

it is all too easy to assume that results from one country (read: the US) readily apply to other nations. It is obviously the case that attitudes towards audience interactivity and social media as a professional tool differs significantly between countries, and not always in the way we would expect it to differ, either.

In summary, this book offers an important contribution to the ongoing study of how journalism as an occupation and professional field is changing in the face of technological and economic restructuring. Across all the empirical chapters, the results lend support to previous research on key topics, but also develop earlier research in important ways — notable here is the strong empirical evidence for the ongoing erosion of the boundaries between the business and editorial sides of journalism, as well as the more detailed study of the (gradual) transformation of journalism into a “stepping stone” occupation, or a step on your career ladder rather than a career in and of itself. The comparative design adds significant value to the book in two main ways: one, as the comparative perspective shows salient and often somewhat unexpected differences between the three countries, and two, Poland and Russia in particular are interesting cases in themselves as they are nations rarely studied in the international literature on journalism. For all these reasons, I would definitely recommend this book to anyone interested not just in journalism in these three countries but in journalism and its future in general.

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Elena Vartanova (2013). Постсоветские трансформации российских СМИ и журналистики [Post-Soviet Transformations of Russian Media and Journalism]. Moscow: MediaMir Publishing, pp. 278, ISBN: 978-5-91177-059-4.

The book *Post-Soviet Transformations of Russian Media and Journalism*, authored by Elena Vartanova, the dean of the Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University, one of the leading media scholars in Russia, has passed barely noticed by the international media research community, as many books in national languages do today. Meanwhile, the book, in our viewpoint, deserves attention not only of those who study post-Soviet media systems but also by comparative media researchers around the world, as it provides an example of how a multifaceted theoretical context creates a lens for assessing the post-communist transformations of a today’s media system.

The structure of the book is classic in terms of going from theory to practice. The book includes five chapters; four of them speak of relevant theories (Chapter 1), the structure of the media market (Chapter 2), factors that shape the dynamics of media development (Chapter 3), and Russian media policy (Chapter 4). All the parts

are assessed in comparative perspective: thus, Chapter 2 ends with how the Russian media system relates to Hallin and Mancini's (2004) media models, and Chapter 4 indirectly compares the Russian policy on media with the EU media and telecom policing.

Chapter 1 is, arguably, the most valuable for the Russian-speaking researchers. It clearly shows how post-Soviet, Anglo-American, and continental European research traditions unite and intertwine in Elena Vartanova's scholarly optics. On the one hand, the chapter, as the book itself, pays an homage to the Soviet tradition of media research upon "national media models" — a tradition well established within foreign media studies in Moscow (Vartanova 2005; Sharonchikova & Urina 2010; and many others) and St.Petersburg (*Periodical press* textbook series and other books); it inevitably influenced the recent reflections upon the Russian media system (Zassoursky 2012; Vartanova 2012). This tradition, even if it did not openly generate sufficient criteria for comparative research, has accumulated unique empirical data on the media systems under study. Today, this knowledge becomes increasingly valued, especially because "the market model and democratization processes, though oriented to similar goals, have not produced the same results for post-socialist CEE countries, as well as for the post-Soviet ones" (p. 14).

On the other hand, Vartanova puts the development of the Russian media of the recent 25 years into a constellation of comparative perspectives, namely "media in transition" research, comparative media systems studies, and a wider context of social modernization theory. The latter, with the reference to Kangaspuuro and Smith (2006), casts light onto the existing misbalances in the content production and journalistic culture of Russia. "The basic conflict of Russian modernization, [that is] lack of a systemic approach in transition to a new type of society along with significant progress in particular areas" (p. 23) has lead, as Vartanova states, to a detachment of media and wider culture from the late-Soviet modernization project. This, in its turn, implied encapsulation of the national media production and persistence of pre-modernization practices and attitudes in the professional community.

Chapter 1 works as a crystal that focuses theoretical backgrounds to formulate the main research question of the book (and for any existing systemic research on the national media model):

What general factors does one need to take into account assessing the situation in the Russian media? And [...] which features of the Russian society shape [their] modernization peculiarity in the context of societal traditions? (p. 18)

Chapters 2 and 3, in contrast, would be most interesting for international scholarship. Chapter 2 contains a detailed description of the dynamics of the traditional media segments, as well as of the emergence of new media, both parts being well based on statistics and the results of previous research. In this chapter, the reader will find a deep assessment of structural and content features of the Russian media

in the 2000s. The chapter reconstructs the basic changes in the media system, juxtaposing, *i. a.*, the Russian face of the newspaper crisis and regionalization of the newspaper market with the TV-zation of the nation, thus turning Russia from “the most reading country in the world” to a TV-dependent nation; it also singles out three distinct stages of media concentration. In the end of the chapter, Vartanova states that, among the three models by Hallin and Mancini (2004), the polarized pluralist, or Mediterranean, model is the closest to the Russian media system, but she also insists that, in the Russia of today, an “etatist commercialized media model” has formed.

In Chapter 3, the author’s background in media economics stands at full strength — but it also limits the conclusions to a certain extent, making them sound a bit economically deterministic. Between the factors of change, the economic environment and the market health of media seem to be the primary definer of the media modernization, media and political interaction or societal cleavages perceived as important but secondary to commercialization and globalization. While this may be fully true, one remark could be added to such a description. As social economists and social psychologists in Russia note, there is no unified Russia in social terms (Zubarevich, 2011; Auzan, 2011; Petranovskaya, 2014) — but several Russias with varying modernization speeds, value sets, and consumption and behavioral patterns. Taking this into closer consideration might have enriched the book even more, as both journalism cultures research (Anikina et al., 2013) and media and political studies (Gabowitsch, 2012; Bodrunova & Litvinenko, 2013) show that the value cleavages between post-industrial cosmopolitan and blue-collar post-Soviet audience groups may be decisive for interpreting the existing media consumption patterns, audience segmentation, and political roles of various clusters of media.

Another challenge to this book is that it focuses more upon media than upon journalism — despite the title. There is, indeed, a bunch of important facts about the journalistic community and the journalistic culture in Russia mentioned or shortly described in the text, like the important discussion on Soviet vs. Anglo-Saxon orientations in media professionalism, including attitudes towards freedom of speech and its possible limitations by the state. But the book would be more comprehensive with a small chapter specially dedicated to the journalistic community and its dynamics. The lack of such a chapter may be explained, though, by the fact that, by the moment of publication, a very scarce amount of comparative data on journalistic cultures on the whole and on Russia in particular was available.

Chapter 4 presents one of the first attempts to describe the media policy of the Russian state in between 1991 and 2013. The discursive shape of such descriptions is still forming today; thus, contrasting Russian policing reality to the EU media policy is even more valuable. From the book, media policy emerges not only as a framework for any media system to exist but also as a dimension of its systemic modernization. And it is here where the dichotomy of old/Soviet and new/Western, as in Vartanova’s earlier works, turns into new/European vs. old/Asian opposition in

both media laws and self-regulation of journalists — even if we see that Asian elements are just anti-European, rather than culturally divergent.

Regarding Chapter 5, it was, evidently, planned as the one to put up the the agenda for future research. But the author's economic determinism shows up again, making this chapter perhaps less strong than it might have been otherwise. For Vartanova, the main conflict in the Russian media system is the clash between news and entertainment — or, rather, between the content and business models oriented to public interest and profitable entertainment content that ensures the survival of the industry. But the very text of the book suggests at least several other issues of the same fundamental nature. First, it is media autonomy on the systemic level, which so far looks like a lose-lose choice between dependence upon either authorities or media owners. Second, it is the extent and modes of performing the watchdog function in the absence of such a tradition and within a transitional drawback. Third, it is the deliberative potential of media in the fundamentally fragmented society where TV-oldies vs. internet aborigines not only consume different media but also protest against each other on the streets.

But, of course, one cannot expect that quarter of a century of media development can be described in full detail in one book, even if the book is outstanding. *Post-Soviet Transformations of Russian Media and Journalism* is a milestone — the first thorough review of the Russian case since the appearance of Hallin and Mancini's comparative framework, well grounded in both theory and empirical data. This book is already becoming a starting point for practically any research project in the area of Russian media and journalism studies, and we hope to see it translated into other languages, for the international scholarly community to benefit from it just as well.

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Silvio Waisbord (2013). *Reinventing Professionalism. Journalism and News in a Global Perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 280, ISBN: 978-07-456-5192-7.

Journalism is not only a type of media content. It is also an occupation where you receive a salary, a profession with standards and for some also a mission of life. To discuss journalism as a profession is to navigate in the tension between seeing journalists as a social group and normative assumptions about quality in journalism. Professionalization is a way for journalists to gain autonomy to defend the common standards of quality.

This is the main argument in the book *Reinventing professionalism* by Silvio Waisbord. He is a professor at George Washington University, but the inspiration