

# Competition and Political Factors in the Russian Media Market During Putin's Fourth President Term<sup>\*</sup>

LI Xuan

School of Foreign Studies, South China Normal University, Guangzhou, China

The frequency of Russian media usage has been declining since 2018, but television is still the most popular medium in Russia. The rise of digital radio and television represents a mixed picture, in part because of political pressures, but the digital transition between federal and regional media is not synchronized; on the other hand, the Russian print media market has suffered from poor returns and high costs since 2012. Insufficient facilities with poor quality and lack of advertisement revenues have made it difficult for print media to survive. The government has provided financial subsidies for media, but it will still support economic independence of media. The government has strictly regulated foreign investments after 2014, which ensure the concentration of media ownership but reduced the media market's competitiveness. Now the Russian government is adjusting policies, seeking ways to balance media market competition and retaining political control of media.

*Keywords:* media market competition, political control of media, Russia

## Russian Media Usage Declined Still Mainly Television-watching Country

The frequency of media usage in Russia has been declining since 2018, which is reflected in various media. The reduction in the use of traditional media (radio, television, print media) only brings a slight increase in the use of new media platforms (online news, social media). According to the 2018 survey data of the Media scope company, Russian spend an average of 517 minutes per day on media, 2 minutes less than a year ago. And according to the company's forecast, this indicator will be reduced to 515 minutes in 2019 and 514.8 minutes in 2020. So far, television is still the most popular medium in Russia, accounting for 39% of people's media time. But by 2020, Russian will only spend 198 minutes on television. Radio takes up 35.5% of the time (184 minutes) after television. The network—23% (119 minutes), of which 60 minutes are used on desktop computers and 59 minutes are used on mobile devices.<sup>1</sup>

The use and credibility of TV have continued to decline in the past five years, watching TV shows is still the most popular way of media consumption for Russians, and it is also the most trusted source of information for

---

<sup>\*</sup> **Acknowledgements:** This article is support by National Social Science Fund Project: Research on the Construction of Institutional Discourse Right in Global Governance—An Empirical Study Based on Sino-Russian Media Communication (全球治理中制度性话语权的构建研究—基于中俄传媒交流的实证研究 16AZD052).

LI Xuan, Master of Arts, Researcher, School of Foreign Studies, South China Normal University.

<sup>1</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

Russians. According to a regular survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Foundation (ФондОбщественноеМнение), more than 80% of adults in Russia watch TV at least once a week, and two-thirds watch it every day. At the same time, the survey data shows that the credibility of TV continues to decline, but it is still the most trusted source of information, as shown in the following table:<sup>2</sup>

Table 1

*How do You Get the News?*

	2015	2016.1.31	2017	2018.1.21	2018.4.29	2019.1.20
Television	88	87	78	75	71	71
Onlinenews	34	39	41	36	41	44
Forums, blogs, socialmedia	14	14	18	17	20	19
Paper media (newspapers, magazines)	22	17	18	12	14	12
Talk with family and friends	19	25	19	16	15	17
Radio	18	17	16	14	14	12
Other	0	1	1	0	1	1
Hard to answer	1	1	1	1	1	1

*Note.* FOM is Russian sociological research organization. The survey involved 1,500 respondents—residents of 104 urban and rural settlements in 53 regions of the Russian Federation, aged 18 and over. The face-to-face interviews were held at the place of residence of the respondents. The statistical error does not exceed 3.6%. This table reflects the answers to the question “How do you get the news?”

Table 2

*Which Media Sources do You Trust Most?*

	2015.4.19	2016.1.31	2017	2018.1.21	2018.4.29	2019.1.20
Television	63	58	49	49	43	36
Online news	15	19	17	16	20	20
Forums, blogs, socialmedia	4	5	7	7	8	11
Paper media (newspapers, magazines)	9	8	8	8	8	8
Talk with family and friends	7	7	7	9	7	7
Radio	8	6	8	8	6	7
Other	<1	1	1	1	1	1
None	16	18	25	24	27	27
Hard to answer	5	5	4	5	4	7

*Note.* This table reflects the answers to the question “Which media sources do you trust most?”

## Digital Transition Between Federal and Regional not Synchronized

The Russian Government continues to promote the digital transition of radio and television to increase coverage and attract more audiences. But the digitization of federal and regional radio and television has shown an unsynchronized trend. Federal-level media have more financial and policy support from the government, while regional radio and television are dependent on the federal media, which put them in an awkward situation in the digital transition.

<sup>2</sup> FOM. (2019a, Jan 31) Doverierossiiskim SMI. [Trust to Russian mass media.] Retrieved from <https://fom.ru/SMI-i-internet/14170>.

Goals set by the Federal Target Program “Development of Broadcasting in the Russian Federation for 2009–2018” have been achieved. The major objectives of the Program are development of the information space of the Russian Federation, provision of multi-channel broadcasting to citizens guaranteeing provision of mandatory TV and radio channels with given quality and increase of efficiency of broadcasting.<sup>3</sup>

In March 2019, the Broadcasting Development Committee meeting reviewed the results of the plan and conducted a positive evaluation. The program is considered successful and efficient. The successful implementation has laid the foundation for the further development of the Russian Federation's broadcasting strategy until 2025, and it also opened up new prospects for Russia's transition to digital broadcasting, such as the conversion of radio and television to high-definition (HD) standards; creating a combination of a hybrid interactive broadcasting platform with TV and Internet functions; establishment of a data processing center, etc.<sup>4</sup>

However, the local broadcasting faces the risk of losing cooperation with federal television broadcasting during the transition to digitalization. They may lose most of their viewers and advertising revenue if they cannot broadcast in “digital” format (due to the decrease in the number of viewers), the vast majority of them are partners of the Federal Television Broadcasting Network, who already has enough transmission channels, so the cooperation with regional broadcasting is no longer necessary. In short, the future of digital local broadcasting is still unclear in many respects, and discussions between legislators, broadcasters, and the public at both the federal and regional levels continue.<sup>5</sup>

The digitalization of TV has affected the market and shows how the state wants to control the selection of available information channels (Strukov & Zvereva, 2014, p. XVII). State of national television occupies a key position in Russian media system and plays an important role in political communication because television is the “only way to reach and sway the majority of the population” (Zassoursky, 2009, p. 31). In the field of television, the most significant result of digital television delivery is the increasing number of television channels in Russian households. Now the government passed legislation to increase the obligation of TV operators. In December 2018, an amendment to Article 46 of the Federal Communications Law required Russian satellite TV operators to have no right to refuse citizens living in settlements not covered by digital broadcasting and should reach an agreement to provide access to their platforms. The amendment stipulates that if the subscriber has the appropriate equipment and has not signed a valid contract with any telecommunications operator, the operator shall provide the service for free. The Federal Service for Supervision of Information Technologies and Communications (Роскомнадзор) listed the settlements located outside the zone of compulsory public broadcasting television and radio channels.

<sup>3</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskoetelevidenie. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian television. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>4</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskoetelevidenie. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian television. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>5</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskoetelevidenie. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian television. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

One of the serious problems faced by domestic TV is the uncertain future of many regional and municipal broadcasters. There are some major difficulties: the stagnation of the regional advertising market, the uncertainty of digitization, and regional Television broadcasting do not have a place in the digital process.

### **Print Media Market Still Higher Costs and Lower Returns**

One reason for the high costs in print media market is the defects of the infrastructure in Russia: the quality of the infrastructure used for distribution is declining, and the reduction in competition caused by the concentration of business in the distribution market also reduces the types of distribution infrastructure; another reason is that the current laws about the print media and advertising laws are not conducive to reducing costs and increasing revenues in the print media market, making publishers short of working fund, besides, the provisions of the Advertising Law also prevent publishers from obtaining sufficient financial support from multiple channels.

According to the 2018 Russian periodical press report, carried out by the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media, shows that, if in 2014, the infrastructure for issuing periodicals (in all forms of distribution-newsstands, booths, supermarkets, etc.) reached 1,170, then in 2015 there were 935, and in 2018 there were only 524, which means the types of journal infrastructure are halved.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the number of registered print media in Russia is decreasing because super market shelves do not have enough space for all newspapers and magazines, and newsstands are getting smaller and smaller.

The concentration of business in the periodical distribution market has led to a decrease in the number of wholesale and retail distributors, which in turn led to reduced competition. Now there are about 80 companies engaged in the wholesale distribution of printed materials in Russia, but between 2005 and 2007, according to the Federal Service for State Registration, Cadastre and Cartography (Росреестр), more than 100 companies engaged in this business.

The Government passed Decree No. 291 on April 9, 2016, "Approving the establishment of minimum population standards for the constituent entities of the Russian Federation to provide retail space and The Standard Methods of calculating the minimum population" to ensure that Russian residents have access to periodicals. The document for the first time confirmed the legalization of the minimum rules for retail facilities and was issued specifically for residential areas across the country. Within the framework of the calculation method, a basic indicator was approved, namely, one newsstand/booth for every 5880 residents of a municipality. According to the monitoring data of the Printed Product Distributors Association (Ассоциация распространителей печатной продукции), this decision is being implemented in 40 regions of the country.<sup>7</sup>

The Government declared Decree No. 719 on April 17, 2017—"Approving a series of measures to support book sales (book distribution) and print media distribution by non-governmental organizations (including

<sup>6</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.

<sup>7</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2016). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.

through the provision of retail distribution Network conditions)” to increase the circulation of media, the decree stipulates the distribution conditions, provides small and medium-sized enterprises with specialized stores and exhibition halls selling books and publications, and forms an organizational mechanism to support and develop reading.<sup>8</sup>

Second, Russia’s current laws about the print media and advertising laws are not conducive to reducing costs and increasing revenue for print media because they do not fully consider the specific circumstances of the publishing business. Low threshold for media cancellation and blank terms about transaction resulted in self-service kiosk chains not paying publishers. As a result, publishers lack of working capital, and unable to support regular expenditures, including journalists’ salaries, printing services, paper purchases, and don’t even mention the investment in business modernization and development. Accumulated negative factors in the print media market, coupled with legislative restrictions on advertisements for certain goods and services in newspapers and magazines, have caused an endless outflow of investment from the Russian periodicals industry.

In the first decade of the 2000s, Russia was among the most rapidly growing advertising markets in the world, and the media were increasingly dependent on advertising (Vartanova, 2012, p. 123). But now the trend appears to towards a strengthening position of government-owned media or those loyal to the government. Russian advertising legislation is not helpful for print media to obtain the same advertising budget as European countries, which restricts advertising of alcoholic beverages, tobacco products, dietary supplements and medicines. Television faces the same problem. The amendment to the Advertising Law that came into effect in August 2018 does not allow the price of TV advertising to be increased. Since the effective demand in the advertising market is limited, advertising will not increase the profitability of TV channels.<sup>9</sup>

Ruslan Novikov, the publisher manager of Arguments and Facts, believes that the 5-10% lag between the circulation of large publishers and advertising revenue is likely to be unrecoverable, but the publisher’s Online projects are growing. He predicted: “Weak and small publications will withdraw from the market, and it will be difficult for the daily media.”<sup>10</sup> Valentina Permyakova, editor of the “City News” newspaper and the Revda-info.ru project (Levda is a city in Sverdlovsk Oblast), therefore proposed an important goal: to equalize the prices of print advertising and Internet advertising.

### **The Government Offers Financial Subsidies to the Media and Promotes Its Economic Independence**

The government assists the media mainly through financial subsidies, but it also emphasizes that the media must achieve economic independence to survive. This will reduce the pressure on the national budget, but the premise is to maintain the current situation in the structure of important media, which means promoting the

<sup>8</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2016). *Rossiiskaia periodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrasevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>9</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskaia periodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrasevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>10</sup> Experts discussed the situation and future of print media, Retrieved Dec. 1, 2020, from <https://rg.ru/2019/11/18/eksperty-otrasli-obsudili-nastoiashchee-i-budushchee-pechatnyh-smi.html>

economic independence of the media on the premise of ensuring the country's dominant control over important media.

In 2017, the government announced that Russia's print media should be independent. As Russian President Putin has repeatedly pointed out, it is impossible to increase media revenue without economic independence of media. To increase revenue the government need to help print media from two aspects. First, the current state support system for Russian print media needs to be seriously "upgraded" and optimized, because these support measures have little effect on its development and cannot meet their current needs. Second, state and municipal governments at all levels need to take other measures to fundamentally improve the business environment of the printing press market, thereby creating more profitable conditions and increasing the investment attractiveness of the entire industry.<sup>11</sup>

At the Fifth All-Russian Regional Media Forum held in Chelyabinsk from September 11 to 14, 2018, Deputy Minister of Digital Development, Telecommunications and Mass Communication (Министерство цифрового развития, связи и массовых коммуникаций) Wolin pointed out that the Russian Ministry of Communications plans to increase the revenue of the domestic media industry by 30% from the current 530 billion rubles to 700 billion rubles in the next six years, and increase people's expenditure on media consumption by combating piracy, improve product quality, expand distribution channels, and use new platform applications for its development.

In September 2019, after the February meeting with the head of print media, Vladimir Putin approved the government on stabilizing paper prices, introducing incentives to cancel unsold products, and establish a list of instructions to sell non-governmental portfolios of printing presses.<sup>12</sup>

Svetlana Dzyubinskaya, the Deputy Minister of Department of periodicals, publishing and printing in the Federal Agency for Press and Mass Media pointed out that one of the main directions of their work is to support the regional press. In 2019, more than 465 million rubles were used for regional media to implement 1,107 socially significant projects. Publications in 68 regions were supported. Besides, 107 federal publications received subsidies, totaling more than 90 million rubles.

In fact, in the past few years, federal financial support for regional news agencies (mainly newspapers) has increased nearly five-fold, reaching 469.6 million rubles in 2018. The state's support for print media is spent from local budgets. And the funding has a pragmatic goal: to maintain the structure of the most important state-owned and non-state-owned media in specific areas of the country. And the data on information service contracts and subsidies (grants) are publicly released. The allocation of regional budget funds is mainly carried out through bidding procedures in accordance with legal requirements.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2017). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>12</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2016). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>13</sup> Experts discussed the situation and future of print media, Retrieved Dec. 1, 2020, from <https://rg.ru/2019/11/18/eksperty-otrasli-obsudili-nastoiashchee-i-budushchee-pechatnyh-smi.html>

### **Russian Government Strictly Controls Foreign Investment Into Media Market**

After the Ukrainian crisis in 2014 the Russian government has continued to tighten the proportion of foreign investment in the media market, raised the threshold for foreign publications in Russia, strengthen the management of administrative penalties on the media, which have led many publishing houses to transform into multimedia companies. Foreign-owned media also sold shares to Russian state-owned enterprises. The composition of media shares has gradually become monolithic. The state has established control over all mainstream media by either direct ownership or dependency ties. Sono media outlet can challenge the Kremlin's monopoly on power and information (Oates, 2006, p. 29).

The No. 305 amendment to the Russian Federation's Mass Media Law on October 14, 2014 came into effect on January 1, 2016, which has a significant impact on the changes in the ownership structure of Russian magazines and their overall situation. The amendment prohibits foreigners and Russians with dual citizenship from serving as founders of mass media in Russia and limits their share of the Russian mass media capital to 20%, which has led to changes in the magazine market, where foreign participation had previously been very large.

The most important trend in the Russian print media market in 2016 is the accelerated transformation of publishing houses and personal publications into multimedia companies; before that, a large part of regional media assets is foreign participation, but now many foreign-owned media companies are tending towards restructuring their assets or selling them partly or wholly to Russian companies or individual investors to adapt to the No. 305 amendment to the Russian Federation's Mass Media Law.

In July 2016, President Vladimir Putin signed the decree on the amendment of Articles 5 of the "Media Law" and Articles 38 of the "Advertising Law". According to the decree, in September 2017, only the organizations specially selected by the Federal Service for Supervision of Information Technologies and Communications can evaluate TV audiences. The share of foreign investment in such research companies should not exceed 20%.

The amendment forced the world's largest advertising and communication "WPP Group" to sell "TNS Russia", and its purchaser ВЦИОМ-Media LLC (Russian Public Opinion Research Center-media LLC), an institution of the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center, bought 80% of the shares of TNS Russia (TNS 80% of Gallup Media CJSC and 80% of TNS Galluped CJSC). The transaction was completed in August 2016 with the help of a 1.4-billion-ruble loan from the Russian Foreign Trade Bank. As a result, ВЦИОМ gains control over the evaluation of TV channels, Internet sites, radio stations and print media audiences, and can monitor the output of advertisements.<sup>14</sup>

Foreigners' participation in audiovisual services is also restricted by the No. 156 amendment to the Legislative Acts on the Protection of Intellectual Rights in Information and Telecommunication Networks. The owner of the audiovisual service can be a Russian legal person or a Russian citizen without other nationalities. If its service usage exceeds half, the participation of foreign capital in such companies will be restricted: after consultation with the government committee, the capital owned, managed or controlled by foreign individuals shall not exceed 20% of the company's authorized capital (Shares) (including indirect).

<sup>14</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2016). Rossiiskaia periodicheskaia pechat. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoi doklad. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

After the limitation on foreign investments was introduced, it has been severely criticized by industry experts and representatives. Experts believe that this measure will force multinational companies to reduce their activities in Russia and move servers out of the country.<sup>15</sup>

In 2018, the public television channels (RTRS-1/PTPC-1 and RTRS-2/PTPC-2) had partial mergers and acquisitions, which changed the ownership of the entire share. In December, I. Tavrín (И. Таврин), the owner of the National Television-Media (ЮТВ-Медиа), announced that the 75% of the shares held by his responsible company National Television-Management LLC (UTV-Management LLC/ООО «ЮТВ-Менеджмент») in CTC Media Limited (ООО «СТС Медиа») were sold to a consortium including the State Media Group (ЗАО «Национальная Медиа Группа») and the Russian Foreign Trade Bank (ПАО «Банк ВТБ»). Neither party disclosed the transaction amount. National Media Group and its partners have purchased American CTC Media, Inc «СТС Медиа» and Telcrest Investments, Ltd in Cyprus, and own 25% of CTC Media. Therefore, the latest transaction makes minority shareholders the sole owners of TV assets. This has not directly affected the ownership structure of broadcasting companies, but it is certain that CTC Media has a new leader-Media Investment Joint Stock Company (АО «Медиа Инвестиции»).

Foreign capital's shares in other public broadcasting companies in Russia also continued to decline in 2018. For example, the share of R. Abramovich (Israeli) on Channel One (АО «Первый канал») dropped to 20%, while the share of the National Media Group (АО «Национальная Медиа Группа») rose to 29%.<sup>16</sup>

The property of the largest Pay-TV operator remained unchanged in 2018. The names and legal forms of all organizations and their founders remain the same as before, with equity retained. There are still foreign beneficiaries in this market, but this does not violate the law, because in this market, operators controlled by foreign-owned companies are allowed.

On January 18, 2018, according to Order No. 3—“Regulations on the cancellation of the permit for the distribution of foreign periodicals in the Russian Federation”, issued by the Federal Service for Supervision of Information Technologies and Communications, prohibiting foreign publications from publishing, who violate the law of “Mass Media” and “On combating extremist activities.”

Besides, regulations on punitive measures for foreign journals have been strengthened. In early 2019, the Legislative Committee of the Government approved the draft revised by the Administrative Code of the Russian Federation, which stipulates the administrative responsibility for the illegal acts of manufacturing or distributing media products and introduced a procedure to change the media registration records, rather than to re-register. Now the Russian government will also make corresponding amendments to the “Administrative Crime Law” of the Russian Federation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2017). *Rossiiskii intepnet. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian internet. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>16</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskoetelevidenie. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian television. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.

<sup>17</sup> Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsii i perspektivy razvitiia. Otrazlevoidoklad*. [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.] Moscow: Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam.



## Conclusion

The concentration of media ownership and strict legislation about foreigners' investment give the impression that Russia's media policy is mostly based on state-driven logic: the state is still, in practice, the only actor to formulate media policy in Russia. And these changes appear to be leading towards the same goal: increased maneuvering by the state, which is not conducive to media market competition. It turns out that the market's competitiveness and diversity are declining, which is accompanied by a decrease in the use and credibility of Russian media. However, legislation that affects media ownership and advertising continues tightening, leading to mergers and diminishing the number of non-instrumental commercial publishers, especially foreign investors in the market.

## References

- Dzialoshinskii, I. M. (2015). *SovremennoemediaprostranstvoRossii* [Current media environment in Russia.]. Moskva: Aspekt Press.
- Experts discussed the situation and future of print media, Retrieved Dec. 1, 2020, from <https://rg.ru/2019/11/18/eksperty-otrasli-obsudili-nastoiashchee-i-budushchee-pechatnyh-smi.html>
- Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2016). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad* [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.]. Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.
- Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2017a). *Rossiiskiiinternet. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad* [Russian internet. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.]. Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.
- Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2017b). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad* [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.]. Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.
- Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018a). *Rossiiskaiaperiodicheskaiapechat. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad* [Russian periodical press. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.]. Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.
- Federalnoe Agentstvo po Pechatii Massovym Kommunikatsiiam. (2018b). *Rossiiskoetelevidenie. Sostoianie, tendentsiiiperspektivyrazvitiia. Otrasleyvoidoklad* [Russian television. Situation, tendencies and perspectives for development. Presentation of the field.]. Moscow: FederalnoeAgentstvo po PechatiiMassovymKommunikatsiiam.
- FOM. (2019a, Jan 31). *Doverierossiiskim SMI* [Trust to Russian mass media.]. Retrieved from <https://fom.ru/SMI-i-internet/14170>.
- Gehlbach, S. (2010). Reflections on Putin and the Media. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 26(1), 77-87.
- Hoffman, D. E. (2002). *The oligarchs: Wealth and power in the new Russia*. Oxford, Public Affairs.
- Hrvat, S. B., Kučid, L. J. et al. (2004). *Media ownership: Impact on media independence and pluralism in Slovenia and other post-socialist European countries*. Ljubljana, Peace Institute.
- Kiriya, I., & Degtereva, E. (2010). Russian TV market: Between state supervision, commercial logic and simulacrum of public service. *Central European Journal of Communication*, 3(1-4), 16.
- Lehtisaari, K. (2015). The new rules for the advertising market in Russian TV. *Aleksanteri Insight*, (2), 1-2.
- Nielsen, R. K. (2012). *Ten years that shook the media world: Big questions and big trends in international media developments*. Oxford: The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Oates, S. (2006). *Television, democracy and elections in Russia*. London, Routledge.
- Strukov, V., & Zvereva, V. (Eds.). (2014). *Otsentralnogo k tsifrovomu: Televidenie v Rossii* [From centralised to digital: Television in Russia.]. Voronezh: VoronezhskiiGosudarstvennyiPedagogicheskiiUniversitet.
- Surkov, V. I. (2009). Nationalization of the Future: Paragraphs pro Sovereign Democracy. *Russian studies in Philosophy* 47(4), 13.
- Vartanova, E. (2012). The Russian media model in the context of post-Soviet dynamics. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zassoursky, I. (2009). Free to get rich and foul around. In B. Beumers, S. C. Hutchings and N. Rulyova (Eds.), *The post-soviet Russian media: Conflicting signals*. New York, Routledge.