1) complete freedom of expressing opinions about music mixed with compete unprofessionalism of the staff, and 2) focus on the unknown artists. “All the groups that they listened in the office were unknown. And the more unknown, the more iconic they were. Any musician off the street could come to the editorial of Rockmusic.ru and give us a disc with his or her album and get it a review from us, and a positive one. Only due to the fact that this dude is off the street, he has his album on a CD, and no one knows anything about him”, says Maximov in his interview.<sup>172</sup>

He remarks that the main idea of the magazine was to express an honest opinion about the music, which turned out to resemble wounding sensibilities of musicians. When Maximov read his texts after the magazine was closed, he realized that they were not good, too abstract, and unprofessional. There was no discipline in the editorial and the writers didn't ponder their words. Speaking of the illuio that attracted Maximov to join Rockmusic.ru, he says that he created the articles with the hope to get appreciations from his colleagues. In fact, he hated writing and the social capital was his only motivation.

Maximov agrees with Feldman that the reason why the magazine was closed is the conflict between the economic and cultural capital: “The dispute in the editorial began, as always, with the conflict between creativity and commerce. Advertisers and CEO had

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<sup>172</sup> Maksim Dinkevich. «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rockmusic.ru», December, 6 2013  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/>

to sell the magazine and find advertisers. And had to try to please everyone. But I think such conflicts are a normal thing in journalism.”

**Denis Alexeev**, Contributor in Rockmusic.ru magazine, continues talking about the striking unprofessionalism of the editorial furthermore. He compares the magazine with a person who was trying to focus on what was going around him music-wise. No one in the editorial had any professional background: the designer knew nothing about the design, and the journalists had nothing to do with journalism. The magazine attempted to act as a concert agency at times – Alexeev calls this experience nothing but “weird” as the choice of the artists was weird as well as the actions of the promoters. In general, Alexeev assess his contribution to the magazine as “very bad” and “serving no purpose”. He concludes that the role of a magazine is to write high quality texts about music: “I regret that someone got to know a really great band through my bad articles. Good music deserves to be covered in an informative review with a good language. It sounds paradoxical but bad music deserves it even more”.

**Gleb Lisichkin**, Editor in Rockmusic.ru magazine (2002-2004), describes the issue as “an absolutely classic fanzine made by a bunch of amateurs based on their own tastes.”<sup>173</sup> Talking about his articles, he calls them “naïve and stupid” but he does not feel ashamed about them: “They were written in completely different conditions. In the context of the information we needed, and I know of some groups and platelets people learned from us, and these records are still being bought and groups come”. There was no censorship or any policies at all in the editorial of Rockmusic.ru. Lisichkin asserts that a few artists should be grateful to the magazine for their current popularity.

**Dmitry Spirin**, Contributor in “Rockmusic.ru” magazine, is also a musician in a popular Russian rock band *Tarakani*. He was invited to write a column in the periodical as a representative of the music underground. He characterizes the cultural capital of the magazine as having a “punk fanzine attitude – write about whatever you want”.<sup>174</sup> There was no Internet to download 15 new albums and review them; Spirin had to review the vinyl from his own collection or ask around. “In Rockmusic.ru a lot of amateurs worked that had never written for any magazines before. It was a plus and a minus. On the one hand, young men demonstrated a custom style; on the other hand, the publication turned

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<sup>173</sup> Maksim Dinkevich. «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rockmusic.ru», December, 6 2013  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/>

<sup>174</sup> Maksim Dinkevich. «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rockmusic.ru», December, 6 2013  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/>

out to be too variegated. Authors of Rockmusic.ru were of very different levels, which prevented the publication from forming its own face. It seems to me that even at the end of its existence, the magazine failed in developing its own language and intonation. I remember in the late 90's I began reading the magazine OM, and I always thought that they trained their authors somehow, adjusting them to the very definite style. Articles from OM could not be taken for anything else. In Rockmusic.ru they did not have it”.

**Igor Chernishkov**, Editor-in-Chief, Owner of the publishing house *Rovesnik*, since 1988, considers the magazine to be about music first of all: “Young people are always anxious for music, and thank God, we were allowed to write about more things than others”.<sup>175</sup> One of the first ones they started publishing album reviews and had a certain monopoly on the Western music in the 1980s. Besides regular articles they also published “Rock Encyclopedia” first as a column for 10 years and then as a book and extracts from such books as Dee Snider’s “Teenage survival guide” and Marina Vladi’s “Flight interrupted” about rock musician Vladimir Visotsky. Speaking about their cultural capital and audience, Chernishkov points out that their focus has been on the audience of 14-16 years old and regions of Russia. “The age of the audience decreased, and there was a feeling that we had to be very accurate with selecting the language. It was decided to speak in a normal, respectful language, not flirting with the audience like our competitors – “Bravo”, “Cool”, and so on, “Well, you, dude ...” - I could not even repeat that! Who said that slang adds modernity? All these publications were closed, by the way.”

Nonetheless, even this strategy could not guarantee a long successful life for *Rovesnik*. “Who is our audience today - it's a good question. The circulation has dropped, let's face it...All of our audience, all those guys, of course, spend time on the internet, of course, they have a fantastic opportunity to receive information ten times faster than we bring it to them”. Chernishkov believes that the magazine can be interesting from the point of view of analytical materials expressing an original opinion about some challenging topic. On the other hand, he is skeptical that they could cover something not up-to-date, something that is in the history of music as people interested in topics of this kind are not numerous enough to sell the publication.

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<sup>175</sup> Marina Zenkina «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rovesnik», August, 19 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/>

The economic capital is gained only through copies of the magazine sold, according to Chernishkov: “We have never had any advertising in principle, except for some accidentally flown advertisers - we existed only thanks to the subscription and retail income. Now the subscription contributes some marginal percentage to the income and retail is not growing. Keeping in mind that all our competitors were closed, it gives me joy that our circulation is at least on the same level!”

The Internet could probably open a new horizon for the magazine and bring more economic capital. Chernishkov finds it unlikely that a new format (the presence on the Internet) will help solve financial problems of the magazine: “We sometimes turn to thinking about how to enter the Internet. We have a reference site, which represents the magazine with telephone numbers, opinion polls on some topics, but it should not be taken as a normal modern portal. I do not see how it is possible to monetize the Internet content. Advanced publishers with whom I spoke at the World Congress of Magazine Publishers, frankly admit that it is unprofitable. The share of the Internet in 10% of total revenues is the most fantastic figure; normal monetization equals 2-3%. Tell me how to earn more, I'll run there. We can only spend what we earn.”

**Konstantin Ishyenko**, Editor in *Rovesnik*, since 1990, indicates such a problem of the magazine as the loss of subcultural capital. He says that nowadays young people do not read print media and their music interests are too diverse for a magazine to cover them all, from metal to hip hop.<sup>176</sup> In the 90s it was easier as everyone had the same access to the same kind of music so they listened to the same artists and bands. In such conditions, the magazine could write about those artists again and again and be still popular. Another problem is the speed of information delivered to the current generation of youngsters – it is hard to create cutting-edge materials for the magazine at the moment.

**Ilya Zinin**, Editor in *Rovesnik*, 2006-2007, understands the mission of the magazine as writing about young contemporary music even though, paradoxically, because of the Soviet past of the publication, those who read Pitchfork and Afisha see *Rovesnik* as an artifact of the Soviet epoch but in reality it can be called the Q magazine for youngsters.<sup>177</sup> The reason for that might be that it was not present in the Internet

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<sup>176</sup> Marina Zenkina «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rovesnik», August, 19 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/>

<sup>177</sup> Marina Zenkina «Istorija muzykalnyh media. Rovesnik», August, 19 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/>



discussions at all while at the same time it had a large circulation of 70,000 copies. “In Moscow, everyone used sharing services to download music - fast Internet was available everywhere – and the regions lived in a different rhythm, and *Rovesnik* for them remained a breath of air. Some underground bands, by the way, told me that the regional promoters invited them to perform after having read about them in *Rovesnik*.”

*Rovesnik* has a sizable cultural capital and unique status among other music magazines – popular musicians always put it in their list to be interviewed by. Zinin underlines that the editorial can enjoy complete freedom there. *Rovesnik* was the perfect job to me: no pressure, and it was evident that he had a totally unique status”. Parents would buy this magazine for their children even though there was no censorship in it. In terms of the content, they mostly covered modern music with the focus on mainstream rock plus some underground bands. “At the same time, some serious alternative bands that I do not like in Russia were gaining momentum: Stigmata, Traktor Bowling, Amatory. I understand that you have to respect the tastes of readers, and if "Психея" releases a solo album, it is necessary to send a journalist to interview the artists”. Zinin assumes that the editorial could be independent due to the fact they did not depend on advertising: “therefore we had no one who could push us: PR people of all sorts of pop-rock singers called me but I said no to them, we'll never write about those artists. If we had some kind of advertising, it was mostly an exchange of commodities”.

## **6. THE FUTURE OF MUSIC MAGAZINES IN RUSSIA**

This chapter introduces the possible scenarios for the future of Russian music magazines in Russia based on their alternative forms that used to exist or exist up until now, the impact of new media development on print media and the theory of a “viral editor”.

### **6.1. New media vs. print magazines**

Judging by the current state of music magazines in Russia and considering the media industry, music industry, and music scene trends, it is possible to suggest dozens of scenarios about the future of the music press: all the magazines might be closed or they can turn into webzines; they can enjoy a certain revival in the future due to some cultural phenomenon in music, or they can transfer into lifestyle periodicals oriented

towards the general public. One way or another, there will be some drastic changes will be expected.

First of all, the birth of new media – the Internet – will influence the traditional approach of running a music publication. Already now print media are coming through a difficult phase with their complicated system of distribution and circulation. As Fomicheva points out, several economic crises and domination of TV “content lite” have led to a significant decrease of distribution all over the world.<sup>178</sup> In 2009, the decrease of Russian print media sales equaled 10-30% less than in the previous year, while the magazines suffered up to 60% in decreasing sales. At the same time, new media hasn’t displaced traditional media – they put competitive pressure on the latter, as TV or radio did when they appeared. Information and communication environments have become richer, including more diverse and individualized media tools.

John Morrish draws our attention to another crucial media trend: entering magazine business has become extremely expensive. And this, in its turn, constrains new players from launching new periodicals.<sup>179</sup> Logically, publishers have started to find the Internet more and more attractive as a new platform for a magazine because it allows growing readership without any additional printing expenses. Morrish argues that the death of magazines is a natural process: they disappear from the market for economic and social reasons. On the other hand, these same reasons can stimulate a renewal of a publication. However, more often they push magazine business away from journalism, and its values onto commercialization and advertisers’ interests. Editors-in-chief are more involved in dealing with advertisers, sales, and promotion of a magazine now. They are obliged to contribute to the commercial success of their issue. And it is possible that the interests of journalism and of publishers are not in phase with each other.

To support his idea that the death of a magazine is something natural, Morrish describes the life cycle of a publication.<sup>180</sup> The launches of new magazines happen constantly, that is why it is very expensive to promote them on the market. A lot of time should pass till they start to bring profits. After the launch the sales drop instantly, which is called “hockey stick effect”. It takes 18 issues to come back to the level of sales of the

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<sup>178</sup> I.D. Fomicheva. 2012. P. 300-301.

<sup>179</sup> Dzhon Morrish. *Izdanie zhurnala: ot idei do voploshhenija*. Universitetskaja kniga, Moskva, 2012. P. 20-21.

<sup>180</sup> Dzhon Morrish. P. 37 – 39.

very first issue. A great deal of magazines die after launch, as the sales are too low to continue with it. The magazines that were launched as part of already existing titles are usually in a much better position on the market. In order to survive, a magazine can try to find a new target audience, or change its direction, but it will demand extra promotional expenditures. In average, it takes 3-4 years for a magazine to reach the level of sales that was planned by the publishers. Generally when a magazine matures, it stops at the sales level that is 25% higher than of the first issue, but in 7-8 years the sales start to drop again. Usually, it is related to the change of an editor, publisher or owner. Re-launch, re-design and revision of the writing staff are the measures that provide only temporary upturns – the magazine will stop existing quite soon.

There is also a case when a number of magazines turn into “timeless values”, as Morrish calls them. It means that they become part of an everyday life landscape. Such a position guarantees the survival on the market but it makes it difficult for the titles to react efficiently to the slow decrease of sales. The publishers start to be afraid of changes; they don’t want to abandon the successful formula that they used before. “Timeless values” magazines should reinvent themselves from time to time to succeed on the market.

In his book, “*When Newspapers Die*”, Andrej Miroshnichenko<sup>181</sup> argues that the crisis of the model of magazines should not be viewed only as the crisis of the medium (paper), technology (delivery), and profession (journalism). This crisis provides the media industry with an opportunity to define new tools, methods of self-regulation, and establishment of a new informational environment.

Journalism as a profession has faced the threat of extinction. The monopoly of one group of people to select and process the information has been destroyed. It would have been possible to substitute this monopoly with meeting the needs of the society in selection, classification, and verification of the information. However, Miroshnichenko introduces such a term as “viral editor” that describes a phenomenon in social media when their audience reaches a certain consensus on the key issues of a public nature. “Viral editor” is a mechanism of selecting and editing messages that also includes their distribution and annotation. Journalists of a new generation should know how to connect with the “viral editor”, and how to fall within the public reaction. Miroshnichenko draws our attention to the fact that a new balance has currently settled

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<sup>181</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko. *Kogda umrut gazety*. Knizhnyj mir, Moskva, 2011. P. 6-11.

in the information environment: the Internet blogs quote media messages, while traditional media are publishing more and more materials from the blogs.

According to Miroshnichenko's predictions, future media will be less of a business, but more of a market of influence and patronage, and will exist in the information environment in the manner of chaos theory, including strange attractors, celebrities, and other attention swirls. The future of media is seen in navigation, formulation of common objectives, and interests. It is possible that truly efficient and in-demand journalism in the Internet age can only be based on values. There are too many people who write very well nowadays. The profession of an editor will be the most important one. New print media business might stay as a business, or it will take the form of a charity, or educational social projects. As there is no sense in cutting the information flow into pieces, the periodical loses sense too from the point of view of business and information consumption.

Miroshnichenko suggests a scenario based on which the print issues are going to disappear: the first ones to leave will be "the followers", that were created in pursuit of the leaders in the existing niches, or that were established recently and didn't have enough time to start bringing income and become self-sustaining. The most perceptive way for media business is a certain editorial co-branding with a solid, theme-built client database. In this case, the key element to success is the editorial creating interesting content, moderating communication in social media, taking into consideration the interests of shareholders, supporting the unity and diversity of different distribution platforms, and the periodicals themselves will serve as a display window of their own websites.

Reflecting on the notorious habit of people to read print newspapers, it was impossible to bypass a subject of alternation of generations. Miroshnichenko suggests a concept of "the axial generation". In Russia it is the people who were born in the 1930s. They were born in an agrarian era, worked in industry, and they are living in the century of the post-industrial era, carefully pressing buttons on the mobile phone with an index finger. After the axial generation, when an era is shorter than the life of the person, there is an important cultural change - social habits aren't transferred on inheritance. They remain in a generation framework. Modern teenagers don't know what role the newspaper once played in a life of a person and society. They simply aren't able to consume the press.

They still see print media around and can read them from time to time, but they don't have a habit of purchasing them anymore.<sup>182</sup>

Miroshnichenko predicts that the extinction of print media predetermined by technologies (the Internet, multimedia) will actually begin with the crash of distribution at the end of 2010 and will come to an end in the 2030s, with the last of "newspaper generation" passing away. The process of the press dying out will last from 2017 to 2035. A newspaper era still has about 20-25 years to go. On the other hand, Miroshnichenko remarks that the press will die but journalism won't die. The more channels and formats of communication there are, the higher dissociation is. In these conditions, the demand for communicative authorities that would offer a universal system of coordinates, some reference points, and navigation will only increase. The society will need "post-journalism" (the term of Vasily Gatov).

Comparing traditional and electronic media, Miroshnichenko believes that the Internet gives much better possibilities of receiving news, analytics, and opinions, than newspaper devices of a new generation. It means that the progress won't offer a new special form for mass media. And if mass media wants to be in a digital format, this format will stay on the Internet, and not in special devices. Furthermore, Miroshnichenko warns that democratization of the authorship on the Internet will wreck the importance of the journalistic authorship. The word, which is displayed and read on the Internet with ease, weighs very little due to oversaturation. Professional journalists who work with the Internet should stipulate their belonging to a caste especially; otherwise they are instantly dissolved in rough sewer streams of self-acclaimed authorships.<sup>183</sup>

Among other disadvantages of the Internet are limited amount of readers against the background of unlimited amount of materials published in the web, plus the ease of plagiarism – anyone can copy-past any information in seconds.<sup>184</sup> The more journalism there is on the Internet, the more smeared it will be because of the repetitions: Blogs and "copy-pasting" dilute it. Miroshnichenko concludes that print media aren't read and will be read even less in the future, but people will know that there are magazines and

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<sup>182</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 14-16.

<sup>183</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 21-22.

<sup>184</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 29.

newspapers, and something important is printed there. It isn't obligatory to read them though as the articles will be retold to them by the Internet.

Nonetheless, an abstract print edition as a primary source will always be more powerful than an abstract website. The basic status of journalism will be kept by mass media that will work on different platforms – they will use mighty opportunities of the Internet and will keep paper (or radio) versions as well. The public order is that readers treat and will treat physically limited mass media in a special way. Miroshnichenko assumes that the existence of a print format will increase the importance of an electronic version of the same mass media. “The print brand will be a facade, the base and a justification for magnificent technical capabilities of the electronic version”, he says.<sup>185</sup>

New media has challenged how journalists understand their mission. Miroshnichenko believes that first of all, the periodical should have a clear vision of its audience. In order to find suitable audiences, it is necessary to look for the potential of internal inclination in social groups: if a social group forms or at least tries to form real forms of a community, it is the indicator of potential of its internal gravitation. “It means that this group needs universal meanings and can make an audience that mass media would serve. When the audience is found, the mission of the media is set too – the mission and the audience are always connected”, explains Miroshnichenko.<sup>186</sup> The journalist's profession is to prevent the social order from consolidating worldviews; to chop off the variety of excessive opinions and to turn a few selected subjects into readability. We could say that a new big job for mass media is to eliminate excessive opinions and establish general reference points. The most demanded profession in journalism at the moment is a columnist.

Furthermore Miroshnichenko explains the conflict between the economic and cultural capitals of a print magazine/newspaper: “The payment mechanism in the commercial model is as following: to collect an audience with the verified content and collect money from it, then to sell the same audience to advertisers. The internal conflict is already included: the audience wants something different from what advertisers want. Here starts an infinite fight between the editorial of mass media and its advertising

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<sup>185</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 33.

<sup>186</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 45.

departments.<sup>187</sup> Traditional media still attract investors and advertisers as they collect much more money from advertising than the New Media.

Trying to answer a question about the kind of the content that would be profitable for print mass media in the future, Miroshnichenko refers to his concept of “viral editor” again. If efficiency of the mass message isn't a journalism prerogative any more, the message advancing the events can become a new competitive advantage. A new temporal distance (a message - today, an event - tomorrow) is impregnable for the “viral editor” that doesn't see the future. It is possible to demand the money again from the society for an exclusive material and monopoly. At the same time journalism will be able to earn on depersonalization of the information because the “viral editor”, thanks to which the facts, estimations and opinions are condensed by themselves without any participation of a journalist, undermines the monopoly of journalists. An inhuman machine of production and distribution of information is on the Internet now, and it is better, quicker, and broader. Therefore when inhuman journalistic technologies openly compete with it, they lose. The preponderance of factual journalism has to be replaced by humanity of the text, distinguishable personal shape of the author in the text. But thus, of course, personal qualities of author's charisma are important.<sup>188</sup>

In the next three years the market will be cleared of editions of the third echelon that have three general characteristics:

- 1) They were created after leaders in the existing niche;
- 2) Therefore they are secondary or even are tertiary;
- 3) They are created recently, in 2000s, during a surplus time when investors thought to catch up and overtake the leaders or at least to take some of their income.<sup>189</sup>

Any niche will take out only two - number 1 and number 2. The second number is surely necessary because people get tired of the first, they can feel personal hostility to it, and the second one professes other approaches, finds nuances of style, invigorates the reader with the competition, etc. And two of them dominate the niche, collecting, probably, 80-90% of money and attention. When the market is corpulent, the third and

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<sup>187</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 53.

<sup>188</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 116-117.

<sup>189</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 155-156.

fourth numbers have a chance of impudence. But when the market contracts and business declines, there is no place for the third and fourth ones. They will survive for three years at most. If the startup created its own niche or at least significantly modified the old one - it has some chances to live on. The elimination of the third or fourth numbers revitalizes the market and gives a noticeable impulse to business of the first or second. After all the third or fourth spoiled the market pricing and distracted attention of the audience and advertisers. Mass popular brands will stop paper existence by 2019. If it is a really strong brand, it will try to relocate to the Internet.

After the distribution collapse limited editions, especially with accurate target audience and clear advertising effect will appear in more advantageous position than periodicals with much more copies. It is paradoxical but special editions are more viable because they depend less on reader's demand.<sup>190</sup>

Mass media of the future will consist of short messages and profound comments with analysis, details or mood. Editors will manage not only journalists but also bloggers. The blogosphere has been training all this time to delegate its best representatives to future mass media. Synthesis of journalists and bloggers is important to give a full picture. Fragmentation of information is too big already; someone has to collect and distinguish the main things. The “viral editor” uplifting the most interesting bloggers to the top will turn into HR Department for the media editor. The mass media editor will become the shepherd of bloggers. The editor should have a small staff of journalists and a huge base of bloggers.<sup>191</sup>

## **6.2. Alternative and future forms of music magazines in Russia**

Besides the print music magazines there were a few other types of genres related to music writings in Russia including a TV show with music journalists, a groundbreaking book about music, a regular rubric in a popular paper and a number of online communities and websites about music. The talk-show “Akuly Pera” (transl. “The Wordsmiths”) on TV-6 TV channel was one of the most popular telecasts about pop music in the Russian history. “The essence of “Wordsmiths” consisted in the following: on the one hand, music celebrities were invited in the studio — from Philip Kirkorov to

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<sup>190</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 155-161.

<sup>191</sup> Andrej Miroshnichenko, 2011. P. 208-209



little-known back then DJ Groove — and on the other hand, there were music journalists representing some print music media, even small and unknown ones”, says Nikita Velichko.<sup>192</sup> Journalists could ask any questions and it resulted in a few fights between musicians and journalist right in the studio.

In 1998 the program was closed because of the financial crisis, and then, more than ten years later, revived on the TV Jam channel twice: in 2009 with Detsl, Noggano, Roma Zver and others as guests and in 2012 with Smoki Mo and Artemy Troitsky. For a number of reasons recent attempts to repeat the success of the programme failed, and the whole idea of this format is refused. Sergey Sosedov, journalist, participant in the programme “Akuly Pera” (1995-1998), says<sup>193</sup> that they were not paid for taking part in this show: “I was indignant and asked for 10 dollars at least to be paid per question but they told us: you work for the name, we promote you”. It is possible to interpret this as the following: the main capital in this case was symbolic one, and the “illusio” was related to the fame and future job opportunities. Ilya Legostaev, TV host of “Akuly Pera” (1995-1998, 2009-2010), explains that the reason for the programme being closed is in the rise of Public Relations – the journalists could not ask provocative questions anymore. “Akuly Pera, in my opinion, was a show for people who loved music. Back then music was a substance that interested everyone. It was a general feeling of the country.”

The main city newspaper of the 90s "Moskovsky Komsomolets" was famous not only for a scandalous tabloid rubric "Urgent to publish!", Alexey Merinov's caricatures, Alexander Minkin's leaflets and fight against the Minister of Defence Pavel Grachev. Every week on the last strip of one of issues of the newspaper there were two music rubrics. “Zvukovaja Dorozhka” existing from the Soviet times and up to that moment edited by Artur Gasparyan carried on with traditions set in the late seventies (nearly the first one, “MK” began to publish monthly charts made following the results of reader’s vote on which it was at least approximately possible to judge comparative ratings of pop actors) and told about life of a modern pop music scene. “Megakhaus”, existing under Kapitolina Delovaya's leadership, specialized in new and fashionable music (in range from hip-hop to heavy alternative) and differed in both fascinating layout and extreme

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<sup>192</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Akuly Pera” , March, 12 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/>

<sup>193</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Akuly Pera” , March, 12 2014  
<http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/>

language stylistics. “The revolution of rock-pop which came in the late nineties can be connected first of all with “OM” magazine, and also radio and television, but “MK” and personally Delovaya put her best efforts in promoting such artists of Russian rock-pop as Mummy Troll, Zemfira, Delfin and those who came after them and were recognized by millions”, underlines Marina Zenkina.<sup>194</sup>

Kapitolina Delovaya believes that “Megakhaus” helped people to open new horizons. It raised interest towards “other” music not on the level of 5 thousand readers of “Ptyuch” magazine but on the scale of a multimillion circulation of the most readable Russian newspaper. “Generally, “Megakhaus” became a breakthrough in mass consciousness but at some point the youth subculture stopped existing”, emphasizes Delovaya. Speaking about the future of music magazines, she says: “On my feelings, the same thing happened to newspapers and magazines as to record labels. The Internet practically destroyed them. Some of them did manage to keep their purely public image position. But the question of where to scoop information, especially about music, is answered by the majority of people. They all find it on the Internet and make their impressions of it. It isn't necessary to them to learn from musicologists what is good and what is bad. Thanks to the Internet, everyone is a musicologist and a critic nowadays. And in general, music journalism passed into the category of detailed comments to posts on Facebook.”

Alexander Gorbachev calls “Muzprosvet”, a book by Andrey Gorokhov, “the most surprising plot in the history of the Russian music journalism”.<sup>195</sup> A weekly half-hour program of the inhabitant of the city of Cologne Andrey Gorokhov (on initial calling — the artist) "Muzprosvet" airing for very few people on the station “German Wave” in the late nineties and the first half of 2000 generated a serious cult around itself. Using a very unusual, new to Russian speakers, language of criticism, witty and sarcastic Gorokhov tongue-lashed titans of the mainstream music like U2, Oasis or Björk but the main thing was that he wrote and spoke about music that no one told about any more: from the American vanguard composers of the 60s to the latest German minimal-techno, from the Indonesian ethnic music to Finnish "new strange", from AMM to Casiotone for the Painfully Alone.

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<sup>194</sup> Marina Zenkina “Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media.MK, Gasparyan and Delovaya”, November 9, 2012. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_mk/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_mk/)

<sup>195</sup> Alexander Gorbachev “Istorija rossijskih muzykalnyh media. Andrey Gorokhov and Muzprosvet”. December 14, 2012. [http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi\\_muzprosvet/](http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_muzprosvet/)

In the book "Muzprosvet" Gorokhov built a provocative, impudent but at the same time fascinating version of history of pop music of the last 50 years — the version in which Kraftwerk were put in the same position as The Beatles, and “jungle” was considered a more significant phenomenon than Britpop. It is interesting that though Gorokhov lived in Germany and his musical picture of the world was the result of it (it became German-centred), many bands and artists mentioned in "Muzprosvet" acquired a steady and rather wide audience in Russia. A few years ago Muzprosvet broadcast was closed, and now Gorokhov practically doesn't write anymore; the last edition of the book too was explicitly final — but anyway the main thing is already made: thanks to Gorokhov, thousands of people, many of which started their bands subsequently or became journalists, learned to listen to music in a new way and to think about it. "Muzprosvet" spread generally on the Internet, which was an elite thing back then, and formed a certain community of future critics. This book offered a version of the history of popular music, and it is nearly the only precedent of this kind in the Russian-speaking music journalism.

At the beginning of the 2000s there appeared amateur, not really websites but rather forums, which defined the music taste in Moscow substantially for the decade ahead. The first one that had some resonance in the public was Soup.aha.ru, the Internet zine, and the fan edition about favourite music. There was no editing; the spelling, syntax and punctuation also suffered – but what one could find was an uncontrollable passion of the authors for sounds about which they reported to the readers. It was a certain unity of people that create the first generation of Moscow indie music followers. Soup.aha.ru were recognized by the music industry and, for example, could get interviews with musicians, that only professional media could reach. The founders of Soup.aha.ru, Kirill Muhin and Alevey Voronin, see the main achievement of the website in its original articles that are quoted up until now. The main capital of the media was cultural and social – they were given promo materials, invited for interviews with musicians and managed to network with a great success.

Forum “Britboard” can be called the main shelter for the Russian anglophiles. It was remarkable in terms of bringing people interested in music together so a lot of them became friends or colleagues, others discovered a huge number of new music. According to its founder, Andrey Goldberg, it was sheer enthusiasm, as it didn't bring any money. He acquired some low-useful acquaintances in a couple of record companies. Evermusica.com was different as it didn't have such a socializing

component – it had neither forum, nor sections. You could find only reviews there written by professional journalists and fans. They also published the results of the year concerning new music. It exists up until now but it is not updated. The fans of the closed NME Russia magazine set up NMERussia.com, a self-made official site to the nonexistent edition. It contained mostly translated articles and a very popular forum. By 2007 its popularity decreased but it exists nowadays with some plans for redesign.

The author of Nepopsa.ru was journalist Sergey Stepanov, even though he did not make it. It appeared during an era of blossoming of a new wave of Russian music at the end of the 90s. Based entirely on a personal taste, it was simply a blog according to our contemporary understanding. Considering that a professional journalist created its content, it had reviews, reports, interviews and numerous ratings and lists of the best music to listen to as well as a forum where present active contributors of Afisha magazine got acquainted. It exists now in the form of a blog. Stepanov remarks that it was based solely on the enthusiasm. “The most interesting that happened with the forum was that the whole generation of new writers about music appeared there”, he says. “Many of them I took with myself to the editorial of “Play” magazine”.

Musicreporters.ru was a website started by the participants of Britboard. It was a full edition about music – one of the few on the Russian Internet, with news, articles, reviews, a forum. It became the Russian-speaking guide on indie bands, a platform for the publication of the first reviews. It was closed in 2006.

In addition to the websites there were also popular blogs and communities in LiveJournal, which at the beginning 2000s was the main platform not only for public but also for musical discussions. *i\_am\_rare* was one of the numerous communities where new music was uploaded and shared but later it evolved into a place for discussions with people not only exchanging MP3 files but also sharing their views on music. Founder of *i\_am\_rare*, whose nickname is Closelobster, explains the idea of the forum in the following way: “There are three types of music lovers: the first one is those for whom listening to music is enough; the second type also likes discussing it, and the third one only discusses but does not listen to. I wanted to create a resource where people with clear tastes would share music. It is a very cool filter in the world of millions of records. When the resource gained popularity, these objectives were

achieved — the group of active users was created, whose tastes I trusted and whose music I downloaded.”<sup>196</sup>

He suggests the reason for the current state of music magazines being in the change of generations: “In my opinion, music is consumed as fast food now. It ceased to be discussed. The fast Internet affected the perception of music — there is so much of it, and it is available to the extent that people ceased to listen to it thoughtfully. Old music lovers grew up finally and nowadays they spend their time on checking their car and taking care of their children. They don’t care about blogs. And the new generation of music lovers grew up on torrents and, respectively, didn't get used to show consideration for music at all.”

Kill\_yr\_idols was another popular forum on LiveJournal that could be considered the first Russian rating community. Its rules were very simple: make the list of 20 best albums of all times and the people already accepted as participants will decide whether you are worthy to be accepted in their circle or not. The negative verdict was rendered much more often than positive, and music snobs regularly enraged people of less music experience taking part in the community. As a result, it helped to form a connected group of future music critics. Nikolay Prorokov, founder of Kill\_yr\_idols, calls the forum “an interesting social experiment” and explains why it was closed: “All of us grew up and wouldn’t be able to tell anything bad about Franz Ferdinand. At the parties we could listen to whole albums; nowadays everyone just plays a selection of tracks in VKontakte.”

Download\_CD was the most popular community about music in the history of Russian-speaking LiveJournal, which at some point turned into a separate music social network with discussions and large amounts of all kinds of music to download. Alexey placebokid, founder of the forum, describes LiveJournal as a platform where there were many different people, whom it was easy to contact and work together writing music articles, creating simple blogs and websites, developing services and organizing festivals. First of all, it was a community that gathered talented people that wanted to realize a certain utopia rather than a service. Alexey underlines that at some point download\_cd became a powerful information channel. He says: “Possibly, all of us simply appeared to be on the same wavelength. We didn't think to earn money; dcd

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<sup>196</sup> Nikita Velichko “Istorija rossijskich muzykalnyh media. I\_am\_rare, Guru Ken, kill\_yr\_idols i drugie geroi LiveJournal”. November 1 2013.

acted first of all as a tool of a cultural exchange. Nowadays there are a lot of such tools but there is another problem – it is difficult to choose”. He suggests gaining small communities where it is possible to trust friends’ music taste. Furthermore everything related to music will occur on Spotify and similar platforms.

The blog guruken on LiveJournal stood out in terms of its topic – its founder, music critic Vadim Ponomarev, focused only on Russian mainstream music. He explains his choice with the fact that no one in Russian music journalism covered Russian show business on the Internet. “I always wrote only on professional subjects in my blog. It was an absolutely natural to music media environment, where a huge number of colleagues and admirers of music gathered. I shared links to the materials, argued on the quality of this or that album – first of all it was a very good discussion platform. Now, unfortunately, the audience interesting to me, admirers of artists who learned something from blogs of musical journalists, practically disappeared. We work for fans – it is our soil; and the public which loves, for example, A-studio band, can follow their Twitter now and receive exhaustive information.” Ponomarev argues that the first generation of Russian music journalists were never interested in mainstream artists in Russia – they preferred to cover foreign music that quite few people in Russia would listen to. It resulted in the fact that there are no professional reviews on the music of top Russian artists. He says: “It is an absolutely ridiculous situation when, being guided by own tastes, journalists impose to the Russian reader some other cultural paradigm, as a rule, connected with foreign bans. I am very glad that now it is already irrelevant, and magazines which ignored Russian artists were naturally closed”.

The founder of another LiveJournal blog, artem\_r, Artem Rondarev doesn’t believe in the future of music magazines on this particular platform: “LiveJournal has certainly lost its popularity. Technical bugs, absolutely ugly support; the only thing that still keeps people there, besides conservative views, is that on Facebook comment branches are not available everywhere.” Evgeny Kozlov, found of ru\_music\_years, agrees with Rondarev that LiveJournal is not a popular channel anymore where people would gather in a community and learn about new music. There are a lot of other, more convenient alternatives, even though they might not provide their users with the similar feeling of unity.

Pondering over future forms of music media, Natalia Khlopaeva notes that today it is already not enough to bring tracks on two federal media channels to guarantee that it

will make the music project successful.<sup>197</sup> The most active audience – 12-30 years olds – surf the Internet, not those TV channels, and read very different, segmented platforms – thematic interactive portals, forums, blogs, social networks. Here the communication of the artist with his or her admirers becomes direct. The listener doesn't watch MTV any more but he or she needs help in search for new qualitative music. He or she doesn't want to spend time on watching thousands of video clips and listening to thousands of tracks of an unknown origin. With increase in number of low-quality records the need for help in selection will only grow.

Andrey Gorohov in his book “A hole covered with glossy magazines”<sup>198</sup> gives a very detailed description of the current and future state of music magazines. He says that in the 90s the face of music changed but also the independent journalism practically disappeared - in today's music magazines there is nothing that could be possibly called “critical opinion”. Gorohov is convinced that nowadays music magazines focus on goodwill texts and don't want to analyze anything – they don't differ much from glossy magazines. This similarity also became purely external: even a German intellectual and independent magazine SPEX has been publishing photos of fashionable clothes for many years. The survival of the music magazine depends directly on its advertisers; those who advertise new albums in the magazine and buy the space for this purpose are representatives of music industry who are not interested in support of the magazines criticizing their products. Music journalism has become extremely “politically correct” that might be explained also by the alternation of generations of music journalists.

In the second half of the 90s music magazines started being created by a new generation, not by those anymore whose tastes and views were formed in the early 80s. Techno, club culture, ambient, trip hop demanded that new people would write about these phenomena, personally concerned about new tendencies, certain eyewitnesses. The idea that "new people write in a new way about new music for new listeners" is a marketing idea. Gorohov notes that there are no more attempts to go deeper into music, to understand it.

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<sup>197</sup> Natalja Hlopaeva. Novosti Marketinga // №5, May 2010 <http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/98681-muzykalnyy-rynok-nastupaya-na-babochku>

<sup>198</sup> Andrej Gorohov. Dyra prikrytaja gljancem. <http://mx.esc.ru/~assur/ocr/mushole/mushole.htm#part2>

Nowadays writing about music aims to demonstrate two things: 1) the proximity to the people, and 2) sincerity of the delight. Seeing the craft of a music journalist as “telling why this music seems great to me” is an “illness of growth”, according to Gorohov, - the majority of beginners write in this way. The demerit of it is that when such texts become the dominating style in music magazines, it gives the impression of some marketing strategy being behind it. Journalists of a new wave seem to think that a journalist is a fan who should highly praise the musicians. Gorohov explains that a journalist has to have his or her own ideas, own views, not only on music, but also on life. When a position of a journalist is not neutral, musicians’ speech starts sounding wittier than it might be in reality. The change of generations of journalists is perfectly visible in interviews with musicians, which raised the interest of the press in the 90s, e.g. Björk, Chemical Brothers, Marilyn Manson or Jimi Tenor. It seems as if out of a sudden they all have grown stupid and old and have nothing to tell. Gorohov points out that it is possible that there are simply no good journalists to ask them anything proper. Even though there are still enough competent music critics that dig their subject it does not solve the problem of dominance of biased, goodwill texts in music magazines.

Gorohov gives an interesting explanation to this trend in music journalism. He says that the reason for it is the emergence of diverse kinds of music: while there are plenty of experts in narrow music genres, journalists who would remember what occurred in music 5, 10 or 15 years ago have disappeared and there is basically no one to estimate the present events from the height of the music heritage. The situation is that new narrow experts praise new music too much, and when some outsider is not aware of it or criticizes it, he or she is considered a know-nothing even though he or she might know hundred of times more about music in general.

Apart from the change of generations, music industry has also had an impact on music magazines in terms of their format, internal structure and circulation. When there is some big event happening in music industry or a musician releases a new album or goes on a tour, all magazines write about it at the time of the event. On the other hand, as Gorohov, underlines, there is not a single word about this musician for months and years after it, and it has become a norm. He says that music magazines became similar to specialized scientific magazines on mathematics or astronomy - subjects from issue to issue do not develop, the problem raised in one article can remain without answer for years, analytical texts can not be found anywhere, everyone is devoted to some special



case. Nobody reads a magazine from the first page to the last page – everyone looks for familiar names.

As a solution of this problem, Gorohov suggests publishing any interesting text sent to the editorial: thematic reviews, analysis of a situation from this or that point of view, discussions, interviews, different thoughts on music occasions, old stories, new views on old phenomena. Music magazines speak about new music only, not about music in general – it's all about novelties. The one who reads magazines and especially writes for them very quickly catches the cult of everything new, fashionable, trendy. Therefore there are a lot of materials concerning today's CDs, and in a month the scene completely changes and there are new artists at whom journalists will guide focus – they will drop the started conversations and won't return to them in the nearest future. According to Gorohov, the only media where it is still possible to find various texts on old music are fanzines.

Another consequence of new trends in music journalism, especial its non-criticality, is that music has become intolerably bad in recent years. Music used to be one of elements of culture, a protest or a counterculture. And music journalism acted as an opposition to music industry, everything mainstream. Gorohov remarks that the idea of a conflict was vital for both music and its criticism. In the first half of the 90s the counterculture, which is traditionally connected with guitar rock, found itself in crisis. The underground rock reached MTV and lost its rebellious edge. In 1995 it was concluded that rock was dead - the environment feeding it disappeared as it stopped being a natural way of self-expression of a young person who doesn't fit in the society. Gorohov is convinced that everything that appeared after that was a pretentious pose with fake lyrics, pictures on the TV screen and discussions in music magazines. Music journalists moved away from social confrontation onto discussion of such an element of music as its sound.

However, new trends in music journalism do not only evolve around the topic of what to write about but also how to write about music. Russian music journalists follow in the footsteps of the Anglo-American music criticism that builds magazine articles as short stories. Gorohov pints out the following components of such articles: a couple of bright and paradoxical details, involvement of the author of the text in the action, sarcasm, some fragments of a direct speech, an unexpected conflict and final morals. He calls it “an independent genre of graceful pseudo-documentary literature” and says that

this genre has nothing to do with music critics but rather with “newspaper feuilletonists”.

Martin Busser, a German punk journalist, started a new discussion about the future format of music magazines and talked about the change of a paradigm of music journalism. He says that an absolutely new approach is necessary. Gorohov says that Busser’s views affected his opinion about music writings to a large extent. It is important to show music culture as a certain genealogical process paying attention to this or that concept of music phenomenon.

As a conclusion, Gorohov says that in the 90s music ceased to be discussed in terms of expression of disagreement with something, artists’ position about something. The identity of an author disappeared, and the words “sound” and “rhythm” started to be used excessively in music magazines. As the hopes on the victorious movement of electronics crashed and the vast majority of musical critics lost interest in it, they started to write that there is nothing going on in music. The conceptual base was lost. If there is no global conflict, opposition, dissatisfaction, scale of values, reference point, and any criticism becomes fictitious and critical opinions disappear. According to Gorohov, the only possible format of music journalism is analysis, which would operate the fictitious conflicts; music journalists should speak about the conflict between the new and the old. A new album is not interesting to write about because we have already heard something similar before. Among other conflicts there could be the conflict between imitators and real musicians, live and recorded music, analogue and digital, overloaded with details and simple, songs and tracks, etc. The inventive usage of these conflicts and creation of new conflicts will make it possible to continue writing about music in a true music criticism’s way.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter returns to the two main research questions with answers based on the results discussed in the previous chapters. It then concludes with suggestions for further study. *Figure 5* summarizes the main findings of the research.

### 7.1. Final diagnosis: the reasons for an unsuccessful nature of Russian music magazines

After examining the history of Russian music magazines, it is possible to see the efficient cause of their problematic state. Seven out of nine magazines under the research were closed. What they all had in common was an unlimited freedom – they could write whatever and however they only wanted. The population had no time for music, and the music journalism was kept alive only thanks to the enthusiasts, either professional or amateur ones. The 2000s brought certain economical restraints resulting in only two survivals on the market: *Rolling Stone* and *Rovesnik*.

*Rolling Stone* and *NME* were a copy of their American and British forbears and focused mostly on the rock music of English-speaking countries. *Ptyuch* was club music scene oriented. *Fuzz* and *Play* covered a vast range of music genres. *OM* was a youth magazine that wrote about life, fashion and issues interesting to young people. In *KontrKultura* you could read about anything of an ontological character related to a particular subculture and generation. *Rockmusic.ru* served the interests and needs of the subculture of the Internet era, and *Rovesnik* focused on teenagers.

When studying the current factors and elements of the functioning of music magazines, in other words, the material cause of the problem under investigation, one of the obvious conclusions could be that music magazines have become part of a general magazine culture and evolved from covering music alone toward being a certain guide to lifestyle. They have been torn between being complex socio-professional organizations and commercial enterprises with distinct goals and norms. The success of a music magazine directly depends on the music scene it covers, which is in turn a part of youth subculture, and reflects the style, tastes, and values of a particular generation. The music scene in this case includes musicians, promoters and fans, who collectively share a common interest for a particular genre of music or musical taste and who share a certain subcultural capital that can be constructed through musical taste, fashion, looks and recommendations of its members. Music journalists and DJs are considered masters

of the scene, as they possess high level of subcultural capital and also define and create it.

Music blogs have become an element of the functioning of Russian music magazines, as they possess a great amount of subcultural capital, focusing on niche contexts (genre-based music scene, local scenes). They have developed into a prominent source of information that filters through the excess of music availability and fragmentation of interests. Due to this capital, they have a high status with the music scene and benefit from such advantages as guest lists, invitations to parties, and access to an artist. Gaining contacts with bands and music professionals, bloggers often start to consider their writings as a step to turn it into a career in music industry and become professionals themselves. They collaborate with record labels and PR agencies, increasing their popularity in the local scene through gaining validation in the music industry. Music blogs have become so influential to a point that they have been considered as the new cultural gatekeepers.

This study attempted to reveal the mental patterns and maps of Russian music journalists involved in the functioning of music magazines. As a result of the content analysis of the expert interviews, the mental maps of Rolling Stone editors, for example, show their negative attitude towards Russian pop music scene that they tried to mock in their articles. In order to possess the right status in the music magazines' scene, one is supposed to like credible bands, show distinctive personal taste and differentiate between the true artist and the poseur. One of the main currencies of the journalist on the weekly music press is the esteem of peers in the profession. Thus, the capital in the field of music journalism is the knowledge about music with which you also gain the respect in the profession. The symbolic capital of music media field includes authority, influence and public attention. Some journalists can have less influence not because they lack cultural, economic, or social capital, but for the reason of being in the field for less time than others.

If we look at the professional background of Russian journalists, we will notice that more than half of them have worked in other fields of practice before they entered journalism. The majority of those who switched professions worked as teachers in schools and universities prior to the change. There is a correlation between the age and professional background: the younger journalists are more experienced and qualify specifically in the area of journalism. Most of contemporary music journalists become

music critics due to a connection with music (they might be musicians, students of music, scholars, or fans). Most study music criticism by reading all the publications available to them. However, if we look at the overall picture, an average Russian critic nowadays is a well-educated male in his 30s with about 10 years' experience covering music, and his taste does not change much with time passing by.

With the arrival of the Internet music journalism as a field of practice has become even more complicated. Music blogs have been added to the general landscape of music media and have created new players – music bloggers. On the other hand, those journalists who earn money with writing about music do not consider them professionals. In general, they tend to see themselves as part of the larger professional category of journalists, lay claim to arts exceptionalism and consider their work as improving public appreciation of music by discovering and promoting new talents. They even prefer to describe themselves not as journalists but rather as writers, reviewers, and music critics.

There are enough talented bloggers and journalists writing about new music on the Internet. The habitus of the field reveals such a problem as a lack of young journalist that can produce fresh ideas and express their views in an original way. Apart from that, music journalists enjoyed certain privileges in the past, a position of elitism as he or she had an access to the first-hand information about music. Currently, all the information and music sources are available for everyone immediately on the Internet. The loss of this privilege has a positive influence on the music journalism field however, for the reason that it makes it harder for those without a proper habitus to enter the field.

What attracts music journalists in the field (the *illusio*) is the opportunity to create new music idols and, consequently, to become stars themselves in the reflected glory. Another type of the *illusio* is the opportunity for self-education, communication with people, discovery of a great amount of new exciting things and a circle of like-minded people. In addition, they want to write about what they like and are interested in.

When it comes to the main aims of existence of Russian music magazines, monitoring the latest trends in modern youth music and discovering new local talents and promote them through their pages seem to be the most prominent ones. They help to analyse and comprehend music against the general background of contemporary culture. They do not simply tell their readers about music – they publish articles and commercials, contribute into developing genres and styles of music, and also build music audiences

(future mass market consumers). Therefore, the task of a music journalist is to analyse music information, turn it into an interesting article about a person, and his or her exciting life or look at a certain phenomenon from such an angle that it would become interesting. Not everyone can cover interesting stories in an interesting way but there is a strong need for this.

Even though the role of music critics is clearly to navigate through music, follow music news, filter it and give hints about music and rank it, on the other hand we are living in an age when the audience is happy to express its opinions without any assistance from the press. Do we really need professional critics in the times when anyone can make music and anyone with the Internet connection can be a music critic? To add to this, music has become a tool for psychological boosting. Even those who appreciate it see it as something extra in their life, while the listeners of previous generations chose music to anything else in their lives.

After the examination of the interrelations between such fields as music magazines, music scene, music industry and publishing industry, it becomes clear that music scene and music magazines must be autonomous from the commercial music industry. Another interesting observation is that music magazines experience more pressure from the side of publishing industry than music one. The influence of corporate publishing strategy on the editorial content and the market pitch of music magazines has increased dramatically and caused the closure of Russian music magazines.

Major publishers force editors to broaden their activities into lifestyle journalism aiming to boost readership and attract new advertising revenues. The strategy is known as branding or brand-extensions. The implementation of the branding strategy resulted in tensions between individual goals and collective goals as music magazines seek to respond to both cultural and commercial demands. Editors are under pressure to treat their publication as a part of a carefully structured corporate portfolio rather than stand-alone magazines. They have to focus more on maximizing sales and advertising opportunities. This bureaucratic relationship between editors and publishers leads to power domination of the latter.

As far as music industry is concerned, music press is not necessarily integrated into the music industry even though music periodicals help the music business to sell artists, styles, and concerts, CDs. The music and media industries need one another and need to sell artists and their products. PR attempts of the music industry are never guaranteed

successful outcomes because it cannot control all factors and forces. The market success of music stars is temporal and so is their publicists' lobbying power.

## **7.2. Remedies: how to make music magazines successful in Russia**

In this part of the study the remedies for an unsuccessful nature of Russian music magazines are considered. As it was stated in the previous chapter, music magazines depend on the subculture. The biggest music subculture in Russia is that of Russian rock music. Would it be possible to target it with analytical materials and profound stories about their idols? Unfortunately, no, as the source of the idols has run low, and the subculture has analysed them well enough already (not only through magazine articles but also strongly personal lyrics of Russian rock songs). In addition to this, Russian music audience reading serious analytical articles is not ready to pay for them. They prefer to discover music by themselves, then to form their own opinion about it and only after that they can turn to other sources.

Nonetheless, the audience of a music magazine is its economic capital for the reason that the more unique and bigger it is, the easier it is to attract advertisers and hereby to make profit. By all means a magazine should be able to build the audience around itself. The subcultural capital is essential for music magazines where through they serve the actual needs of their audience that treats the magazines as artefacts and convenient links to their cultural world. Music still plays a big role in self-definition. The genres of music associated with rejection and anti-mainstream are not a form of subcultural capital anymore. The outsider culture is long in the past, which means that Russian music magazines should focus on the features of the current youth culture instead. The idea of a conflict was vital for both music and its criticism but then Russian music journalists moved away from social confrontation onto discussion of such an element of music as its sound.

Russian music magazines should avoid second-guessing the taste of the reader. The youth music dominates the scene and spreads values of the youth culture that journalists should be aware of in order to cover the music process efficiently. Nonetheless, there are other types of music as well (adults, kids, older generation, etc.) that should be reflected by music journalists in the media. Progressing social stratification in post-Soviet Russia should not be neglected either: there are different ways to access music culture (expensive and affordable concerts, shows, TV programmes on national and

cable channels, etc.) that form different types of information addressees and their qualities. And finally, for a country like Russia, with many nations and religions representing its culture, it is impossible to ignore the national and religious parameter of music journalism audience (ethnic music traditions, conditions, habits, etc.). Different audiences evaluate music in different ways and have certain attitudes towards, genres and performers, for example. Social status and education influence the knowledge of the audience about music styles, which in turn forms and impacts the taste and preferences of either light or serious music. The generations of listeners change too fast in youth subcultures, to which this genre of music belongs.

It is important to note that music magazines in Russia are caught in the situation right now that there are no actual musical breakthroughs and no musical revolutions. Russian music scene is weak and undeveloped with ineffective social lift in music industry when you could rise to fame overnight. The way out could be to focus on some local bands and place stake on them. In return, they will create a certain field around themselves that attracts other bands. In the future the circle of paid music critics writing about good music including local one should expand from 5 people to 40 and more. Music magazines should also help create a professional infrastructure that is lacked in Russia at the moment and serve as a convenient tool for communication between promoters and musicians not only in Moscow but also in the whole country.

Music magazines in Russia should not limit themselves with only publishing work. It is necessary to arrange concerts, award ceremonies, parties, festivals, lectures, workshops, to do the grass-roots work actively. In this way magazines will become be much more than just magazines – they will turn into facilitators of communities. From this perspective the mission of music magazines should be to create great texts that will be shared and actively discussed and, first of all, to inform the readers about music premiers. The team behind the magazine must be highly enthusiastic and able to communicate their thoughts clearly and create unique content.

The future of music magazines in Russia is closely connected with the Internet, therefore, the format of a magazine will change significantly. There will be no difference between an interesting blog and big official media. The magazine should be original, easy to read, interesting, and with excellent interviews. A print magazine should be a toy, it should simply amuse because one can find information anywhere. It should be “timeless values”. It means that they should become part of an everyday life



landscape. Such a position guarantees the survival on the market but it makes it difficult for the titles to react efficiently to the slow decrease of sales. “Timeless values” magazines should reinvent themselves from time to time to succeed on the market. New media are not likely to drive music critics to extinction. On the contrary, the Internet might create greater demand for music criticism. New media will serve to develop another generation of critics. The key element to success is the editorial creating interesting content, moderating communication in social media, taking into consideration the interests of shareholders, supporting the unity and diversity of different distribution platforms, and the periodicals themselves will serve as a display window of their own websites.

Nonetheless, an abstract print edition as a primary source will always be more powerful than an abstract website. The basic status of journalism will be kept by mass media that will work on different platforms – they will use mighty opportunities of the Internet and will keep paper (or radio) versions as well. The print brand will be a facade, the base and a justification for magnificent technical capabilities of the electronic version. Editors will manage not only journalists but also bloggers. The blogosphere has been training all this time to delegate its best representatives to future mass media. Synthesis of journalists and bloggers is important to give a full picture. Fragmentation of information is too big already; someone has to collect and distinguish the main things. The “viral editor” uplifting the most interesting bloggers to the top will turn into HR Department for the media editor. The mass media editor will become the shepherd of bloggers. The editor should have a small staff of journalists and a huge base of bloggers.

### **7.3. Limitations and suggestions**

This concluding section identifies the limitations of the present study and advances some suggestions for future investigations.

First of all, the interviews analysed might appear not consistent enough in terms of expert opinions. However, they contain all the necessary information I would have requested from the same experts if I conducted the interviews by myself. In addition to that, I might have had less access to these experts and the chances to have received a refusal to get interviewed and answer the same questions that have been already asked (with publications of the interviews being publicly available) are significantly high.

Apart from that, the interviews were part of the wave of the discussion in the concerned media that has created a rubric “The history of Russian music media” that is very likely

to turn into a book. The future analysis might include not only music magazines but other types of Russian music magazines as well, such as radio and TV. Finally, it is also possible to use a more contemporary theory of causes than Aristotle's classification of causes.

Finally, the theoretical framework used in this study, can be utilised for any other niche media in order to detect the elements in their functioning that damage their nature and to come up with possible solutions of the current situation.



Figure 5. The future of Russian music magazines

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## Appendix 2

	Name	Occupation	Source of the interview
1	Denis Boyarinov	<i>Music columnist, Editor at OpenSpace.ru, “Dark Horse” music festival organizer, “Red Book” programme host at the radio “FollowMe”</i>	<a href="http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103977-denis-boyarinov">http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103977-denis-boyarinov</a>
2	Alexander Gorbachev	<i>Former editor-in-chief in “Afisha” magazine, music label handler, music programme coordinator</i>	<a href="http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/102789-buduschee-media">http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/102789-buduschee-media</a>
3	Alexander Kondukov	<i>Editor-in-chief in “Rolling Stone” magazine from 2009</i>	<a href="http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103109-media">http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103109-media</a>  <a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/</a>
4	Vlad Azarov	<i>Journalist, music columnist, “Znaki.fm” project founder</i>	<a href="http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103131-media-2010-08-19">http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/103131-media-2010-08-19</a>
5	Artemy Troitsky	<i>Music critic, concert promoter, journalist, broadcaster, academic</i>	<a href="http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/67241-artemiy-troitskiy-2009-06-19">http://www.lookatme.ru/flow/posts/music-radar/67241-artemiy-troitskiy-2009-06-19</a>
6	Sergey Efremenko	<i>Editor-in-chief in “Rolling Stone” magazine (2004-2007)</i>	<a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/</a>
7	Boris Akimov	<i>Deputy chief editor in “Rolling Stone” magazine (2004-2007)</i>	<a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/</a>
8	Pavel Grinshpun	<i>Editor in “Rolling Stone” magazine (2004-2006)</i>	<a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/</a>
9	Evgeny Levkovich	<i>Editor in “Rolling Stone” magazine from 2004</i>	<a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/muzsmi_rs/</a>
10	Ruslan Shebukov	<i>Editor-in-chief in NME (2001-2003)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/</a>
11	Ira Filippova	<i>Deputy chief editor in NME (2001-2003)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/</a>
12	Anya Dorodeiko	<i>Correspondent in NME (2001-2003)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/</a>
13	Vlad Buhantsev	<i>Correspondent in NME (2002-2003)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_nme/</a>
14	Igor Shulinsky	<i>Editor-in-chief in “PTYUCH” magazine (1994-2003)</i>	“History of Russian Media” + <a href="http://www.afisha.ru/article/mediahistory/page14/">http://www.afisha.ru/article/mediahistory/page14/</a>
15	Alexander Dolgov	<i>Founder, Editor-in-chief in “FUZZ” magazine (1992-2009)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/</a>

16	Leonid Novikov	<i>Correspondent, Deputy chief editor in "FUZZ" magazine (1992-2004)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/</a>
17	Ekaterina Borisova	<i>Contributor, editor in "FUZZ" magazine (1994-2009)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/fuzz/</a>
18	Andrej Buharin	<i>Editor in "OM" magazine (1995-2004)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_om/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_om/</a>
19	Vsevolod Baronin	<i>Contributor in "Play" magazine (2001-2008)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/</a>
20	Artem Rondarev	<i>Contributor in "Play" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/</a>
21	Anton Oboznij	<i>Editor in "Play" magazine (2002-2005)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/</a>
22	Miloslav Chemodanov	<i>Editor in "Play" magazine (2003-2006)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/</a>
23	Sergey Gurjev	<i>Contributor, Editor in "KontrKultura" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/</a>
24	Alexander Volkov	<i>Editor, Designer in "KontrKultura" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/</a>
25	Alexander Kushnir	<i>Distributor, PR in "KontrKultura" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/</a>
26	Alexey Koblov	<i>Contributor in "KontrKultura" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/kontrkultura-glavnyy-zhurnal-roksamizdata/</a>
27	Grigory Feldman	<i>Editor-in-chief in "Rockmusic.ru" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/</a>
28	Stepan Maximov	<i>Contributor in "Rockmusic.ru" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/</a>
29	Denis Alexeev	<i>Contributor in "Rockmusic.ru" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/</a>
30	Gleb Lisichkin	<i>Editor in "Rockmusic.ru" magazine (2002-2004)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/</a> <a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_play/</a>
31	Dmitry Spirin	<i>Contributor in "Rockmusic.ru" magazine</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rockmusicru/</a>
32	Ilya Legostaev	<i>TV host in "Press Tribe" programme (1995-1998, 2009-2010)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/</a>
33	Sergey Sosedov	<i>Journalist, participant in the programme "Press Tribe" (1995-1998)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/</a>

34	Otar Kushanashvili	<i>Journalist, participant in the programme "Press Tribe" (1995-1998)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/teleperedacha-akuly-pera/</a>
35	Closelobster	<i>Founder of <b>i_am_rare</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
36	Nikolay Prorokov	<i>Founder of <b>kill_yr_idols</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
37	Oleg Sobolev	<i>Contributor in <b>kill_yr_idols</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
38	Alexey placebokid	<i>Founder of <b>download_cd</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
39	Vadim Ponomarev	<i>Music critic, Founder of <b>guruken</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
40	Artem Rondarev	<i>Founder of <b>artem_r</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
41	Evgeny Kozlov	<i>Founder of <b>ru_music_years</b> group on LiveJournal</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/iamrare-guru-ken-killiridols-i-drugie-fenomeny-muzykalnogo-zhzh/</a>
42	Kirill Muhin	<i>Founder of <b>soup.aha.ru</b> website (1999-2002)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
43	Alexey Voronin	<i>Founder of <b>soup.aha.ru</b> website (1999-2002)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
44	Andrey Goldberg	<i>Founder of <b>britboard.ru</b> forum</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
45	Igor Shakun	<i>Founder of <b>evermusica.com</b> website</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
46	Olga Karpova	<i>Editor-in-chief at <b>Musical-Express.ru</b> (2003-up to now)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
47	Sergey Stepanov	<i>Founder of <b>nepopsa.ru</b> website</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
48	Oleg Puchko	<i>Founder of <b>musicreporters.ru</b> website</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmiweb/</a>
49	Artur Gasparyan	<i>Editor of "Sound path" in MK newspaper (1987 – up to now)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi/mk/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi/mk/</a>
50	Kapitolina Delovaja	<i>Editor of "Megahouse" (1990-2006)</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi/mk/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi/mk/</a>

51	Andrey Gorohov	<i>The author of MuzProsvet</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_muzprosvet/">http://volna.afisha.ru/archive/muzsmi_muzprosvet/</a>
52	Igor Chernishkov	<i>Editor-in-Chief, Owner of the publishing house "Rovesnik", since 1988</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/</a>
53	Konstantin Ishyenko	<i>Editor in "Rovesnik", since 1990</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/</a>
54	Ilya Zinin	<i>Editor in "Rovesnik", 2006-2007</i>	<a href="http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/">http://volna.afisha.ru/context/rovesnik/</a>