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JOURNALISM: THE THIRD HABITAT

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Abstract

The relevance of the article is predetermined by qualitative shifts in the information environment of society, where social and technological changes in its functioning had decisive influence on the emergence of a new, network journalistic habitat – the third one –after the newspaper and magazine habitat and the broadcast (radio and television) habitat. The real-time feedback to the journalist from the audience was the decisive and ongoing factor in the emergence of the third habitat. The idea of the relevant problem has predetermined the study of the past scientific works on the theory of journalism by Russian and foreign scientists (B. Misonzhnikov, E. Prokhorov, S. Korkonosenko, V. Egorov, G. Maletzke, and others). The issues of the journalism functioning have been studied in relation to the newspaper and magazine habitat and to the broadcast habitat in their works. Much attention has been paid to the modern research on the topic by M. Castells, D. McQuail, and J. Keane about the connection between the transformations of society in general and its media space.

Keywords

Journalism – Network environment – Mass communication – Dispersed audience

Introduction

This article is written in the midst (?) of the coronavirus pandemic. Across the world, in cities and towns, people are locked down in their homes; companies, institutes, and universities switch to remote interaction in work and education; newspapers took time out. However, television and radio continue to function, as well as the Internet, of course, which is full of true and false messages, rumors, emotions, and judgments of close and distant neighbors, colleagues, and interlocutors from interest groups. A characteristic touch to the big picture is that the authors of the article found themselves disconnected from the Internet on one of these days: either the servers failed to withstand the peak loads of the quarantine, or it was a common equipment breakdown.

It happened that two situations, the global and the purely local ones, combined, and clearly demonstrated a really changed world in their overlay: very vulnerable to both the pathogen virus invisible to the eye and to the network communication technology. "The new era," T. Eriksen writes, "creates new forms of *vulnerability:* globally integrated computer networks imply that anything from computer viruses to designer drugs, lethal weapons, and destructive thoughts flows more freely than ever before, bifurcates, and results in incalculable effects through myriad butterfly effects"[1]. Of course, the "butterfly flapped its wings" not today and even yesterday, people just flow in the time they live in and do not notice its large and small transformations. However, the pandemic occurred, and people are not waited for at work, they look out of the window at the urban landscape and understand that the new landscape of today is no longer adequate to the yesterday's one – they have to get along with it and understand it. The transformed world is waiting for a fresh nonstandard word to explain it, as well as each link in the world mosaic, without forgetting the warning of Johan Huizinga: "it can be assumed that the phenomena that give us a lot of trouble may be called superficial or transient in the final judgment about our era, which is still impossible"[2]. The authors believe that the time has come to analyze the changes in the journalism functioning in the era of the technological revolution, which has modified the information sector of the 21st century. Both transformations change the habitat of journalism, and this already transformed habitat sets the stage for the transformation of journalism itself.

The authors single out two most important levels in the study of journalism and its functioning habitats today: 1) systemic (social structure of society, corresponding parameters and target settings of journalism and the mass media); and 2) professional and creative (formation of attitudes, norms, and algorithms for creating journalistic works for different mass media channels).

Analysis of a particular habitat of journalism is objectively connected with the mentioned levels, i.e., the conditions for its transformation from an author's idea into an accessible and necessary work for an audience. In this regard, it must be remembered that an efficient solution to the problems of educating future creative workers in the mass media is determined by the target setting where the current student will work: in a newspaper, on television, or in an online medium. The functioning environments of journalism have historically been established as the newspaper and magazine, and the broadcasting (radio and television) ones. Up to a certain time, the authors correlated them with the second level of interpretation of the journalism phenomenon in their theoretical constructions. However, the emergence of the Internet, another space journalism finds its distribution in, has changed

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[1] Th. H. Eriksen, Vremya v epokhu informatsyi (Moscow: Ves Mir Publishing House, 2003).
[2] J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens. In the Shadow of Tomorrow (Moscow: AST Publishing House. 2004).

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the picture. More precisely, this picture has been changed by one factor inherent in the network environment – the active feedback to the journalist from their audience in real time. As an objective condition for the functioning of all mass media, feedback has always been present on a certain scale, but it became real-time for the first time, which led to the interpenetration of all actors in information relations into the communicative text, including the mass media audience as part of the mass community. The network space has acquired the status of universality in the presentation of the journalism habitat, which was especially dynamic under the influence of social and technological factors. The authors call it *the third habitat of journalism.*

Concept headings

Theoretical developments related to the journalism functioning conditions appeared as they became permanent in social practice, and today they account for many thousands of works by mass media theorists and practitioners. First of all, it is necessary to single out a body of works on *how* journalism masters or should master a certain professional habitat and *what* it encounters (L. Varustin, M. Cherepakhov, N. Kostomarov, N. Valgina, V. Egorov, V. Smirnov, S. Muratov, A. Tertychnyi). The studies of journalism theorists who have outlined the general laws of its functioning in the sociopolitical environment are no less important (A. Berezhnoy, A. Mendeleev, V. Gorokhov, E. Prokhorov, L. Svitich, S. Korkonosenko, S. Shaikhitdinova, V. Mansurova). Philosophers, sociologists, and cultural studies scholars (B. Grushin, V. Vilchek, Yu. Lotman, S. Kara-Murza, A. Sekatsky), including those outside Russia (M. Parenti, B. Bagdikyan, P. Bourdieu, M. McLuhan) constantly address the importance of journalism and the media in society; the works of M. Castells on the functioning of mass media in the network environment also attract attention. In general, "the researchers have accumulated impressive philosophical, historical, textual, and precise descriptive material over several centuries," writes B. Misonzhnikov, highlighting the print media that he analyzes "as a holistic organization [of texts]... as symbolic, in particular, written, and iconic, presented in the form of illustrations, ornaments, geometric shapes, etc. All of them have a common function – they transmit visual information to the recipient, the perception of which gives rise to ideas and feelings that influence the individual's behavior and decision-making"[3]. The phenomenon of the information transformation in the conditions of constant contact of the intellectual fields of a journalist and their audience was distinguished through the perception in theoretical constructions.

The analysis of such contact (for example, the mass media and their audience) in sociology is made within the boundaries of the social management paradigm with consideration of the feedback function. However, such constructions do not go beyond institutional approaches. As a result, the original concept of a dispersed audience developed by Gerhard Maletzke half a century ago fell out of sight. He stated that there was no clear structure in the dispersed public (it was heterogeneous), no organization, no distribution of roles, and no traditions, as in the primary group. The recipients are never isolated individuals; they are always in numerous social relationships with the outside world. Addressing the message, they become members of the dispersed public[4]. The concept was developed by Maletzke in the years when the technological revolution in the information sector was a distant prospect and there was no Internet, and therefore the role of the active

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[3] B. Ya. Misonzhnikov, Fenomenologiya teksta (sootnosheniye soderzhatelnykh i formalnykh struktur pechatnogo izdaniya) (Saint Petersburg: Publishing house of the St. Petersburg University, 2001).
[4] E. V. Akhmadulin, Modelirovaniye protsessov massovoy kommunikatsii. Rostov-on-Don: The Southern Federal University. Available at: http://ahmadulin.hop.ru/index.htm

interpenetration of media subjects, including journalists and media audience, did not look like specifics of the network space. Today it is understood that the state of dispersion on the Internet creates a new habitat for journalism, thereby awakening interest in the concept of G. Maletzke again.

Maximum attention has been paid recently to genres of publications in the textbooks used in the professional education system of journalists. Methods and techniques for a journalistic work were revealed by disclosing the genre features of essays, correspondence, articles, and reports, and the medium was described into which the work was received: a newspaper page or a television program with its own specific audience. A textbook for future journalists states the following: "The last circumstance is extremely important because given the specifics, many of the significant *parameters of the work* are set: the view by the way of communication; volume; form; and stylistics"[5]. The parameters of the work vary depending on the type of media: newspaper, magazine, television, radio, and the Internet publication.

In the context of the issues raised by the authors, attention should be paid to the peculiar approach to the separation of the journalism habitats, indicated in the textbook of the British professor Denis McQuail. He discussed the diversification in journalism in the modern times, when the differences in content, places of publication, and social affiliation "were complemented with another significant dimension determined by differences in the means of the information transfer and technology"[6]. As such, the pedagogical and scientific practice in accordance with the real mass media practice differentiates the functioning environment of a journalistic work; each of them reveals its own methods and techniques of interaction with society. This is the main purpose of journalism because "it is impossible to have a real public space for discussion and opportunities for the participation of a large number of citizens in important general civil self-administration processes in the modern conditions of mass societies" without it [12, p. 15]. This position is followed by the idea of the relevance of opening new research fields to study the conditions for the journalism functioning.

A trend that a number of researchers refer to as the westernization of mass media research is especially worth mentioning. Despite the fact that westernization as a scientific bias and cultural isolation of the Western scientific schools is often criticized, it must be noted that the Western model still dominates in journalism and mass media studies, and therefore its characteristic features should be briefly described.

The predictable interest in the digital environment of journalism must be noted, in the first place. The Google Scholar service produces 796 results for "digital journalism" among works from 2005 to 2010, 3,790 results among works from 2010 to 2015, and 6,820 results among works from 2015 to 2018[7].

Steen Steensen and Laura Ahva, who had analyzed more than 9,000 words and 195 abstracts in the articles in two authoritative media research publications, "Journalism – Theory, Practice and Criticism" and "Journalism Studies"[8], noted that two main disciplinary

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[5] S. G. Korkonosenko, Osnovy zhurnalistskoy deyatelnosti (Moscow: Uright Publishing House. 2013).
[6] D. McQuail, Zhurnalistika I obshchestvo (Moscow: MediaMir; Faculty of Journalism at the Lomonosov Moscow State University, 2013).
[7] S. Steensen; L. A. Grøndahl; H. Y. Benestad y F. B. Kjos, "What Does Digital Journalism Studies Look Like?", Digital Journalism Vol: 7 num 3 (2019): 322.
[8] S. Steensen y L. Ahva, "Theories of journalism in a digital age: An exploration and introduction", Journalism Practice Vol: 9 num 1 (2015): 1–18.

approaches dominated in the study of journalism: political and sociological ones. Steensen and Ahva also drew attention to the increase in the number of theoretical approaches to the study of journalism due to new technologies and economic models, to the increase in the number of studies that raised issues of ethics and objectivity in journalism, and to the increase in the share of theoretical studies, despite the predominance of empirical-oriented works[9].

A recent study by a group of authors, which, in addition to Steensen, included Anna Grøndahl Larsen, Yngve Benestad Hågvar, and Birgitte Kjos Fonn, was a good addition to the work of Steensen and Ahva. The team of authors studied the abstracts of articles, lists of references, and keywords from the journal "Digital Journalism" from its launch in 2013 to 2018. The keywords were divided by thematic clusters. The most popular clusters were "Technologies" (the most common keywords from this cluster were "digital", "data", "algorithm", etc.) and "Platform" (the keywords were "social media", "online", "mobile", "multimedia", etc.). The following clusters were less popular: "Audience" (keywords were "audience", "citizen", "participation", etc.), "Methodology" (keywords were "content analysis", "comparative", "survey", etc.), and "Theory" (keywords were "gatekeeper", "agenda", "discourse"). "Professionalism" (keywords were "professionalism", "norms", "values", "roles") was one of the least popular clusters[10]. The most cited work was "Participatory Journalism" by Jane Singer (40 citations), followed by "Amateur Images and Global News" by Kari Andén-Papadopoulos and Mervi Pantti, which had 15 less citations[11].

Discussion

Journalism is an integral part of the world order, and it therefore changes along with it. This process may be not synchronous but adequate to the main trends of social time. As the subject changes, its understanding should also change or deepen. Philosophers argue that "today, in the conditions of the total globalization and the continuous transformation of all aspects of social life, there is an increasing need to develop new views on the social space such as time"[12], for which the changes in journalism are secondary, while the transformations of its habitat are primary. "By changing the deep structures of society, we also change people"[13] – this true remark of the cultural studies scholar and futurologist Alvin Toffler directly relates to the transformation of media in general and journalism in particular because journalism is primarily people whose worldview can change as the conditions of social interaction are restructured.

In the course of developing a definition for the functioning environment of journalism, its multifaceted nature is revealed, which leads to multiplicity of ideas about certain attributes of this environment. In other words, it depends on the analyst's approach to the subject of study: professional journalism, political, economic, geographical, ethnosocial, axiological, etc. All of them are generated by the same system of the journalism and media functioning, and therefore, they are interconnected. Many of them have long been under the scrutiny of theorists of journalism and mass media. Due to this, it is advisable to pay attention to the ones that have just entered the field of vision of the scientists.

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[9] S. Steensen y L. Ahva, "Theories of journalism in a digital age…

[10] S. Steensen; L. A. Grøndahl; H. Y. Benestad y F. B. Kjos, "What Does Digital Journalism…

[11] S. Steensen; L. A. Grøndahl; H. Y. Benestad y F. B. Kjos, "What Does Digital Journalism…

[12] Kh. G. Tkhagapsoev, "Interpretatsiya sotsialnogo prostranstva i vremeni v kontekste tsivilizatsionnykh protsessov", Polis. Political Studies Vol: 2 (2015).

[13] A. Toffler, The Third Wave (Moscow: AST Publishing House, 2002).

The pandemic on the planet is a new tragic situation, after which nothing will be the same, as written in newspapers[14]. The intuitive insight of journalists allows the authors both to confirm the long-established generalizing role of the social environment in the journalism and media functioning and to take advantage of the moment to take a different look at the current state of affairs. This is exactly what the well-known British political scientist calls for: John Keane claims today that "what is needed are bold new probes, fresh-minded perspectives, 'wild' concepts that enable different and meaningful ways of seeing things, more discriminating methods of recognizing the novelties of our times"[15].

No matter what old and new theories of journalism are considered, they still remain within the framework of a common paradigm for them that goes back to the concept of institutionalism in one way or another, which is reduced to highlighting a special part of the structure of society – the institution of journalism. Depending on the specific theory, the selected area is loaded with certain methods of establishing interaction with other institutions. As such, there is a focus on the study of the journalism-society dichotomy in any theories. Although J. Keane considers mass media through the prism of an innovative idea of the "information abundance" that has befallen the world[16], he still sees manifestations of the social relations that are traditionally denoted in any known theoretical constructions of journalism in the existing newspapers, radio and television, and the media in the Internet.

At the same time, the modern studies of journalism have accumulated a fair amount of potential, firstly associated with the need to comprehend the consequences for the theory and practice of journalism, which resulted from the revolutionary changes in the field of information technology and the emergence of the Internet as a special area of information relations among people. The Moscow researcher E.A. Voinova clearly outlined the problem that had arisen in connection with it. She considered that "digital technologies transformed not only the *ecosystem* of interaction between society and media, but also the very *principles* of this interaction (Italics by the authors). Media found themselves in the trap of multichannel, which multiplied the speed and volume of information consumption, ... and therefore, media began to adapt their content to social network formats"[17]. Of course, a reference to new technologies today is nothing more than a common place for all reasoning, but there is something in the Voinova's idea that differs from the opinions of other analysts – it is a designation of the *ecosystem* of interaction between society and media and the ability to transform it *fundamentally*. Based on the main direction of this study, journalism can be clearly distinguished in such an ecosystem. S.G. Korkonosenko cites an interesting opinion of the Portuguese professor Joaquim Fidalgo on this issue in one of his works: "the line defining the bundaries of journalism … is, above all, not a matter of "who", "what" and

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[14] A. Vedrussov, Deglobalizatsiya. Izvetia. 2020 March 31. Available at: https://iz.ru/993246/aleksandr-vedrussov/deglobalizatciia; A. Dolgosheva, Vuzy na udalenke. Vedomosti of St. Petersburg. 2020. March 27. Available at: https://spbvedomosti.ru/news/country_and_world/vuzy-na-udalenke-kakie-slozhnosti-voznikli-pri-perekhode-na-distantsionnoe-obuchenie/?sphrase_id=2679274 y T. Zhuravleva. Brosok v XXI vek. Izvestia. 2020. March 31. Available at: https://iz.ru/995544/tatiana-zhuravleva/brosok-v-xxi-vek
[15] J. Keane, Democracy and Media Decadence (Moscow: Publishing house of the Higher School of Economics, 2015).
[16] J. Keane. Democracy and Media… 8.
[17] E. A. Voinova. Novaya kommunikativnost kak faktor formirovaniya kontenta lokalnykh mediynykh resursov. Proceedings of the international research-to-practice conference «Journalism in 2018: Creativity, Profession, Industry» (Moscow: Faculty of Journalism at the Moscow State University, 2019).

"where" things are done, but rather a matter of "how", "why" and "what for" you do them"[18]. The scientist's opinion should be supported in its main point: indeed, if the criterion "where things are done" is understood as the geographical factor, then it is of little use for the demarcation of journalism as a socially significant professional activity. However, it is at least short-sighted to abandon the "where" criterion: the ecosystem of interaction between society and media is not static, changes in the field of information technology could not but influence its mobility. This means that the issue is what to understand under the "where" criterion.

"Where" is not a geographical criterion, but rather an existential one. The idea of "where" for the journalist includes "tension and reality of the day", its "ability to preserve the presence of spirit in them". K. Jaspers believed that the journalist "is seeking for a point where they could stay in the depths where the soul of age makes its movement. They consciously combine their fate with the fate of the age"[19]. Jaspers allows to move away from mundane institutionalism in the definition of journalism and discern not so much the abstractly understood material embodiment of the man's ideal impulses in it, but the universal, uninterrupted reading of the meanings of the world concentrated in ideal space – this is the integral property of the journalist and their reader.

The authors earlier expressed the opinion that "the efforts of a journalist are intellectual and ideal, and the result of the efforts may look like a change in the material order. It cannot be said that the newspaper text is a materialization of the journalist's intellectual work, just like the image shown on the screen. The text printed in a newspaper or a magazine is just shaded areas of printing on a white sheet of paper, the meaning of which is attached to the reader. Stripes and strokes of black are just a coding method for transmitting certain information, which means that the journalist's ideal ideas are materialized not on paper but in the actions of the one who took a look at this paper, understood something in it, thought it over, and accomplished something under its influence"[20]. Now the authors are ready to clarify this saying: at the moment when the intellectual fields of the journalist and their reader or viewer come in contact, a special journalism habitat arises and lives indefinitely for a long time – the ideal one. This habitat (but not the virtual one) is the transformer space in which or under the influence of which journalism reveals meanings that are relevant to society.

This clarification could not have appeared earlier than the modern spiritual situation of the age, when technological changes took possession of the entire information environment of mankind. As a result, there has been a quantum leap at all levels of the information space functioning. This means that the ideal environment for journalism was described by a unidirectional vector for promoting the intellectual fields of mass communication participants some time ago – from a journalist to their reader or viewer. The familiar picture becomes qualitatively complicated today, under the influence of the Internet media practices. "The Internet seems to play with the traditional "source-receiver" scheme, sometimes it keeps it in its original form and sometimes assigns it a completely new nature. For example, the source of the message can be either one person or a whole social group ... The recipient may also vary from one to several millions, may change or not change ..."[21].

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[18] S. G. Korkonosenko, Teoriya zhurnalistiki: modelirovaniye i primeneniye (Moscow: Logos, 2010).

[19] K. Jaspers, The Spiritual Situation of the Age. In The Origin and Goal of History (Moscow: Republic, 1994).

[20] V. A. Sidorov, 10 rassuzhdeniy o sotsiologii zhurnalistiki (Saint Petersburg: Petropolis Publishing House, 2012).

[21] A. Chernykh, Mir sovremennykh media. (Moscow: Territory of the Future Publishing House, 2007).

The variations can be a consequence (or even a cause) of the lack of direct speech contact between the author and the reader or listener in the communicative environment of traditional media, noted by the St. Petersburg researcher V.I. Konkov, as opposed to the practice of the communicative environment of the Internet, where their direct speech contact is possible, since the moment of the interlocutor's speech perception and the moment of their own speech reaction are not separated by a time interval[22]. A new state in the contact between the intellectual fields of a journalist and a reader is recorded not only in the speech practice of the Internet, but also in the practice of visualizing messages: "the unity of expressive visual means and the latest information technology has become a specific feature of texts. All this allows to discuss the creation of different media"[23] and, following the authors of the modern textbook, the connection with the obvious status of the Internet "as a space of different types of social communication and means of group communication"[24].

The modern media environment functions under the conditions of continuous global transformations of society, caused by the growing struggle of its strata, institutions, minorities, and other communities for dominance in setting socially significant goals. The aggravation of the situation determines the political turbulence of the time when "the world goes through a long period of collapse of the old-world order and the creation of a new one"[25]. Awareness of the evolving state of things is carried out in the ideal space – the public sector of society, where network communities and mass media obviously dominate in their "digital" embodiment. In the new situation of the age, the recipient on the Internet has mastered the primary skills of informational response to the message of the communicator and often tries to become one themselves. "Personal media behavior" has come to the forefront in the context of global mediatization[26], which has become public in the "digital environment".

The "personal media behavior" in the conditions of the political turbulence of time is the basic problem of many studies of journalism functioning in the so-called "digital" environment (I. Zhilavskaya, M. Zhizhina, N. Bogomolova, G. Melnik, T. Wilson, M. Bates, M. Beard, J. Sonderman). These studies were carried out both in Russia and abroad, their object being often referred to as "digital media". However, regardless of the terms, they all were about the third habitat of journalism. Moreover, not only journalistic works, but also various reactions to them from the network audience are subject to analysis in these works. The study of "posts", "comments", and "like" practices has revealed new forms and principles of an individual's media behavior in the network environment: instantness and aggressiveness of response to an information stimulus on the Internet, indiscrimination in the means of expressing one's position, and emotional and noncritical perception of messages published on the Internet at the time of its determination.

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[22] V. I. Konkov, Razgovornost v kommunikativnoy srede SMI i Interneta. Proceedings of the international research-to-practice conference «Journalism in 2018: Creativity, Profession, Industry». (Moscow: Faculty of Journalism at the Moscow State University, 2019).

[23] O. V. Muravyova, Sovremennaya VEB-zhurnalistika: problemy i perspektivy. Proceedings of the international research-to-practice conference «Journalism in 2018: Creativity, Profession, Industry» (Moscow: Faculty of Journalism at the Moscow State University, 2019).

[24] M. M. Lukina, Internet-SMI: teoriya i praktika (Moscow: Aspect Press, 2010).

[25] S. A. Karaganov, "Ukhod voyennogo prevoskhodstva Zapada i geoekonomika", Polis Vol: 6 (2019): 19. Available at: https://www.politstudies.ru/files/File/2019/6/Polis-6-2019-Karaganov.pdf

[26] I. N. Blokhin, Zhurnalistika kak sotsiokulturnyy fenomen. In Journalism and Culture of Society. edited by M.A. Voskresenskaya (Saint Petersburg: VVM Publishing House, 2019).

The authors came to these conclusions after participating in three research projects on the study of communicative aggressions and phobias of the communicative environment. The first one was the International Project "Communicative aggression of the 21st century," hold jointly by scientists of the St. Petersburg State University (Russia) and the University of Adam Mickiewicz (Poland) in 2017 – 2019. A survey of students was carried out during the implementation of the Project (1,500 questionnaires in Poland and 400 in Russia). Further, on the basis of the empirical data obtained in this Project, the grant studies of phobias of the network environment and aggressive communications in hyperlocal media communities of St. Petersburg were carried out, funded by the Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Adam Mickiewicz (2019). The methods and target settings of the research projects initially assumed the discovery of the effects of the interaction between media and their audience, which allowed to further expand the area of the ideas about the essence of the interpenetration of all actors in information relations into the communicative text. For example, the main feature of the modern media process was revealed – the inevitability of the active contact or communication between the intellectual fields of the author of a journalistic work and their audience. At the same time, the interaction itself almost irrevocably moved into the network environment and turned out to be even more frequent compared to the past; moreover, it became integrated, permanent, and also extended to the traditional habitats of journalism, if the phenomenon of convergent media was taken into account. It also turned out that the interaction of the student audience with journalistic works in the "digital" environment represented the sporadic appeal to a certain source of information. The audience of a journalistic text is quickly and easily formed and just as easily disintegrates, thereby turning into the "dispersed audience" predicted by G. Maletzke.

Nine hundred and eighty-five publications on the problem of the functioning of phobias in the network environment on the foreign media websites were selected from 01.01.2016 to 31.12.2019. Using random sampling, 10 % of the articles were deeply analyzed. Conclusions relevant to the objectives of this project were made, some of which went beyond the boundaries of the original research idea. For example, if the totality of the sample is considered as a single text unfolding in time, it could be established that the meaning and tonality of journalistic messages and expert opinions about the phobia of cyber fraud broadcast on the Internet have been changing over the course of two years under the continuous interaction of the authors of publications and their audience. It was noted that the impact of the audience became more intense and aggressive as the topics were covered, which could not but implicitly be taken into account in subsequent journalistic speeches. No examples of polemics of journalists with the authors of "comments" were found, in any case. It was also noted that the "comments" on the subject under study could belong to different users of the network resources each time, which meant that groups of active opponents did not form; the audiences became diffuse. Another observation according to the results of the research project was the practice in the network environment where the same user "nickname" appeared in reviews of publications in different sources.

The authors studied the aggressive communications in the hyperlocal media communities in St. Petersburg together with fourth-year students with the major in "Psychology of Journalism". Let us consider the phenomenon of hyperlocalization of media communications in more detail, since this term is at the initial stage of implementation in scientific discourse and needs clarifications. The appearance of hyperlocal media was predetermined by a combination of important transformations that influenced the media environment of any large city. Firstly, the practice of consuming information by the audience had been rapidly changing. Secondly, along with the information consumption practice, the role of the audience had also been transforming and was no longer limited to the passive

perception of information. Thirdly, technologies had been actively developing thus increasing the availability of information and giving media users numerous opportunities not only for feedback, but also for creating and disseminating their own content.

However, the time that a person can spend on consuming content is limited. Therefore, the forms of dissemination and consumption of information are changing. Multimedia saturation changes the content and delivery of news[27], challenges the so-called "traditional" mass media, and leads to a kind of race, the outsiders in which may encounter serious difficulties, as happened with the Russian television giant Channel One, for example, which was late with the transfer of content on the Internet and is now experiencing financial difficulties.

The conditions faced by consumers of media content must be described in order to understand why hyperlocalization was the result of transformations that had taken place in the digital environment. The authors believe that the answer can be found in sociology, since user interaction in the digital environment remains a social interaction by nature – even though it is carried out on the screen, and not personally. The phenomenon of hyperlocalization in the digital environment rhymes with the "narrowing theory" of the American sociologist Robert Putnam. The idea of this theory is that residents of large cities living in an atmosphere of ethnic and other types of diversity are more likely to defend their local space than to discover new cultures with new values[28]. The study by Putnam revealed that New Yorkers "were less likely to vote, participate in community initiatives, donate to charities, or volunteer than Americans living in less ethnically diverse cities"[29]. It was earlier believed that the contact between different social groups would lead either to the establishment of social ties (the so-called "contact theory") or to a conflict between them (the so-called "conflict theory"), but now the third path appears in a metropolis riddled with media communications: the isolation leading to hyperlocalization of communications. However, despite the importance of this phenomenon, media researchers are trying to bypass the terms. The questions "What are hyperlocal media?" and "How are hyperlocal media different from local?" are often simply ignored.

The authors consider it important to note that media hyperlocalization is a consequence of the transformation of the social form of the neighborhood, which is now being transferred to the digital environment. Hyperlocal media primarily differ from local ones by a higher level of localization of the community consuming and producing content, which leads to the formation of neighborhoods in the digital environment. Geographical localization in these neighborhoods is an important criterion, but not always the only one. A resident of the modern metropolis is looking for an answer to the challenges they face with an ever-increasing amount of content, user-friendly interfaces, and corporations that are looking for profit. Hyperlocalization of communications is one of the solutions: the user becomes part of several communities, often extremely localized. Groups in social networks, chats in messengers, individual websites, and much more are combined into a hyperlocal media system that allows an audience to satisfy their needs for the consumption and production of media content. It can be claimed that the time of the dominance of professional journalists in the media sector has expired: now they are adjacent to an audience that can reproduce content on their own, respond to the hyperlocal agenda more sensitively, and build

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[27] J. Keane, Democracy and Media… 15.
[28] E. Zuckerman, Rewire: Digital Cosmopolitans in the Age of Connection (Moscow: Ad Marginem Press, 2015).
[29] E. Zuckerman, Rewire...

communications more easily due to functioning in digital neighborhoods.

Having designated hyperlocal media as "neighborly", let us turn to the results of the analysis of the hyperlocal media communities in St. Petersburg, which the authors carried out together with fourth-year students with the major in "Journalism". A large number of students with this major allowed to collect and process an impressive array of materials: 119 media communities on the Russian social network VKontakte, 3,873 posts published in these communities, and 10,114 comments left by users under these posts. The communities uniting participants in geographically localized formations – neighborhoods – were selected for analysis. The period of study was September to December 2019. Aggressive and negative posts (which amounted to 245, or 6 % of the total), as well as aggressive and negative comments (912, or 9 % of the total) were especially marked. Aggressive posts and comments were combined into semantic clusters by analyzing the object that the aggression was aimed at. This allowed to understand exactly which topics could potentially cause aggression from the audience.

First of all, no clear division into authors and their audience can be noted in the hyperlocal media communities. Professional roles in them are mobile: many posts are created by the community members, with the administrator or moderator monitoring the order by performing the regulatory function. However, both administrators and moderators can also participate in the content creation. Each post is a spontaneously created work, and it is not always possible to predict who will assume the functions of a journalist.

At the same time, it must be noted that the level of aggression in the posts is much lower than that in the comments. It can be assumed that users, despite their existence in an "extra-journalistic" environment, nevertheless understand some important aspects of journalistic activities at an intuitive level. Trying on the role of a journalist, users are less likely to express aggression than when staying in the role of an audience. Recalling the above citation of J. Fidalgo, it can be said that in this case, the issue of where the things are done is not that important, with the issue of how the things are done coming to the fore. The emergence of a sense of responsibility for the information published in the post is an important issue proving that journalism of participation still remains journalism, in the first place.

An important part of the study is the correspondence of semantic clusters of aggression in the posts and in the comments. The hyperlocal media communities as a whole seem less aggressive than the interest-based media communities (sports, political, and even entertaining ones – the level of aggression in communities devoted to computer games, for example, can be very high). The community self-regulates in the conditions of "disappearance" of a professional journalist, which leads to more confidential communications. Nevertheless, the directions of aggression are similar in the posts and in the comments. The main semantic clusters of aggression are medicine (it must be reiterated that the study was conducted before the COVID-19 pandemic), transportation problems (street parking, traffic jams, public transport), crime, and asocial behavior (vandalism and homeless). These clusters make up the everyday local agenda. However, the local agenda is often adjacent to the federal one in the hyperlocal media communities: tax policy issues in Russia, raising the retirement age in Russia, problems of migrants, and aggressive discussion of politicians' personalities and their actions still occur, but to a lesser extent. Two hundred and fourteen aggressive posts (87 % of the total) and 784 (86 %) aggressive local comments were attributed to the local agenda (including manifestations of interpersonal aggression between the community members), while 31 (13 %) posts and 128 (14 %)

comments were attributed to the federal agenda. It can be seen that the ratio of agenda in aggressive posts and comments is almost the same. This is not surprising: the emotional states of journalists and the audience in this case coincide, since the role of the journalist is assumed by the audience. Moreover, the audience is also responsible for choosing the agenda.

When it comes to selecting the information, professional journalists and editors responsible for shaping the agenda may include not the most interesting but still socially significant topics for the audience in it. In the case of the hyperlocal media communities, the situation is different: the agenda is determined by the interests of the audience, which regulate the selection of information independently. Sometimes the administrator or moderator of the community plays the role of the "gatekeeper" and almost always behaves like the audience, being a member of the neighborhood. This leads to predictable problems: migration problems are covered from the perspective of the Russian citizens, while migrants are not given the word in the hyperlocal media communities under study. However, it must be noted that the interfaces provide migrants a nominal opportunity to speak out: they just need to register on a social network and start creating content. At the same time, other barriers must be mentioned, including language proficiency, cultural isolation, and, of course, communication strategies built in the hyperlocal media communities.

Conclusions

The third habitat of journalism has not just changed the adaptation of journalism to the new conditions of its functioning, but also led to fundamental transformations of the content and forms of journalism itself. The online environment has become a space for different types of group communication; the phenomenon of their hyperlocalization has emerged, and the functioning parameters of professional journalism and the spontaneous informational intentions of society have begun to converge with the intuitive efforts of members of hyperlocal communities. They converge due to the blurring of the previously rigid boundaries between the authors and their audiences: it cannot always be predicted now who will assume the functions of a journalist – a journalist or a nonjournalist from a hyperlocal media group, when covering events that are significant for many people. The results of the studies have indicated that the level of communicative aggression in these groups is noticeably lower than in the mass "dispersed" audiences of the modern media. In small media groups, the level of culture of internal communication spontaneously rises, moving closer to the norms of interaction among journalists, on the one hand, while it equally spontaneously falls to the level of confrontation in relations with other small social groups that are culturally isolated (migrants and homeless), on the other hand.

The audience has taken control of some of the content production, and this has changed some everyday aspects of journalistic activities. The more the community is localized, the easier it is for its members to take the production of information into their own hands, and the more likely it is that this content will resonate with the audience. In professional communities, digital neighborhoods, and small communities of interest, their own principles of communication are formed, local memes appear, and a local household agenda is discussed – as a result, a peculiar barrier is built up: a person who is not part of the community will have to study and accept these specifics. That is why aggression is rarely directed at a specific person but more often at a specific social group in hyperlocal media communities (motorists, homeless, and migrants). Moreover, administrators and moderators of hyperlocal media communities are more focused on their readers, while journalists can raise socially significant issues to the detriment of real requests from the audience.

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Journalists allow both the homeless and the migrant to speak out, while members of small social communities strictly guard their local agenda. Self-regulation supports the functioning of most hyperlocal media communities in St. Petersburg. When preparing posts for network communication, the community members unknowingly adopt some features of the journalist's professional culture; content production for them is also associated with responsibility for this content, therefore, the words are chosen more thoughtfully, and the language becomes less emotional. It can be stated that the journalist's professional culture does not disappear with a professional journalist.

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