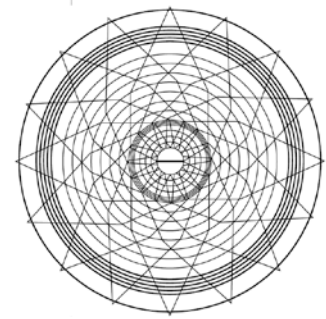


## [Scientific Articles]

*Sanders J.*

Are We in the Same Boat? Screenagers,  
Gatekeepers, & Gratekeepers in the New Literacy Universe



# ARE WE IN THE SAME BOAT? SCREENAGERS, GATEKEEPERS, & GRATEKEEPERS IN THE NEW LITERACY UNIVERSE

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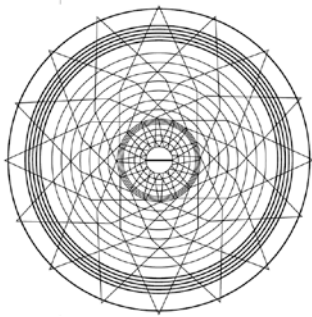
### **Abstract:**

New terms: screenagers, digital-Kropotkin (digital-Kropotkinism), gratekeepers, (in place of gatekeepers), 'Alice in Putinland', 'Shiny objects' (digital and catch up consumer revolution replacement for Radiant Future) 'mangling of democracy by managing shiny things' (replaces "managed democracy") political correctness deviation compensation, economic levers replace ideological cleavers, neon masking

Suggested new NL tools: 1)The NTV test or challenge 2)Peter's Sextant [2.5 and magnetic North compass correction for 'Political Correctness' Deviation 3)Effecting Kuleshov 4)Consider Culture.

Screenagers are what this reporter calls those abled and enabled young people often described as "digital natives" or computer malchiki (i devushki). These children (meant as in Turgenev's *Ottsy i Deti*), this rising generation or generations coming-of-age in the 21st century, those born after what one befuddled public intellectual labeled "the end of history", in other words those born after or at least reared significantly in the wake of Soviet power's demise, what one significant keen observer-participant deemed "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the [20th] century", or brought up, educated, and adopting world views in the digital age face combined developments, coincident revolutions or partial revolutions, that make more difficult the task of being effective, critical-minded news consumers.

**Keywords:** screenagers, digital-Kropotkin (digital-Kropotkinism), gratekeepers, (in place of gatekeepers), 'Alice in Putinland', 'Shiny objects' (digital and catch up consumer revolution replacement for Radiant Future) 'mangling of democracy by managing shiny things' (replaces "managed democracy") political correctness deviation compensation, economic levers replace ideological cleavers, neon masking



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Those born will between the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the 2014 Sochi Olympics bring a unique grouping of problems to their viewings and understandings of the news. They are consciously and unconsciously caught downstream from swirling vortexes of change. Three and four dimensional paradigm shifts--changes or apparent "Kuhnian" breakthroughs that are still (at least in selected dimensions) settling into well jelled new 'normal science' underpin their evolving assumptions in processing news. Just a starting point for forming a statistics based picture of screenagers indicates *broadly* [numbers change constantly] that among 18-25 years old 90% use the internet daily; 25% upload video or photographs; 84% connect through social media every day.<sup>1</sup>

A minimal list includes, the collapse and dismantling of Soviet civilization ("Above all, we should acknowledge that the collapse of the Soviet Union was a major geopolitical of the [twentieth js added] century.")<sup>2</sup>; the analog to digital revolution that has pushed

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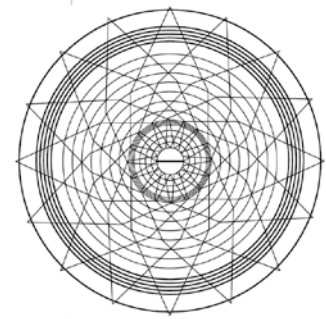
<sup>1</sup> T.S.Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). In adapting some elements of Kuhn's notions to humanities and social science it may be valuable to entertain as valuable the critique offered by David Stone, *Anything Goes: Origins of the Cult of Scientific Irrationalism* (Melbourne: Macleay Press, 1998) that irrational decision making plays a part, but as for 'hard' science Kuhn's arguments in "Objectivity, Value Judgment and Theory Choice," in T.S. Kuhn, *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) pp.320-339. Interesting perspective can be gained from the perspective offered by Freeman Dyson in his 1997 New York Public Library lectures, in Freeman Dyson, *The Sun, The Genome, and the Internet: Tools of Scientific Revolutions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999)

<sup>2</sup> The term "soviet civilization" draws on the great insights of Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) rich in so many dimension this magisterial (even well written book) reminds us, "... after the revolution in the Russian empire there was an enormous amount of admiring discussion of the United States as the world's most advanced civilization, and a kind of "Soviet Americanism" as history's next stage. The Soviet cult of America—a young, dynamic country that appeared to have made itself—took many forms, from the worship of industrial technology to a sense among large segments of the population that they had inherited from the Americans the mantle of civilization and enlightenment, even as their envy and imitation persisted." P.363; Vladimir Putin, President of Russia "Addresses to the Federal Assembly," 25 April 2005 [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/04/25/2031\\_type70029type82912\\_87086.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/04/25/2031_type70029type82912_87086.shtml); Putin also observed, "People in Russia say that those who do not regret the collapse of the Soviet Union have no heart, and those that do regret it have no brain. We do not regret this, we simply state the fact and know that we need to look ahead, not backwards. We will not allow the past to drag us down and stop us from moving ahead. We understand where we should move. But we must act based on clear understanding of what happened." ARD, ZDF joint interview 5 May 2005. [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/05/05/2355\\_type82912type82916\\_87597.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/05/05/2355_type82912type82916_87597.shtml). The very most recent piece on generation change which breaks down generations into more refined and (perhaps) appropriately named units, those who came into the world 1977-1984 she terms, "the Suslov generation", [what

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the ‘Gutenberg Galaxy’ into some kind of black hole, dissolving long functioning constraints on the means of production (Moore’s law and the dynamics pushing personal computers and scalable software have rendered A.J. Liebling’s dictum “Freedom of the Press is guaranteed only to those who own one ” quaint.<sup>3</sup>

Slashing information production, news and real reporting, from the chains binding it to its traditional economic moorings creates astonishing and disorienting opportunities. Extreme decentralization and rapid dismantling of vertical hierarchies—digital devices sniping every link in the long functioning chains of command, rooted, east and west in early 18<sup>th</sup> century experiences—gave unexpected rise to a new economic epoch, the new information economy.<sup>4</sup>

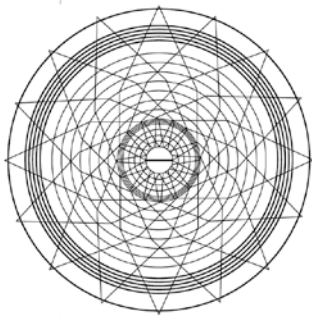
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happened to Brezhnev? he was still doddering and tottering 1977-1982. ]those born 1985-1991 “the Gorbachev generation, those 1992-1999 “the Eltsin generation,” those 2000 ‘the Putin generation, and those graduating from school 2010-2014 “the Medvedev generation.” is Larisa Pautova, “Novoe brezhnevskoe pokolenie,” [http://slon.ru/russia/novoe\\_brezhnevskoe\\_pokolenie-1062007.xhtml](http://slon.ru/russia/novoe_brezhnevskoe_pokolenie-1062007.xhtml) (28 February 2014); likewise Elena Novoselova, “S mesta-kar’era,” *Rossiiskaia Gazeta* 15 January 2013 <http://www.rg.ru/2013/01/15/kariera.html> [this feature an interview with Pautova on generational outlooks and ambitions]; “Larisa Pautova: pochemu buntuit liodi—XXI,” *DP.ru* 12 Marta 2012 <http://www.rg.ru/2013/01/15/kariera.html> (3 February 2014). Further research, particularly on how fine gradations in generation given their interactions with different modes of media and how they differ given the size of the cities and the kinds of cities where they grew up would be extremely beneficial.

<sup>3</sup> Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (New York: Mentor, 1962); Moore’s law coined around 1970 take its name from Intel co-founder Gordon E. Moore (1929- ) who in a 1965 paper reasoned and subsequently in an amended form predicted a doubling in performance in integrated circuits (microprocessors whose electronic heart depends on transistors and memory chips double in ‘density’ i.e. computing power), in effect, every 18 months or put in other terms vital to non-techy consumers (making computers products, consumer goods is an essential, capitalist economy sine qua non of the information/digital revolution) halving the price of computing power every 18 to 24 months. Intel, Video transcript, “Excerpts from A Conversation with Gordon Moore: Moore’s Law,” 2 pp. [http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2012/ph250/lee1/docs/Excepts\\_A\\_Conversation\\_with\\_Gordon\\_Moore.pdf](http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2012/ph250/lee1/docs/Excepts_A_Conversation_with_Gordon_Moore.pdf); see, too, “Moore’s ‘Law’ published in *Electronics*, April 1965. Corporate Histories Collection, Computer History Museum. <http://corphist.computerhistory.org/corphist/view.php?s=events&id=2454> John Markoff, credits Douglas Engelbart—the famous father of the computer mouse—with a slightly different formulation of the law providing for the miniaturization of transistors across the specified time-line, “After the Transistor, a Leap Into the Microcosm,” *The New York Times* August 31, 2009 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/01/science/01trans.html?ref=science> (accessed 13 February 2014) on Liebling, originally in “Do You Belong in Journalism?,” *The New Yorker* May 14, 1960 p.109. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/07/weekinreview/07cohen.html> see, Noam Cohen, “Word for Word/ A.J. Liebling: Surviving Without Newspapers,” [ quotation as “Freedom of the press is limited to those who own one.”] *The New York Times* Week in Review June 6 2009 <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/07/weekinreview/07cohen.html> (12 February 2014)

Paul Levinson, *Digital McLuhan: A Guide to the Information Millennium* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Paul Levinson, *the soft edge: a natural history and future of the information revolution* (New York: Routledge, 1997)

<sup>4</sup> Russian and colonial American ‘first’ newspapers in that came out regularly appeared at roughly the same time. Peter the Great ordered an official gazette created on 16 December 1702. John Campbell, postmaster and bookseller acted as editor of *The Boston News-Letter*, a half-sheet newspaper heavily subsidized by the British Government whose first edition carried the date 24 April 1704. The British authorities had, in effect, censored and put out of business the very first North American newspaper, *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic* in 1690 for being ‘unauthorized’ i.e. independent and bringing critical attention to a royal person (the King of France). Scholars sometimes dismiss Peter the Great’s *Vedomosti* for its erratic publication and limited circulation (plus it came out in Old Church Slavonic) crediting *Sankt-Petersburgskie vedomosti*, an organ of the Academy of Science, as the first Russian newspaper. Eric Burns, *Infamous Scribblers: the Founding Fathers and the Rowdy Beginnings of American Journalism* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006)pp.29-38; Jeffery A. Smith, “The Colonial Journalist: Good Humour’d Unless Provok’d,” in *Printers and Press Freedom: The Ideology of Early American Journalism* ( New York:



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The near simultaneous collapse of cold-war organizational schemes and the digitally driven new information economies triggered the intellectually intriguing but functionally destructive search for a new age ideological-philosophical organizing principle. Idealists and innovators sought as if by magic to discover a 'third way', a non-exploitative means of production. The quest for a neither communist/socialist nor capitalist master scheme (plus the stumbling, bumbling of technophobic newspapers desperate not to lose relevancy in the on line world gave away their intellectual property, thus habituating early adopters and the early majority to accessing news for free) gave dreamers and thinkers the impetus to revive a kind of 'digital-Kropotkinism'.<sup>5</sup> This type of voluntary association between workers distanced from

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Oxford University Press, 1988) pp.95-206; S.M. Tominskii, [Pervaia pechatnaia gazeta Rossii \(1700-1727\)](#) (Perm: 1959); Gary Marker, [Publishing, Printing and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia](#) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) pp.27-29; Louise McReynolds, [The News Under Russia's Old Regime](#) (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1991)pp.18-19.

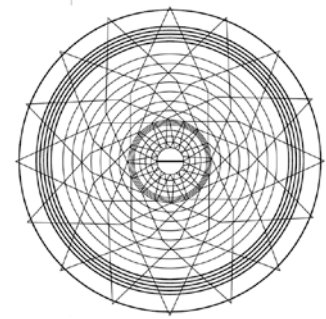
<sup>5</sup> Kropotkin's 1902 book emphasizing cooperative enterprise is entitled, [Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution](#). Two biographic followers made permanent the nickname the anarchist-prince, as this revolutionary thinker and activist was descended from Rurik dynasty. His father owned more than 1,200 souls [serfs] the basis of the family fortune. George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, [The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin](#) (New York: T.V. Boardman, 1950) Peter Kropotkin, [Memoirs of a Revolutionist](#) (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1899) Paul Avrich, [The Russian Anarchists](#) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); Martin A. Miller, [Kropotkin](#) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976). Kropotkin's own contribution (written 1909) to the famous eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1910-1912) is still worth reading...it emphasizes a differently organized society, "...harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of civilized being...the voluntary association which already now begin to cover all fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the state in all its functions. They would represent an **interwoven network** [my emphasis js], composed of an infinite variety of groups...for all possible purposes."

<https://archive.org/details/PeterKropotkinEntryOnanarchismFromTheEncyclopdiaBritannica> (14 February 2014). The naïve revivalism of Kropotkin's anarchism or 'digital Kropotkinism' a term derived from Paul Levinson's book, [Digital McLuhan: A Guide to the Information Millenium](#) (New York: Routledge, 2001) centers on the thought provoking work of Yochai Benkler, [The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom](#) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). "*The removal of the physical constraints and effective information productions make human creativity in the economics of information itself the core structure in fact in the new information economy...* p.4...the importance unprecedented reach individuals around the world before this was impossible is funneled efforts to either market organizations or philanthropic all our state-funded efforts p.4 one need only to run a Google search on any subject of inch to see how the "information good" that is a response to one's query is produced by *the coordinated attacks of the uncoordinated actions of a wide diverse range of individuals and organizations acting on a wide range of motivations both the market and nonmarket, state-based and non-state.*" p.5 The richness of the insights Benkler offered, including the possibilities of democracy in a networked public sphere cannot be understated. But haunting much of these insights are demons, including lack of any full understanding of Kropotkin, his thoughts, and the lesson his life teaches and a naïve assumption of the universality of the freedoms of the western (North American) networked public space (pace Liebling 'freedom of the network is limited to those who own one') underpinned as it was by the American military-industrial-academic complex. The 'big brother' oversight and intrusions into this 'democracy in a networked public space' with all the unintentional consequences and inhibitions induce as are being made clear by Edward Snowden only complicate the crystal ball gazes Benkler offers. See, for example Chandra Steele, "The 10 Most Disturbing Snowden Revelation," [PC Magazine](#) 11 February 2014 <http://www.pcmag.com/article2/0,2817,2453128,00.asp> or Alan Rusbridger, "The Snowden Leaks and the Public," [The New York Review of Books](#) November 21 2013. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/nov/21/snowden-leaks-and-public/?pagination=false> (1 February

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any central organization, private enterprise owner or government, based on non-renumerative *mutual-aid: a factor in evolution* lacks, of course, the kind dvorianstvo economic base that allowed the anarchist-Prince to play so long, and so wonderfully, with ideas. Another variant of the non-Moscow, non-Wall Street quest, the *Co-evolution* movement is rooted in counter-culture antithetical reaction to cold war America, which may or may not make it out of synch with dynamics at work among the debris field that is post-cold war, post-collapse of Soviet civilization Russia.<sup>6</sup>

Encounters with rapacious primitive or early capitalists, operating in the same (law challenged) debris field, both pure businessmen and media owners makes the 'digital Kropotkinism' and Co-evolution both more and less understandable as well as attractive. Also this 'wild east' time which created new habits and new words confused many about what was and is normal. Among the most important additions to journalism's vocabulary list is the new evergreen *zakazuka* [*pay to play journalism or coverage made to order or cash for coverage*] which many have internalized into their understanding of news production.<sup>7</sup> *Zakazuka's* yet unnamed cousin paying hackers, *compter-malchiki* to infect or take-down a media web site disrespecting or distressing some figure or authority also can loom large in the consciousness of those trying to make sense of news.<sup>8</sup> Anonymous voicing, the

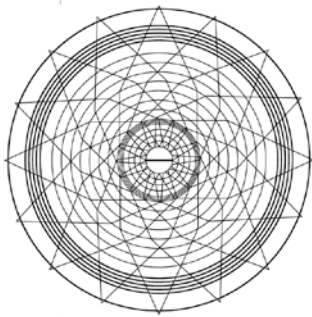
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2014); Tim Wu, among others highlights Bekler's conglomerate blindspot, how he overlooked the corrosive commercial pressures against 'digital Kropotkinism' unforeseen by the internet era's Lincoln Steffens ("I have seen the future and it works." 1919). Tim Wu, *The Master Switch: The Rise and Fall of Information Empires*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010 pp.255-256.

<sup>6</sup> Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Steward Brand, the Whole Earth Network and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Thierry Bardini, *Bootstrapping: Douglas Englebart, Coevolution and the Origins of Personal Computing* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000). John Markoff, "Computer Visionary Who Invented the Mouse," *The New York Times* July 3, 2013 <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/technology/douglas-c-engelbart-inventor-of-the-computer-mouse-dies-at-88.html?pagewanted=all> (14 February 2014) John Markoff, "An Homage to Douglas Engelbart and a Critique of the State of Tech," *The New York Times* December 16 2013 [http://bits.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/16/an-homage-to-douglas-engelbart-and-a-critique-of-the-state-of-tech/?\\_php=true&\\_type=blogs&\\_r=0](http://bits.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/16/an-homage-to-douglas-engelbart-and-a-critique-of-the-state-of-tech/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0) (14 February 2014)

<sup>7</sup> Alexei Pankin, "The Anatomy of Zakazukha," 15 February 1999 *Transitions on Line* in this piece Pankin cite then going prices, as reported in a 1997 *Obshchaia gazeta* article "Izvestiia \$2,500 for three typed pages; Kommersant-daily \$1000 to \$1,200 per page, Vechernaia Moskva \$300 per page.<http://www.tol.org/client/article/5658-the-anatomy-of-zakazukha.html> (14 February 2014); Freedomforum staff, "Russian journalism's 'dirty little' not-so-secret' charging for stories," 12 June 2001 Freedom Forum, <http://www.freedomforum.org/templates/document.asp?documentID=14128> (15February 2001) Pavel Stroilov, "Lebedev's Tangled Web, Open Democracy Russia 11 November 2010 [http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/pavel-stroilov/lebedevs-tangled-web?utm\\_source=feedblitz&utm\\_medium=FeedBlitzEmail&utm\\_content=2012](http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/pavel-stroilov/lebedevs-tangled-web?utm_source=feedblitz&utm_medium=FeedBlitzEmail&utm_content=2012). There is, brazenly obvious, a PR firm named, Zakazukha Marketing Communications. "Our strategy is simple – to help you tell your story through the most appropriate channel." <http://www.zakazukha.com/about-us/>"

<sup>8</sup> In well may be worth studying if web attacks, troll assaults register as affirmation of truthful reporting. On aggressive countermeasure see, O. Kozlovsky, *Speech at the Conference on Cyber Dissidents, Dallas, TX*. Retrieved from <http://olegkozlovsky.wordpress.com/2010/04/20/russian-internet-vs-russian-government-my-speech-at-a-conference>. Stephen Blank believes there is a Kremlin preference for attacking before there is a need to respond, to defend. The learning curve in use of streaming video, at least, indicates a continuous effort to catch up. The release of sensation material to YouTube in which Assistant Secretary of Victoria Nuland cursed her EU allies came more than two years after Pussy Riot demonstrated the great amplifier power of YouTube .Stephen Blank "Web War I: Is Europe's First Information War a New Kind of War?" *Comparative Strategy*, 27(3), 227–247.



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powerful side-force (not formal hierarchical boss, the gatekeeper) quickly raises its ugly (masked) head. It makes basic News Literacy principles VIA difficult to implement, harder to translate into quicksand social setting.<sup>9</sup>

Compounding difficulties with easily congruent comprehension among those growing up 'Alice in Putinland' style are the raw wounds lingering from the whirlwind "anything goes", short-lived freest press in the world interlude during the quicksand society years. These hurts coincide with the dressed up distractions of the mad dash catching up with long-postponed consumer revolutions. They are complicated, too by 'escape from the Aquarium' (to build on Boris Grebenshchikov metaphorical name for band that reflected the spirit of an age when smart young Russians could look out at the west but could not get out to the west to see and to feel for themselves) the new world opening freedom to travel.<sup>10</sup> Tourism beyond fraternal socialist countries sent smart people, cognitive dissonance in tow, to centers of decadence and chest-thumping democracy.<sup>11</sup> In some ways the long quest for a "radiant future" (the great propaganda slogan that loomed in neon and socialist-realism's bold graphics in many Soviet cities, such as Moscow's juncture of Cosmonaut Square and Marxism-Leninism Avenue that long proclaimed, 'Long Live Communism the Radiant Future of All Mankind!) has been replaced by a holy grail scavenger hunt for 'Shiny objects'.<sup>12</sup>

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doi:10.1080/01495930802185312; Yngvar B. Steinholt, "Kitten Heresy: Lost Contexts of Pussy Riot's Punk Prayer," *Popular Music and Society* vol.36 n. 1 2013 pp.120-124.

<sup>9</sup> On a quicksand society see, Heidi Hollinger and Jonathan Sanders, foreword by Mikhail Gorbachev, *The Russians Emerge* (New York: Abbeyville, 2002) pp.13-14

<sup>10</sup> See, Maria Tumarkin, *Otherland A Journey with My Daughter* (New York: Readhowyouwant.com, 2010) pp.57-62; T. Edward Phillips, "They Love this Rocking Russian in Brighton Beach," *The New York Sun* March 5, 2004 p.2 Naomi Marcus, "The Rooms Off Nevsky Prospect: A Decade in Aquarium," *The Village Voice* ; [http://www.aquariumband.com/pub/doc\\_nm1.html](http://www.aquariumband.com/pub/doc_nm1.html) (13 February 2014); J. Frederick Baylin, "Territory," (September 2000) [http://www.aquariumband.com/pub/doc\\_jfb1.html](http://www.aquariumband.com/pub/doc_jfb1.html)

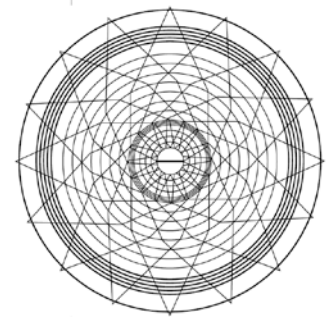
<sup>11</sup>The delicious Alice phrase comes from Alessandra Stanley, "Little Bit of 'Fantasia' as NBC Begins Olympic Show," *The New York Times* February 7, 2014 <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/08/sports/olympics/little-bit-of-fantasia-as-nbc-begins-olympic-show.html?hpw&rref=sports>; Jonathan Sanders, "Father Knows Best Meets Gunsmoke: Russia's New Television World," *Television Quarterly* vol. xxxii numbers 2 & 3 (Summer/Fall 2001) pp.44-49; Jonathan Sanders, "My verim v kosmicheskuii ulybku," ["We Believe in the Cosmic Giggle,"] G.A. Borovik, (ed.) *Artem Borovik: Uzhe ne vedaia pregrad* (Moscow: Sovershenno Sekretno, 2001) pp.513-522; David Remnick, "Letter From Moscow: Ekho in the Dark," *The New Yorker* September 22, 2008 [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/09/22/080922fa\\_fact\\_remnick](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/09/22/080922fa_fact_remnick) (17September 2011). Scott Shane, *Dismantlin Utopia: How Information Ended the Soviet Union* (Chicago: I.R. Dee, 1995). Ellen Mickiewicz, *Changing Channels: Television and the Struggle for Power in Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ellen Mickiewicz, *Television, Power, and the Public in Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Ellen Mickiewicz, "The Election News Story on Russian Television: A World Apart from Viewers," *Slavic Review* vol. 65 n. 1 (Spring 2006) pp. 1-23; Mark Koenig, "Media and Reform: The Case of Youth Programming on Soviet Television (1955-1990)," PhD diss. Columbia University, 1995

<sup>12</sup> See, Alexander Zinoviev, translated by Gordon Clough *The Radiant Future* <http://www.zinoviev.ru/en/writings/zinoviev-future.pdf> (22 February 2014); on Shiny Objects, besides many anecdote about 'new Russians' see, Masha Gessen, "The New Russians," *Wired* 3.05 (May 1995) early on Gessen singled out convergence of new and digitally adept, "overwhelmingly, New Russians are techies - tekhari in Russian - the same group that has comprised Russia's cultural elite for more than three decades. These are computer scientists and physicists, mathematicians and engineers - the people who graduated from the country's high-pressure technical schools.." <http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/3.05/russians.html> (22 February 2014) Rose Brady, "The Rise of New Russians," [chapter 4] in Rose Brady, *Kapitalizm: Russia's Struggle to Free Its Economy*

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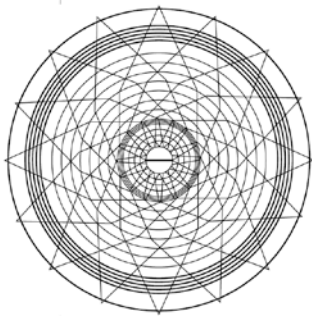
Instead of a grand square with a great billboard now the ruling urban symbol is “The House of 1000 Little Things.” [perhaps an alternative the MEGA Family Shopping Centers scattered across the RF] Some optimists hope that twenty years of shopping brought some satisfaction and the big stuff having been acquired people can demand the biggest things. Impressed by the man who turned out for turn off Putin demonstrations, mostly young people summoned by cellphone carried messages in 2012 one explained “After refrigerators and television sets” will come demands for political liberties, for freedoms promised denied.<sup>13</sup> Distrust and contempt for manipulation of the airwaves arises almost as a Hegelian dialectic from experience with ‘reklami’, advertisements, commercials. The brilliance of ‘little rolling films’, one minute advertisements for banks that would, under stress, fail or disappear with citizens money and all kinds of goods or services bred more than a little awe and cynicism. But the temptation of ‘quick stuff’ seemed more alluring than easy solution. Perhaps, too, the conflation of quick stuff with quick macro solution promised in most un-Communist terms by young reformers made for greater frustrations and thus great concentration on nothing more than making sure individuals secured the right shiny stuff for their kitchens.<sup>14</sup> When advertising production values crept into news production, doubting followed. Many ordinary screenagers, willy-nilly spontaneously followed the (Solzhenitsynian) imperative not to support lies. They ceased watching television, leaving that mode of information transmission to the ‘former people’ the sovoks. Rejection of reified consciousness projected by reified blue screens—the state’s return to gatekeeper controls on the masses of mass media—put even more emphasis on subversive moral values, instead of middle class materialism and the

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(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)pp.44–62. Leon Aron, “In Search of a Russian Middle Class 2000’ and ‘Restoration: The Art of Eating Returns to Russia 2002’ in Leon Aron, Russia’s Revolution: Essays 1989-2006 (Washington: The AEI Press, 2007) pp.107-120; 157-172. Harley Balzer, “Routinization of the New Russians,” The Russian Review 62 (January 2003) pp. 15-36, especially striking are the color illustrations, notably the Palekh box Jacuzzi scene from Mir novykh russkikh calendar for 1998.

<sup>13</sup> Andrei Kolesnikov, “Evolutsiia bobrovnykh shub,” Gazeta.ru, 24 January 2012. (26 January 2012). On the middle-classness of recent anti-new establishment demonstrations, see Leon Aron, “The Long Struggle for Freedom,” Journal of Democracy vol. 24 n.3 (July 2013) pp.62-74. In an article so distorted as to be billboard for the kind of slanted reporting many western journalism entities produced for the Sochi Olympics—“The Loneliness of Vladimir Putin: He Crushed his opposition and has nothing to show for it but a country that’s falling apart,” Julia Ioffe did sanely point out, “After the economic collapse and chaos of the 1990s, Putin and Russians had entered a tacit social compact: The government would provide stability and wealth, and the people would stay out of the government’s business.” The New Republic 2 February 2014 <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/116421/vladimir-putins-russia-has-crushed-dissent-stillfalling-apart> (27 February 2014). Is this tacit social contract a simply ‘retrieval’ ala McLuhan’s tetrad of media effects of the “Big Deal” effected after WWII between Stalin, the Stalinist gatekeepers of literature and the middle classes which Vera Sandomirsky Dunham identified in, In Stalin’s Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 1976)?

<sup>14</sup> This easy solution paradox, particularly when contrasted with the Mandela led experience in South Africa (a comparison most Slavs are loathed to hear) comes particularly from a refusal to confront the slogans and underlying realities of the past, notably the Stalinist past. Philosopher Aleksander Tsypko drew attention to this trap in 1989. See, “Istoki Stalinism,” Nauka I zhizn’ January 1989 pp.52-53. Leon Aron called my attention to this piece, Leon Aron, “Another Russia? After the Leviathan,” Journal of Democracy vol. 18 n.2 (April 2007) pp.120-123. Leon Aron, Roads to the Temple: Truth, Memory, Ideas, and Ideals in the Making of the Russian Revolution, 1987-1991 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Esp. pp.296-305.



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crass social bargain the man from Leningrad was trying in his third term to finalize with the people.<sup>15</sup>

Those screenagers caught up in the (new) world of shiny things find themselves enmeshed in a paradox. Whatever the advantages digital technology offers in information flows, it often disallows in professional guidance. For better or worse (and it is often BOTH) news flows directed by journalism professionals are less predominant. YouTube, RuTube, and LiveJournal offer different kinds of enticements, different ways of seeing news and the new 'Alice in Putinland' world.<sup>16</sup> Raw news materials and unverified sources soar through RuNet and the Russian trawling of the www.. Moreover, the habituation of new software and new hardware into new patterns of use by new twenty-first century youths, who notably multi-task—thumb skittering from Twitter to Vkontake to Facebook to BBC to grani.ru frequently 'collapses context' . We are just starting to understand the implications of this new set of habits for how it deflects, defines, and determines comprehension of informations follows. There are many dimensions to 'context collapse' [the phrase 'context collapse' formulated in a slightly different context comes the very original Principal Researcher at Microsoft, danah boyd.]<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Alexei Navalny as if channeling Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's imperative to 'live not by the lie', insisted, "Instead of ideological dogmas, follow moral norms, believe in common sense and the individual." These sentiments, naturally in the new order news world spread through the web and radio empowered web. Before the gatekeeper regime collapsed Solzhenitsyn's words, from his Nobel Lecture were beamed into the Soviet Union by the substitute media, including BBC and Radio Liberty. "The simple act of an ordinary courageous man is not to take part, not to support lies! Let *that* come into the world and even reign over it, but not through it. Writers and artists can do more: they can VANQUISH LIES! In the struggle against lies art has always won and always will. Conspicuously, incontestably for everyone. Lies can up against much in the world, but not against art." Alexander Solzhenitsyn, translated by F. D. Reeve, Nobel Lecture (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972) p.33 Boris Akunin, "Razgovor s politikom" ,[ a conversation between Akunin (pen name of Grigori Shalvovich Chkhartishvili] and Alexei Navalny, <http://borisakunin.livejournal.com/49763.html>; "Protestny dekabr 2011: chem eto zakonchitsya?"; Evgenia Albats' interview with Alexei Navalny on the "Polny Albats" show, Ekho Moskvyy, 26 December 2011, <http://echo.msk.ru/programs/albac/842708-echo/#element-text>; Karina Alexanyan et al, too highlight the moral imperatives. "The demands for justice, dignity and equal opportunity are a common theme in many successful Russian social movements....Over time, all these actions, on seemingly unrelated issues, help organizer learn what tactics work and which issues have salience with the broader public, and help build trust between participants within and across organizations..."Karina Alexanyan, Vladimir Barash, Bruce Etling, Robert Faris, Urs Gasser, John Kelly, John Palfrey, and Hal Roberts Exploring Russian Cyberspace: Digitally-Mediated Collective Action and the Networked Public Sphere

March 02 2012 [http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2012/exploring\\_russian\\_cyberspace](http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2012/exploring_russian_cyberspace) (21 February 2014) p.9. Much of the understanding of reification, the *thingification* of social relationships and the propagandizing of value through hegemonic "Cathedralistic" domination draws on the writings of Lukács György. A basic introduction to reification in Val Burris, "Reification: A Marxist Perspective," California Sociologist vol.10 n.1 (1988) pp.22-43.

<sup>16</sup> One significant difference, among the many that a crying out to be studied, is that RuTube makes easy to consciously track at least some of the history of the Russian on line world itself. Youtube's encyclopedic approach is somewhat typical American in that historical context is at best an afterthought. See, "Khronika Runeta. God 1997," <http://rutube.ru/video/72b5440aab7864440a084b0bacf19b5d/> (2 February 2014).

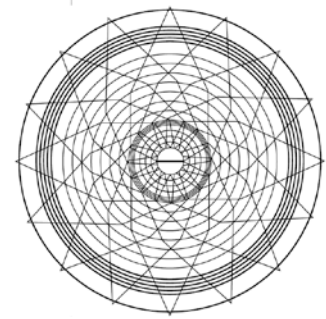
<sup>17</sup> See, <http://www.danah.org/> (2 February 2014).



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It quite possible all the ‘Alices in Putinland’ now coming of age stand in the shadows of this recently detected by scholars, development where the media is the message.<sup>18</sup> True, because of repression—now exercised not by ideological cleavers, but by economic levers [applied by the folks at Old Square and the Kremlin]—the great drive for very highest new news standards epitomized in the NTV slogan, ‘news is our profession’ has been sunk as flagship.

Yet, screenagers face paradoxes (and practical problems that can be helped through adaptive use of News Literacy principles) made out of something larger than Putin’s ‘mangling of democracy by managing shiny thing desires’. The paradox arises from the nature of digitally carried media itself. JÜRGEN HABERMAS, noted in his 2006 Kreisky Prize speech,

"Use of the Internet has both broadened and fragmented the contexts of communication. This is why the Internet can have a subversive effect on intellectual life in authoritarian regimes. But at the same time, the less formal, horizontal cross-linking of communication channels weakens the achievements of traditional media. This focuses the attention of an anonymous and dispersed public on select topics and information, allowing citizens to concentrate on the same critically filtered issues and journalistic pieces at any given time. The price we pay for the growth in egalitarianism offered by the Internet is the decentralised access to unedited stories. In this medium, contributions by intellectuals lose their power to create a focus."<sup>19</sup>

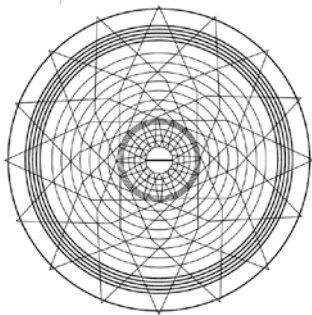
Russia’s long dependence on writers and journalist as directors of national attention (if even from the underground or through substitutional towers, Radio Liberty, the BBC beaming in messages from abroad) the media as social-engineers, the content makers as consciousness raisers and occasionally a conscience may be diminishing. This reduction can only please those hold the levers of power. It weakens threats to their preoccupations, although it also undercuts their own abilities to effectively communicate their own messages. It is a trade-off that most appear willing to make. “A great writer is, so to speak, a second government in his country” Noble prize winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn famously observed, “And for that reason no regime has ever loved great writers, only minor ones.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Alice Marwick and danah boyd, “I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately: Twitter User, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience,” *New Media and Society* February 2011 vol.13 n.1 pp.114-133; Alice Marwick and danah boyd, “Social Privacy in Networked Publics: Teen Attitudes, Practices and Strategies,” in *Proceedings A Decade in Internet Time: OII Symposium on the Dynamics of the Internet and Society* 21-24 September 2011 University of Oxford. [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1925128](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1925128) (14 February 2012). See boyd’s ongoing research projects: <http://research.microsoft.com/en-us/people/dmb/> and the kind of article that needs parallel research in Russia, Alice E. Marwick, “The Public Domain: Social Surveillance in Everyday Life,” *Surveillance & Society* 9 (4) pp. 378-393. [http://library.queensu.ca/ojs/index.php/surveillance-and-society/article/viewFile/pub\\_dom/pub\\_dom](http://library.queensu.ca/ojs/index.php/surveillance-and-society/article/viewFile/pub_dom/pub_dom) (25 February 2014).

<sup>19</sup> Jürgen Habermas, “Towards a United States of Europe,” [Acceptance Speech Bruno Kreisky Prize for the Advancement of Human Rights,” [March 2006] <http://www.signandsight.com/features/676.html> (22 February 2006)

<sup>20</sup> Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn,



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Harvard's Berkman Center has found, as common sense observation of life in Russian urban spaces particularly the capitals dictates, evidence of an emerging networked public. Significantly, it features as Habermas foresaw, but with different specificities, a "collaborative ecosystem that help to fuel new media but also highlights the appearance of alternative sources of primary reporting and information that lies outside of traditional media sources. Moving beyond agenda setting to framing news and political actors, there are a growing number of important examples that demonstrate the capacity of new media to choose the words and perspectives to describe news events."<sup>21</sup> These important findings, however, underpinned by a gushing enthusiastic embrace of digital-Kropotkinism and an unspoken anti-professional newsgathering (disguised simply as a preference for bottom-up agenda setting and modes of operation) do not address the accuracy, dependability, bias, verifiability, or lasting value of the news so engendered.<sup>22</sup>

Glare from the distorting rearview mirror, images bouncing off the misshapen but in some ways nostalgically recalled haunting entity *homo sovieticus* impedes or at least can interfere with clear vision of news that appears on their computer monitors and/or increasingly the handheld small screens that dominates their online use.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, the arts and sciences of news literacy depend more on lessons learned informally in the kitchen than on formal training in Russian primary and secondary schools.

These schools receive high marks, Fives, for education in mathematics, grammar, abstract scientific theory contempt on science education but do not do an outstanding job, often, in teaching the humanities and the social sciences. Fear and the new fashions and political correctness often interfere with outstanding instruction in these 'softer' subjects. Instruction in the relevancy of news remains informal. Study of popular culture weak. Often it is a matter for the (Evro-remonted) kitchen. Habits of reading between the lines or vectored viewing (its visual cum aural equivalent form)

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<sup>21</sup> Karina Alexanyan, Vladimir Barash, Bruce Etling, Robert Faris, Urs Gasser, John Kelly, John Palfrey, and Hal Roberts [Exploring Russian Cyberspace: Digitally-Mediated Collective Action and the Networked Public Sphere](http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2012/exploring_russian_cyberspace) March 02 2012 [http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2012/exploring\\_russian\\_cyberspace](http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/publications/2012/exploring_russian_cyberspace) (21 February 2014) p.7

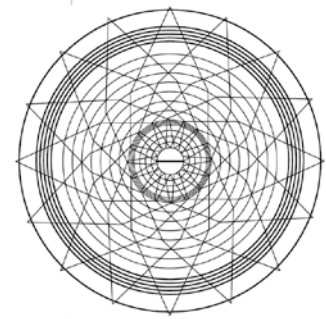
<sup>22</sup> The study adopts Benkler's definition of the network public sphere as "an online space where members of society can cooperate, present political opinions, and collectively serve as watchdogs over society, all through an online, cooperative, peer-produced model that is less subject to state authority than the traditional media." [Op. cit.](#) p.6. The limitations seem to preclude investigations of television with web based distribution, such as "Dozhd" or the hybrid Echo Moscow Radio which often combines aural only transmissions with streaming video of live events, video capture of radio interviews, blogs, often those featuring notable commentators (Liudmila Alekseeva, Iulia Latynina, Eduard Limonov, Nikolai Svanidze) and outstanding hard news photographers (for example Il'ia Varlamov) or outlinking to a long term tower of powerful truth telling, such as the BBC. However, their marvelous link analysis demonstrates the great outlinking from the blogosphere to YouTube as well as the raw material of new kinds of news gathering crowdsourcing of events, say drivers movements or election monitoring [especially falsification] efforts.

<sup>23</sup> On nostalgia see, Svetlan Boym, [The Future of Nostalgia](#) (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Aleksandr Zinovyev, [Homo Sovieticus](#) (New York: Grove/Atlantic, 1986); Andrei Siniavskii, [Osnovy sovetskoi tsivilizatsii](#) (New York: Arcade 1990).

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come to those whose interpretive tools were largely forged eras dominated by the silver screen in the blue screen not the small screen. Skills addressed by media creators aimed at a 'reader-friend', (those capable of immediately detecting a sub-text audiences invited them to be part of the creative process. This 'game' or had special appeal in times of heavy censorship, but could lead to cross-cultural misinterpretations.<sup>24</sup> Generational differences loom large. Signposts and signal events, the lodestar philosophical guides are as separate across the generational gaps between what Turgenev called Fathers and Children or those conflicts that arose between adults and brought up in the prerevolutionary years and those coming-of-age during NEP....compounding lessons learned in the confusing Russian age of anxiety, the post-fall of the Berlin Wall to re-statization (or thermidorian swing of the executive pendulum) after the 'quicksand society years' (1986-1990-2001) [in purest mass media terms perhaps this period is best bracketed from founding of Interfax as a non-governmental news agency in 1989 until 2001 when Gazprom conquered NTV, itself launched in 1993.]

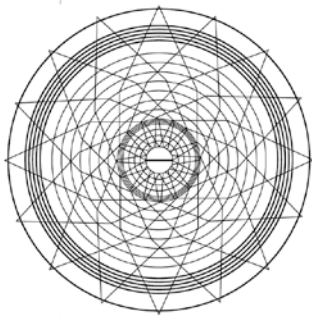
The disappearance, seemingly overnight, of traditional gatekeepers in the news world (and more broadly in the Internet information economies) plagues everyone, everywhere.<sup>25</sup> GLAVLIT [Glavnoe upravlenie po delam literatury i izdteľstva The Chief Administrative Board for Matters of Literature and Publishing...the name varied across Soviet time 1922-1991] and Central Committee (of the Communist Party SSSR) [especially its Ideological Department] operated industrial strength 'iron' gatekeeper controls over all mass media. Usefulness to the party often was coterminous with definitions of newsworthiness. Some insisted, "Basically, anything which can be used to illustrate current Party policy or economic progress is considered worthy of publication and almost anything else is considered unimportant or unworthy." Put more simply the mass of mass media was pure Madison Avenue in magic Marxism-land, "Soviet television is commercial to the extent that it advertises one product: U.S.S.R inc."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The great, though little known in the west, satirist M.E.Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826-1889) first identified the reader-detector. See, his story "Melochi zhizni,"; on "vectored viewing" Nicholas Daniloff, Jeff Trimble, "Soviet TV: New Words, Same Story," U.S. News & World Report June 9, 1986 pp.35-36.

<sup>25</sup> Literature on gatekeeper functions is vast. A good introduction can be found in the section, "News as Social Production. Selecting News: The Individual Gatekeeper," in Dan Berkowitz (ed), Social Meaning of News: A Text Reader (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997) pp.53-104.

<sup>26</sup> Gayle Durham Hollander, Soviet Political Indoctrination: Developments in Mass Media Since Stalin (New York: 1972)p.39 Another sovietologist put it, "The primary mission of the media system in the Soviet Union is the socialization of every person receiving the message...what is newsworthy...has already been set by overarching doctrine and party policy...derived from the notion that the ruling doctrine is based on science. Lenin's understanding of Marx's "scientific socialism...." Ellen Mickiewicz, Split Signals: Television and Politics in the Soviet Union U (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) pp.26; 28. The quote about Soviet television is from Jonathan Sanders, then of Columbia University's Working Group on Soviet Television. Nick Daniloff, Jeff Trimble, "Soviet TV: New Words, Same Story." U.S. News & World Report June 9 1986, p.35. The great chronicler of GLAVLIT termed it a "self-administered poison." He also noted its essential Russianness, channeling the words of Godunov-Cherdyntsev, the poet-hero of Nabokov's novel *Dar* (The Gift) who reflected, 'In Russia the censorship department arose before literature; its fateful seniority has been always in evidence.' Arlen Blyum, A Self-Administered Poison:



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Rigid party discipline kept plane crashes, unless they happened to foreign airlines abroad, from being reported. Crime and poverty haunted the west but not the motherland. Soviet Communist power disappeared 266 months ago. The aura of its news management methodology has a long half-life. Sometimes turning the old upside down on its head served as ‘the new journalism.’ Simply doing the opposite of what were the old concrete norms or adapting them with new substitute values have built news empires. The massive press coverage of ‘the Butcher of Rostov’ (the red ripper) Andrei Chikatilo, the murderer-rapist-cannibal who sent at least 52 victims was an early example of glavlit negation.<sup>27</sup> Read slightly more broadly, the internalization of prurient and censorious party induced sovok values and the media’s prohibitions on factually useful reporting on anything sexual contributed to Soviet everywoman, Liudmilla Ivanova rocketing a ‘catch-phrase’. During a pioneering experiment in East-West communications, the very glasnosty US-USSR Spacebridge a concerned Seattle mother (perhaps critical on excesses visible increasingly in American homes) asked the Leningrad audience about sex and violence on Soviet television. Comrade Ivanova began her answer, “There is no sex in the Soviet Union....” Laughter drowned out the rest of her reply.<sup>28</sup> Fast forward twelve years journalist Elena Khanga created a sensation with her “Pro eto” [About *That*] talk show.<sup>29</sup> (Some suggest, notably that in the early years of the Russian internet ankedoty substituted for sex-- what in the west was a dominant feature of the web, sex talk, show, tell and sell).<sup>30</sup> Now 50% of Russian internet users, a VTsIOM survey reveals, prefer not to talk about ‘sexual relationships’ on-line. Presumably that means 50% don’t mind discussion ‘pro eto’.<sup>31</sup>

The digital dragons slaying old analog gods visited, as collateral damage, ‘tower toppling’ destruction of the vertically ordered gatekeeper model.<sup>32</sup> Its collapse in the

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The System and Function of Soviet Censorship, translated by I.P. Foote (London: Legenda, 2003) p.1 see, Sovetskaia tsenzura v epolhu total'nogo terrorak, 1929-1953 (St.Petersburg, Akademicheskii proekht, 2000); A.V.Blium (ed) Tsenzura v SSSR, 1917-1991 (Moscow: Rosspen 2004); A.V.Blium, Za kulisami "Ministerstva pravdy": tainaia istoriia sovetskoi tsenzury, 1917-1929 (Sankt-Peterburg : Akademicheskii proekt 1994); also very useful is T.M. Goriaev (comp), Istoriia sovetskoi politicheskoi tsenzury: dokumenty i kommentarii (Moscow: Rosspen, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> “Izbavlenie ot Chikatilo: Rovno 20 let nazad byl kaznen Adrei Chikatilo,” Gazeta.ru 16 Fevralia 2014 <http://www.gazeta.ru/social/2014/02/14/5907929.shtml>; Robert Cullen, The Killer Department: Detective Viktor Burkov's Eight-Year Hunt for the Most Savage Killer of Our Time (New York: Pantheon, 1993) [There is a 1995 film “Citizen X” based on this book. Richer in notes from the media coverage is Richard Lourie, Hunting the Devil, Pursuit, Capture and Confessions of the Most Savage Killer in History (New York: Harpercollins, 1993).

<sup>28</sup> The rest of the reply, translated, “On TV only Love.” See, “Spacebridge ‘Citizens Summit’ Leningrad-Seattle 29 December 1985 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcP-asqXP4>

<sup>29</sup> Elena’s show ran 1997-2000. She said the cutting-edge telecast were “like a bomb going off.” Michael Schwartz, “Revolution? Da. Sexual? Nyet.” The New York Times 14 July 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/15/fashion/15sex.html> (15 February 2014).

<sup>30</sup> This cultural contrast, if true, makes for a fascinating area to be explored by a bold graduate student.

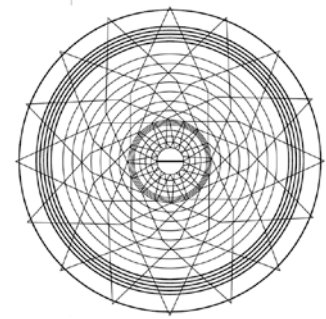
<sup>31</sup> Based on a VsTsIOM 2012 survey of 1,600 people in 46 regions and republics of Russia as presented in Infographics, “Truth and lies of Russian Internet Users,” RiaNovosti 2012 <http://en.ria.ru/infographics/20120630/174286549.html> (16 February 2014).

<sup>32</sup> The tower metaphor plays with image of “The Cathedral and the Bazaar” of changes in the media world, see among many other, Eric S. Raymond, “The Cathedral and the Bazaar,” First Monday vol.3, number 3 2 March 1998 <http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/578/499> (16 February 2014) and Eric S. Raymond, The Cathedral & The Bazaar: Musing on Linux and Open by an Accidental Revolution (Cambridge: O’Reilly, 1999). In a

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Eurasian space resounded more dramatically than elsewhere because this scientific revolution coincided with and accompanied the destruction of other soviet socialist monoliths by the forces unleashed by the Gorbachev-Eltsin fight for Kremlin power, a kind of third Russian revolution. The kaleidoscopically disorienting (featuring in the minds of some digital democracy), everywhere undercut and is undercutting the vertical integration essential to the strong gatekeeper model of information flows.

As economic constraints diminished other, natural, impediments to gaining broad audiences vanished. It cost, for instance, only \$380 for police officer Aleksei Aleksandrovich Dymovskii to create <http://www.Dymovskiy.ru>. Then upload a video to popular open mass platforms and quickly become a YouTube Star. His vlog, videoblog became a news sensation in its own right and the raw material for the production of hundreds of articles by professional journalists.<sup>33</sup> When disappointed with 'old tv' (including the conversion of once new NTV into old tv) in 2007 Natalia Sindeeva moved to create a new, largely streaming video independent television entity, Dozhd: The Optimistic Channel it was not cheap but the miniaturization of technology and capital acquired from years of operating the popular "Silver Rain" radio station made it possible to operate, not in airplane-hanger sized spaces needed at Ostankino, Moscow's television city but in a repurposed chocolate factory.<sup>34</sup> Early innovation in e-mailing and internet connections rode into Russia on the back of the same kinds of progressive minded non-profit organization that, like WELL and the Whole Earth Catalog folks shaped the north American linked computer world, progressive nerds and activists from the San Francisco bay.<sup>35</sup> Although little noticed during the August

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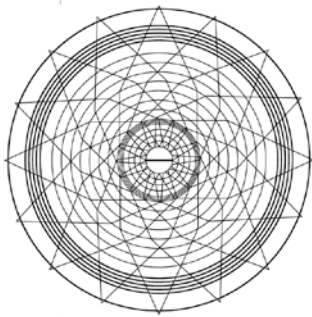
lovely linguistic twist one of rallying to action grassroots movements, directed against the mighty Gazprom's plans for a huge architectural monument to itself, is called deliciously: TOWER-NET. See, [www.bashene.net](http://www.bashene.net).

<sup>33</sup> F. Toepfl, *Managing Public Outrage: Power, Scandal and New Media in Contemporary Russia*. Paper presented at the Conference on Internet, Politics and Policy, Oxford, UK. Retrieved June 20, 2011, from <http://microsites.oii.ox.ac.uk/ipp2010/programme/79>: J.E. Burgess, J. E., & J. Green, The Entrepreneurial Vlogger: Participatory Culture beyond the Professional-Amateur Divide. In Snickers, P., & Vonderau, P. (Eds.), *The YouTube Reader* (pp. 89–107). Stockholm, Sweden: National Library of Sweden. Beth Knobel and Jonathan Sanders, "Samizdat 2.0: The Dymovsky Case and the Use of Streaming Video as a Political Tool in Contemporary Russia," *International Journal of E-Politics*, 3(1), 26-41, January-March 2012 pp.27-28; generally the best and most thoughtful guide to the Russian on-line world is Evgenii Gorny. See, E. Gorny, Understanding the Real Impact of Russian Blogs. *Russian Analytical Digest*, 69, 8-10. Retrieved from [kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/.../Russian\\_Analytical\\_Digest\\_69.pdf](http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/.../Russian_Analytical_Digest_69.pdf); Eugene Gorny, *A Creative History of the Russian Internet: Studies in Internet Creativity* (Berlin: VDM Verlag, 2009).

<sup>34</sup> Some of the Dozhd team were more disgusted than disappointed. Valery Panyushkin, commented, "TV is dying, those Kremlin dudes have killed it. It's impossible to learn anything from TV now, therefore it makes no sense to watch it." Xenia Prileskaya, "Rainy TV Channel's Optimistic Ambition," *The Moscow Times* 1 June 2010 [http://www.themoscowtimes.com/arts\\_n\\_ideas/article/rainy-tv-channels-optimistic-ambition/407231.html](http://www.themoscowtimes.com/arts_n_ideas/article/rainy-tv-channels-optimistic-ambition/407231.html); Natal'ia Sindeeva, "27 april'ia 2010 Dozhd," Aleksandr Gorbachev, Il'ia Krasil'shchik (eds) *Istoriia russkikh media 1989-2011 versiiia 'afriishi'* (Moskva: Afrisha, 2011) p.293

<sup>35</sup> Evgenii Gorny's chronological history of the Russian internet begins with January 1990. The first entry reads: "**January**: Creation of the social organization "Glasnet"\* (<http://glas.apc.org> later known as <http://glasnet.ru>).

Financing was provided by the American "Association for Progressive Communication," from San Francisco (<http://www/apc.org>).



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1991 coup attempted by hard-line communists against the last General Secretary of the Communist Party USSR, Mikahil Sergeevich Gorbachev, who was defended by his rival the first democratically elected President of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolaevich Eltsin, Gleb Pavolvskii who created his own internet address in 1990 used it to dispatch accurate accounts of Moscow happenings from the (faxed) pages of the Post-Factum News Agency.<sup>36</sup> Journalists who focused on education, Uchitetelskaia gazeta became the first 'dead trees' (paper based) publication to offer an electronic version in March 1995. Late the same year speaking out the astrophysicist theory community (from 'the other shore' an untenured post at the University of Kentucky) Dmitri Verner launched the immensely popularly and tellingly significant Russian anecdotes site, <http://www.anekdot.ru>, and within months enterprise-minded risk-takers opened Tetriz, Russia's first internet café in St.Petersburg. Significantly, the anecdote enterprise came from without, like Radio Liberty and the BBC had, but it encountered no jamming as it crossed the iron curtain, Cathedral like walls had indeed come tumbling down and pernicious brain-drain paid the motherland back a dividend.<sup>37</sup> Christmas 1996 brought Vecheny Internet a way to promote Cityline, a Moscow ISP with a friend of the company owners Anton Nosik providing content. Soon Zhurnal.ru, a cultural enterprise that served under editor Evgenii Gorny as a pixel pumped school

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The Americans devised the name "Glasnet" by combining the words "Glasnost" and "Network". "They provided grants, which financed Internet work for teachers, human rights workers, ecologists, informal groups and other guarantors of the open society. Namely these professions were the first provided with communications by Glasnet. Thematic teleconferences were provided for these organizations and they were assisted in receiving information from the Internet, and were oriented on its use, and these 50 users were serviced by three modem lines in 1990." (Alexander Gagin, <http://inter.net.ru/11>). In 1993, "Glasnet" became a commercial provider. On June 1, 1999 "Glasnet" merged with the company "Sovam Teleport." The technical capacity and the trademark "Glasnet" became the property of "Sovam", and on September 2, 1999 "Sovam Teleport" and "Telephone Communications of Moscow" merged with "TeleRoss Ltd." Eugene Gorny, Materials About the History of the Russian Internet PDF March 29, 2000 (material courtesy of Evgenii Gorny) p.1; On California see, Fred Turner, From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Steward Brand, the Whole Earth Network and the Rise of Digital Utopianism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); John Markoff, What the Dormouse Said: How the Sixties Counterculture Shaped the Personal Computer Industry (New York; Penguin Books, 2006); for a fascinating study of why the internet was not born, so to speak, Cyrillic see, Slava Gerovitch, "InterNyet: why the Soviet Union did not build a nationwide computer network," History and Technology vol. 24, no 4 December 2008, pp.335-350; [http://russ.ru/netcult/20030617\\_verner.html](http://russ.ru/netcult/20030617_verner.html)

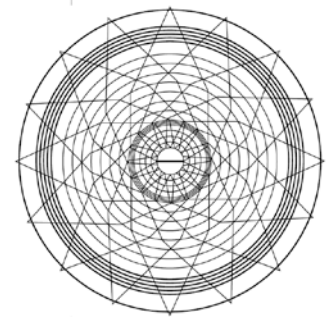
<sup>36</sup> Postfactum was created in 1989 and along with Inter-Fax became one of the best independent news organization in the Soviet Union. During the coup some news agencies experienced trouble with their phone/fax lines. No one seemed to think to interfere with data lines or internet connections. Author's observations. (The author covered the coup for CBS News.) Krisina Lindgren, "As Plot Unfolded, She Had FAX on It," The Los Angeles Times August 27, 1991. [http://articles.latimes.com/1991-08-27/news/mn-1706\\_1\\_soviet-union](http://articles.latimes.com/1991-08-27/news/mn-1706_1_soviet-union) ( 24 January 2014); Gleb Olegevich Pavlovski, in Aleksandr Gorbachev, op. cit. p.188.

<sup>37</sup> Gorny, Materials pp.3-4; D. Verner, "Anekdoty iz Rosii I fol'klor internetovskoi epokhi, " Russkii Zhurnal [http://russ.ru/netcult/20030617\\_verner.html](http://russ.ru/netcult/20030617_verner.html). (27 January 2010). For an introduction to anekdoty see, Emil A. Draitser, Taking Penguins to the Movies: Ethnic Humor in Russia (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998). The character and content of the early and long popular anecdote site makes ridiculous the analytic thrust and predicative power of F. Fossato, J. Lloyd, & A. Verkhovsky, A. (2008, September 26). The Web that Failed: How opposition politics and independent initiatives are failing on the Internet in Russia. Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved from <http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/nc/publications/risj-challenges/the-web-that-failed.html>

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of Russian network journalism, supported in some measure by advertisements created by the first digital advertising network boys appeared. The electronic journal, Intellectual Capital disseminated the gravelly voice of Afghan war hero and idiosyncratic Duma member Alexander Lebed (1950-2002) across Russian cyberspace in the RealAudio format. In short order, 1998 the first professionally edited web news services, Lenta.ru; Gazeta.ru and Polit.ru appeared and quickly after (18 March 1999 generally in Russian, 1 February 2000) that LiveJournal.com, the largest Russian language blog community.<sup>38</sup>

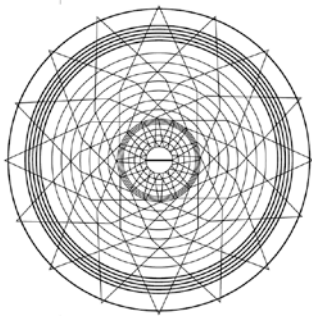
Barriers dropped. Imported innovations, such as LiveJournal became more central, more popular, more vital to the dissemination of the new and news than in their place of origin. The new replaced old. Choice replaced varieties of conformity. Old habits, even revised as on television where South American soap operas took the time slots of sentimental movies and pedagogy, offered shiny and new content. Game shows for substantial material objects gained popularity instead brain challenging Shto, gde, kogda ? Without the Stalinist repression, without the ‘Cathedral down’ command impetus it seemed, suddenly (although on line its development followed the classic Everett Rogers, Diffusion of Innovation scheme) like a gigantized, *spontaneous* replication of Mao’s “Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom” movement.<sup>39</sup> The entire spontaneity of the ‘quicksand era’ contrasted sharply, of course, with the constrained consciousness era (it seemed like eons) of central party-GLAVLIT control. The triumph of spontaneity over consciousness (or the self-anointed consciousness of party few

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<sup>38</sup> “Novosti v internete: Polit.ru, Gazeta.ru, Lenta.ru,” Aleksandr Gorbachev, *op. cit.* p.185-193; Eugene Gorny, Russian LiveJournal: National specifics in the development of a virtual community Russian-cyberspace.org / URL:<[http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/russ-cyb/library/texts/en/gorny\\_rljl.pdf](http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/russ-cyb/library/texts/en/gorny_rljl.pdf)> Version 1.0, 13.05.2004; Significantly, Evgenii emphasizes, “The internet as a global communication system has often been perceived as a means of effacing differences between local cultures and, sometime, even as a tool of coercive unification of the world in accordance with the values of liberalism and the American way of life.[ Paul Treanor. Internet as hyper-liberalism, 1996, <<http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/net.hyperliberal.html>> (1 April 2004). ] Apart from these political and ethical dimensions, the uniformity of technical standards of Internet protocols, software and interfaces can apparently influence the process of cultural unification impacts of the internet and preserve their individuality. Linguistic differences are one of the most visible factors in this process. As Olia Lialina put it, “It’s said that the Internet has no borders, but one is obvious. The border of language. Languages trace new maps along the Internet...” [Florian Schneider and James Allan. RUNET: NetCulture in Russia: Interview with Olia Lialina, 21 February 2000, <<http://www.heise.de/tp/english/inhalt/on/5819/1.html>> (17 November 2003). ] However language is not an indifferent means of communication; it is connected with cultural values and, through it, with the national character.¶ My hypothesis is that the deviation of RLJ [Russian Live Journal js] from LJ [Live Journal js] as a whole (or, to be more specific, from the English-language LJ may be explained to a certain degree by the influence of Russian culture and national character upon the users’ online behavior.” Russian-cyberspace.org / URL:<[http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/russ-cyb/library/texts/en/gorny\\_rljl.pdf](http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/russ-cyb/library/texts/en/gorny_rljl.pdf)> Version 1.0, 13.05.2004 p.10.” Mariia Treshchanskaia, “Udalennaia zhiz’: Vesti virtualni dnevnike –eto modno, Izvestiia 4 Iulia 2001 p. 3; Gorny, Creative History *op. cit.* m pp.235, 239.

<sup>39</sup> Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations (New York: The Free Press, 1962). The adoption, especially the early adoption of cell phones and computers among ‘new Russians’ besides being fodder for some wonderful anecdote gives meaningful reading to the insights of Alexander Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1962). See, too his “Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development,” in Michael Cherniavsky (ed) The Structure fo Russian History Interpretative Essays (New York: Random House, 1970 pp.282-308. Roderick MacFarquhar, The Origins of the Cultural Revolution: Contradictions Among the People, 1956-1957 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).





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isolated in a backward land of primitive hyper-hormonal masses, striving at best for bourgeois vapidty) reversed and visited revenge on the Bolshevik triumph of consciousness over spontaneity.<sup>40</sup>

To make sense of the wild flooding of the new and news, content created not necessarily by professionals and created not even in contexts with which new Russia consumer had familiarity everyone was on their own. Atomized information reception ruled. Even where readers turned to familiar rubrics or publications, old stand-bys Izvestiia and Pravda different regimes controlled the editorial rudders, different entrepreneurial engines drove the revised, reformed and revitalized (or not) old reliables that had to learn to survive in primitive market conditions undercut by the further chaos plaguing many 'dead tree' entities [a snarky term for paper-based past-facing traditional newspaper organizations], the new realities of the digital distribution world.<sup>41</sup> In the absence of GATEKEEPERS, spontaneously each individual needed to develop the skills to his/her own GRATEKEEPER<sup>42</sup>. As gratekeepers each citizen news consumer must learn to be competent to deflect the on rushing currents of communicated messages into canals for garbage that news disposal and channels for analyzed understanding that creates patterns of journalistically valid and user useful information. In this way the Gratekeeper skill set overlaps the historic mission of Schneiderian News Literacy.<sup>43</sup>

News Literacy is tool box for adapting individuals to the post-Cathedrals collapsed world. For all its pragmatic virtues this tool kit reflects, for worse and better the limitation of its creators and the matrix, notably the cultural, ideological, class, and

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<sup>40</sup> Classic accounts of this dichotomy are Lenin's 1905, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," and Leopold Haimson, The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955) esp. chapter 8.

<sup>41</sup> The author was involved in the Pravda world. "Dzhonatan Sanders, novyi obozrevatel' 'Pravdy'" Pravda 26 Dekabria 1992 p.1. The contrast in the different roads taken—that makes all the difference (Robert Frost) between Pravda and Izvestiia over the last three decades, cries out for thoughtful young scholar's attention.

<sup>42</sup> The reference is to grating as filters, a grating covering a drain, they block the movement of large particles such as leaves that might clog a drain but allow the movement of water, sewage and small participle to be dispersed



away regularly. An American street drain topped by a grate looks like

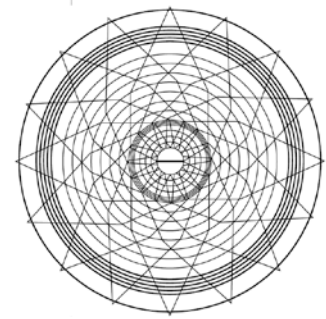
<sup>43</sup> <http://www.centerfornewsliteracy.org/history/>. As conceptualized by Howard Schneider news literacy served a public, a democratic goal of creating better prepared news consumers. It stands in marked contrast to the professional navel gazing and at times bloated pseudo-intellectual posturing put forward by those who hijacked the term without the slightest acknowledgement of their intellectual debts. See, in contrast, "Book—News Literacy: Global Perspectives for the Newsroom and the Classroom. **Overview** *News Literacy* gathers leading scholars, educators, and media makers to explore new approaches to thinking about, examining, and evaluating news media and civic engagement. News Literacy explores these two fundamental questions: What are the most pressing issues in news, media, and culture in a converged, digital, and global media age? What are the best educational practices to foster media literate understanding, engagement, and expression across borders, across cultures, and across divides? News Literacy prepares future media practitioners (and citizens) to embrace new media environments that can simultaneously empower their craft and their civic voice." <http://www.salzburg.umd.edu/book-%E2%80%9494-news-literacy-global-perspectives-newsroom-and-classroom> (19 February 2014).



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linguistic *weltanschauung* [*mirovozzrenie*] of its creators as rooted in a particular national experience. It postulates, if unconsciously a certain universality and whig outlook, underpinned by an assumption of progressive narratives.<sup>44</sup>

News literacy lacks a comparative perspective. It fails to consider anything, as Herzen titled it, “from the other shore,” even a near shore or across a friendly border. There is nothing examined or incorporated into its analytic or prescriptive matrix as simple as that rooted in Francophone news world of New York’s neighbor to the north, Quebec or more broadly bi-lingual Canada, to say nothing of the rich, if significantly different print and publishing history of another long-lived democracy, France.<sup>45</sup> However, the shortcoming, although richly indicative of ‘idea foundry’ where they were cast, are guileless. It stands far about from such nonsense as ‘transitology’ and triumphalistic pleating and promotion of the so-called victorious (in the cold war) American model.<sup>46</sup>

Where news literacy pushes to undercut Russia or at least Russian values it is by unthinkingly taking sides in the Westernizer-Slavophile debate. It sides with those for whom, bringing out the underlying identity between Russia and the west was, in and since the time of Peter the Great, was axiomatic.<sup>47</sup> Yet, the over-extension of

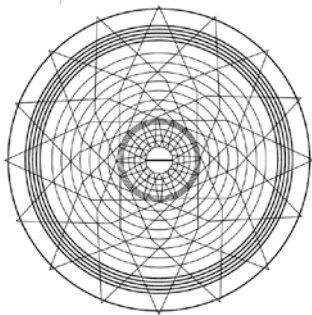
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<sup>44</sup> Ideology here is utilized in a totally non-pejorative sense, although it does incorporate notions drawn from György Lukács (especially insights in, “What is Orthodoxical [sic] Marxism,” in translated by Rodney Livingstone, *History and Class-Consciousness* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971) and Antonio Gramsci (particularly hegemony in Joseph A. Buttigieg (ed) *Antonio Gramsci Prison Notebooks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992) pp. 233-238). See, George Lichtheim, *The Concept of Ideology, and Other Essays* (New York: Random House, 1967). For those proceeding through the media studies prism see, the father of British academic leftist media studies, Stuart Hall, “The Problem of Ideology-Marxism without Guarantees,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* vol.28 n.10 1986 <http://jci.sagepub.com/content/10/2/28> (16 September 2009). <http://jci.sagepub.com/content/10/2/28>; The image of crass, “from the Cathedral” CP ideology has its foundation in the populist, not idea-probing writing of Nikolai Bukharin (with Evgenii Preobrazhenskii, *Azbuka kommunizma* (NP [Moskva] 1921) or in English, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, *The ABC of Communism: a popular explanation of the Program of the Communist Party of Russia* (London: The Communist Party of Great Britain, 1922); on the other end of the historical continuum, the another great party thinker’s rejection of warn out ideology and its blinders, see, Aleksandr Iakolev, *Omut pamiatii* (Moskva: Vagrisus, 2000); equally valuable (as are most of his writings) Feodor Burlatskii, *Reformy I reformatory: nadezhdy i illiuzii* (Moskva: Sobranie, 2008)

<sup>45</sup> The many works of Robert Darnton, Carl H. Pforzheimer University Professor and University Library raise many intriguing and comparative questions. Darnton comes at his incisive intellectual inquiry by way of working as a reporter for *The New York Times*.

<sup>46</sup> The best critiques of American triumphalism, especially singling out its underlying anti-Russian core continue to come from Stephen F. Cohen, often in *The Nation*. Stephen F. Cohen, *Failed Crusade: America and Tragedy of Post-Communist Russia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company 2000).

<sup>47</sup> The author takes the axiomatic phrasing from the great Russian historian Marc Raeff (1923-2008). Raeff stressed the importance of asking ‘the west for whom’ and in whose point of view in Russia. Speaking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the Slavophile-Westernizer debate raged, and even later when populists [narodniki] debated tactics, the existence of ‘two nations’ in Russia. How Russia saw the west had different relevance and different meaning for each. Both this perspective and adapting it to the two audience (blue screen and mobile screen, iPhones) need to be born in mind when thinking about, to overstate with the title of a popular screed, an info sphere where *The World is Flat*. The Slavophiles would point to the very device name, iPhone, as indicative of the corrosive values, the hyper-individualism, the assertion of the “I” not the “We” undercutting ‘sobornost’. If, lacking the familiarity with Gothic architecture prompts substitution of Sobor (which can mean cathedral, but is seldom conceptualized with that word, from the Greek *kata* (down) and *hedra* (base or chair) meaning a Christian church which holds the seat of a bishop, itself an idea swirling in Romanov reordering, since the tsars, especially Peter stripped independent seating or power out of the church making it subservient to the state) then at least philosophically, if a critic starts



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westernization buoyed by a technological-determinism and free market Darwinian swagger, the notion that, The World Is Flat, in Thomas Friedman's popularized term poses certain problems for the application of news literacy in the Big East.<sup>48</sup>

The image of a grate and the idea of a gratekeeper emphasizes horizontal nature, at least for now, of the non-hierarchical control of information flows. Some gratekeeping is both generational and natural; turning away from the blue screen to the computer or mobile screen. But much more is necessary (and this dissent from mass media still begs the question about how there can be a public commons, Habermas' public sphere a broad civic culture to emerge as an alternative to and a dialectically engaged counterforce to a re-muscling State sphere). News literacy like the western technology Konstatin Dmitrievich Levin masters (and sometimes rejects after learning its utility) to sow his fields his way can equip 21<sup>st</sup> century educationally advantaged people to be self-reliant citizens who chose their own ways of understanding their (confusing) world.

Adapting News Literacy for useful existence in the Eurasian space demands much. Already its pioneers are finding excellent or egregious examples of media behavior. But more is needed It means careful study of the social meaning of news, its habits, and evolutionary trends in the very current period. It means, to gain academic legitimacy at the very least to fill in the conceptual, intellectual, and historical foundations sorely lacking due largely to the forced-march, shturmovshchina behind its origins to plug the yawning gaps in north American adolescent training. Adapters need to encourage more adopters. One way to do so is by never losing sight of the North Star of relevance. Another is by insisting on developing and injecting insights on comparative basis. Some of this simply is to root news literacy in non-pedantic history, particularly that of the *intelligentsia* and its relationship to the *narod*.<sup>49</sup> Some is to

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from a sobor i sobornost' point of view, the empowerment of the individuals through news lit is indeed, at least superficially subversive of Russian values. N.P. Pavlov-Sil'vanskii, Proekty reform v zapiskakh sovremennikov Petra Velikago: opyt izucheniia russkikh proektov i neizdannye ikh teksty (S-Peterburg: V. Kirshbauma, 1897);

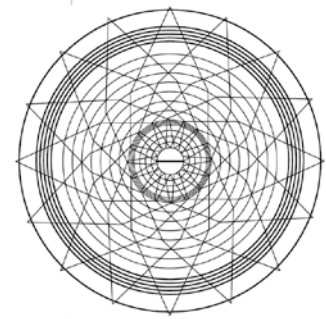
<sup>48</sup> Thomas Friedman, The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005) Friedman in experience in things Soviet or Russian, even though he writes about them in his NYT column (he is a very fine middle east reporter) intends to address economic, and especially global trade issues. His role as a generalizer, pundit, and prominent pseudo-public intellectual makes his outlook more broadly interpreted for media and information flows salient. Painting with too broad, too coarse a brush even in economics Friedman overstates flat. Joseph Stiglitz, in Making Globalization Work (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 2006) notes, "Friedman is right that there have been dramatic changes in the global economy, in the global landscape; in some directions, the world is much flatter than it has ever been, with those in various parts of the world being more connected than they have ever been, but the world is not flat [...] Not only is the world not flat: in many ways it has been getting less flat." Better said is the very title of a critique from the perspective of an urban studies expert is, Richard Florida, "The World Is Spikey: Globalization has changed the economic playing field, but hasn't leveled it," The Atlantic October 2005 pp.48-51.

<sup>49</sup> Here the understanding of history is envision as that of E.H. Carr, "The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present." Edward Hallett Carr, What Is History (New York: Vintage Books, 1961) p.29

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trace contrast between open and closed societies, those opening and those fighting against pressures to close up.<sup>50</sup>

To be useful across the physically largest country in the world News Literacy must take seriously culture as a formative experience of the mind. Cross-culture understanding, misunderstanding, and quasi-understanding needs vital attention. As grazing along the internet public sphere in the (Pentagon and American counter-culture established) language of its birth, English is as normal, almost, as breathing understanding of how it is understood and imperfectly understood is vital. Popular culture, a subject seldom studied in Russian secondary education underpins much digital communication (from constructions of basic terms such as SPAM to Zombie networks, much else).<sup>51</sup> It needs to be included in the NL curriculum. Capacity to understand humor and even more satire comes as a very late stage linguistic skill. Critical minded students of news flows need to be aware of its barriers. Not to distinguish comedic pose in the pretense of a mock newscast, for example, renders The Colbert Report's program long interview with Nadia Tolokonnikova and Masha Alyokhina of Pussy Riot (4 February 2014) in an absurdly wrongheaded light.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, at least because of different understandings of both feminism and satire, a public service type presentation cum self-promotion production such as "Sarah Silverman Is Visited by Jesus" can be easily misinterpreted, even seen as transgressing, as two Russian art curators did, Russia's hate-speech laws.<sup>53</sup> Insight developed and drawn from the Iuri Lotman (1922-1993) led Tartu School of Semiotics (and much else) may be greatly enrich the analytic capacities and prescriptive lessons of New Literacy East.<sup>54</sup>

Injecting lessons about problems of cross-cultural communications, an angle of attack, except for broad notion of cognitive dissonance, completely absent from the NL curriculum may prove valuable.

Bias and blunder frequently dwell in western journalism's coverage of Russia (and vice-versa). No more recent lessons need to be recited than those drawn than those

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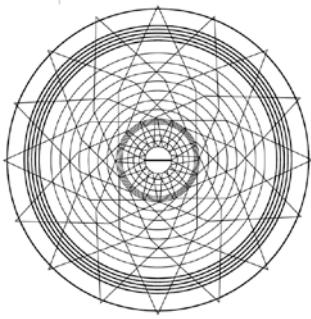
<sup>50</sup> Broadly speaking, that is in more than economic terms, by the prominent anti-Marxist Karl Popper (1902-1994) especially in The Open Society and Its Enemies (London: Routledge, 1945)

<sup>51</sup> Spam takes its name from a skit on the 1970 British comedy series Monty Python's Flying Circus. See, S. Hambridge, Network Working Group, "Don't Spew" The Internet Society (1999) <http://tools.ietf.org/html/rfc2635> (23 February 2014). Zombie traces to outsiders take Haitian culture often rooted, many believe in W.B. Seabrook, The Magic Island (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company 1929).

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.colbertnation.com/the-colbert-report-videos/432806/february-04-2014/pussy-riot-pt-1> (19 February 2014).

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ahdR6aHQVMQ> ; Fred Weir, "Russian art curators fined for controversial images of Jesus," The Christian Science Monitor July 12, 2010 <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2010/0712/Russian-art-curators-fined-for-controversial-images-of-Jesus> (25 February 2014).

<sup>54</sup> One starting point for exploring the richness of Lotman and his school is, Kalevi Kull, "Juri Lotman in English: Bibliography," Sign Systems Studies 39 (2/4) 2011. [http://www.ut.ee/SOSE/sss/pdf/Kull\\_392.pdf](http://www.ut.ee/SOSE/sss/pdf/Kull_392.pdf) and Maxim Waldstein, The Soviet Empire of Signs: A History of the Tartu School of Semiotics (Saarbrücken: V.D. Verlag Dr. Muller, 2008) and "Lotmaniana Tartuensia" <http://www.ut.ee/lotman/>.



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appearing in the run-up to and the first days of the Sochi Olympics.<sup>55</sup> Even a simple compare and contrast exercise with the ‘newspaper of record’, the one whose gatekeeper values sets the standard for what many journalists, particularly those in the provinces with little first-hand and experience with ‘foreign’ news. The ‘grey old lady’, as the Times is often characterized, steers the thinking and mindset others who decide what news is fit or needed to be covered by their news outlets. Thus what slim gruel the Times gatekeepers select to feed their own audience from ‘abroad’ has a powerful (and reality distorting) effect. The flagship publication gives little credit and less perspective on what differs the new Russia from the older incarnation. The biased coverage of ‘these ‘times that are changin’ (to central Putin and his hands time) can, among other things create a very negative feedback loop for those situated inside the homeland looking to the outside for a non-propagandized perspective. The problems highlighted in The Times coverage of July 1980 ‘Brezhnev’ games, Jews refused permission to emigrate, Andrei Sakharov largely silence in exile, no consumer good (or a propaganda show of bringing women’s shows into one Moscow store to make the USSR capital look like a consumer’s paradise), restricted individual automobile usage, a dissident faked issue of the official paper, Pravda (done from the safety of Rome by Vladimir Maksimov) [announcing “the first decision of the provisional civilian government was to announce free elections. These are the first free elections in Russia in 63 years.”<sup>56</sup>] have disappeared. The difficult problem of troops in Afghanistan, the introduction of which sparked the U.S. boycott of these games, still is creating difficulties. Only now it is American boys patrolling the Pashtun state not Soviet boys.

Highlighting the differences since the world turned its Olympic spotlight to this part of Eurasia or at least using the opportunity to focus attention for readers who last ‘visited’ Russian intensively during the Beslan hostage incident (often readers/viewers toddlers too young to recognize the world-historic events and press coverage of 1989-1993 when centrifugal forces spun Soviet civilization apart and into parts) would have been more useful than NYTimes headlines screaming: “Terrorism and Tension, Not Sports and Joy.” Terrorism haunted the 1980 games and press coverage of those boycotted events, too. In near perfect McLuhanesque rearview mirrorism it reflected fears of the preceding Munich Olympics. Yet the difference in the threats, how the Kremlin handled (in the medium run may have help diminish 1976 terrorist, followed by how it fed the fires of the current one, aided, if unintentionally by the blowback of

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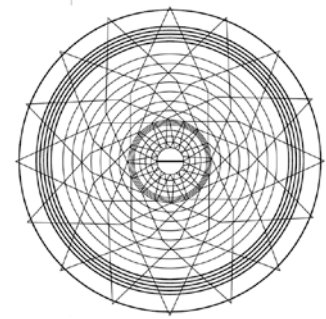
<sup>55</sup> Suggestive but not entirely congruent with the author’s views is, Stephen F. Cohen, “Distorting Russia: How the media misrepresents Putin, Sochi, and Ukraine,” The Nation vol.298 n.9 March 3, 2014 pp. 6-11. A study of The First Channel’s coverage of the very same stories that Cohen’s makes reference too would, casual observations indicate, mirror imaging, color transformation and ANTONYM substitution. <http://www.1tv.ru/>

<sup>56</sup> Henry Tanner, “A Fake Pravda Announces Moscow Coup: An Olympic Comparison,” The New York Times 26 July 1980 p.3. “A headline proclaimed, “Russia has overcome the demons—no union, no socialists, no soviets, only republics.” The operation is half prank, half serious political propaganda. Vladimir Bukovsky, the dissident Soviet author who was allowed to emigrate to the West in 1977 after 12 years in Soviet Prisons, helped write the Russian text.”

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Washington's anti-Soviet, anti-Russia CIA directed not so secret war in Afghanistan) never merited consideration.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps simply internalizing general American ahistorical outlooks made for this bias. Or it could be reporters too busy tweeting, blogging, and turning out copy lacked the time to dig into the newspaper's own morgue, even if it is wonderfully easy to explore 24/7 on line, easily searchable every single word back to 1851 through Proquest Historical Newspapers.<sup>58</sup>

Oddly the episode that best provides context and perspective on how far the motherland had changed as well as to what degree it remained the same got ignored. Feminism, a watchword of political correctness in the west (and a marginal issue to all but small circles, at least under that nomenclature, in the East) reared its head at both Olympics. It leaped colorfully onto prominent pages when plainclothes policemen and Cossacks brandish horsewhips attached a group of young women in Sochi all of whom were wearing fluorescent balaclavs and singing. The victims were members of the performance-activist group Pussy Riot. The visual rich scene made great copy and fine promotion for their video, "Putin will Teach You to Love the Motherland." It is approach a million views on YouTube.<sup>59</sup> More dour and more unprecedented was the black and white publication of the samizdat (self-published or underground) 1980 magazine

Women and Russia. The soviet state expel three women for publishing this material, including, provocatively according to an accounted printed in the Times " a statement urging Soviet women to persuade their husbands and sons to go to prison rather than fight in Afghanistan."<sup>60</sup> Dissent, especially effect dissent that seemed to threaten a vital Kremlin interest sparked repression and exile. Dissent and brazen non-conformity now sparks repression, but the broader freedoms of the new Russia, at least so far, include the ability to travel abroad and to return (to stage well covered actions). Now journalists can even correspondent with repressed individuals in the Russian prison system through e-mail. This, however much Putinland violates human rights is far from the Gulag days of Soviet Power.<sup>61</sup>

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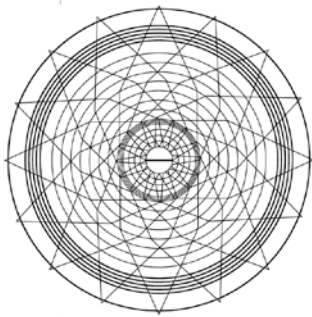
<sup>57</sup> See Steve Coll, Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden. From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001 (New York: Penguin Press, 2004)

<sup>58</sup> Proquest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009)  
<http://search.proquest.com.libproxy.cc.stonybrook.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/index>

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gj1OKYI9gWs> Andrew Roth, "Members of Russian Protest Group Attacked by Cossacks in Sochi," The New York Times February 20, 2014 p.A4.

<sup>60</sup> "3 Feminists Expelled by Moscow," The New York Times July 21, 1980 p.A3. This piece was an UPI report datelined Vienna. The women were listed as Tatyana Mamonova, Tatyana Goritscheva, Natalya Nalachoskaya.

<sup>61</sup> Protest art, especially that steeped in feminist tradition (besides that of the 1920s) or the punk tradition is not as well known in Russia as in western Europe or north America. An intellectual history of the Pussy Riot phenomenon demands more than the usual grounding in Russian studies or trendy western habits. It demands someone with a deft touch and a comparative perspective of someone broader than an émigré (in a previous period a Nabokov or a Maurice Hindus (1891-1969) or an Alexander Werth (1901-1969) whose understanding of their birth culture always exceeded their finger-tip feel, however great their journalism, for their adopted culture. The ability to shuttle back and forth, especially to get western education, critical thinking and news literacy skills and then re-immerses as an insider/outsider in a native culture makes a significant, twenty-first century difference in US-Russian understanding. Great freedoms to travel and to study abroad encourage development of journalists, such as Masha Gessen who



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To analyze the news provocations, intentional and unintentional of a group like Pussy Riot, however far it is from pressing concerns of most Russia screenagers suggests areas where the News Literacy tool kit needs strengthening. Greater competence in basic visual literacy must underpin a world increasingly communicating in streaming video and through photo saturated pixels. Understanding of how visual stimulants work upon human eyes and brains needs great and greater emphasis. The insight taught by great pioneers in cinematography—the grammar of film/video making—needs explication. An awareness of such basic deviations from professional video newsgathering practices, as adding music, the source of which is not shown on camera needs emphasis, so that any unprofessional steps trigger in the news literate screenager an automatic adverse reaction or at least raises a big question mark. Students must be alerted to how things as long known as the Kuleshov effect condition their perceptions and emotions. Too rooted in the old fashioned old order newspaper world news literacy as today constituted misses Lenin’s lesson, “of all the arts cinema is the most important,” which updated to the digital era means video production. One reason screenagers turn to streaming video of just past events is the knowledge that faking and forging visual evidence in photoshop is one thing, but it takes time to do and to render in video, so that fast uploading carries the greater possibility of lesser manipulation. An effort to inject more centrally into New Literacy visual culture lessons might be broadly termed, in a play on words (in English) ‘effecting Kuleshov’. The term would honor the East-West interaction Edison to W.K. Dickson to D.W. Griffith and Lev Kuleshov to Sergei Eisenstein with Esfir Shub to Dziga Vertov that gave the 20<sup>th</sup> century its signature moving form of communications.<sup>62</sup> Screenagers traveling by fingers on phones along the world wide web may seem to replicate patterns of information intake perfected by their grandparents. There is and was an over-trusting of ‘the other’, voicing from ‘the other shore’ (in Herzen’s famous phrase). Even in the days of expansive glasnost’ when Radio Maximum went on the air

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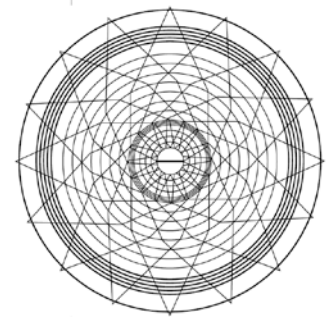
can well calibrate the different rhythms in political correctness, intellectual trendiness, and cultural matrixes who can explain, in a sophisticated manner the meaning and significance of ‘Pussy Riot’ because she has a solid foot in each culture. See, Masha Gessen, Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot (New York: Riverhead Books, 2014). The appropriate streaming video explanatory frame behind this book emerges on screen in: Huffington Post Live [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/02/26/words-will-break-cement\\_n\\_4859875.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/02/26/words-will-break-cement_n_4859875.html) The author, Ms. Gessen is part of the story of increasing repression in Putinland too, in as much as that because she felt the draconian, if highly ambiguous anti-LGBT propaganda laws threatened to rip her children from her family that she moved, again, out of Russia for the safety of her kids.

<sup>62</sup> Clearly film can reveal, distort, and denial realities. Significantly, the Roger diffusion of innovation theory hold strong in video. Where once only the commanding heights news professionals and the KGB, possessed video to capture scenes now the miniaturization and cost reduction of the technology allows ordinary citizens to keep watch on the watchers, to mount cameras in car as a shield against wolves in uniforms. Lenin’s famous quote about cinema bears repeating especially against the built in bias of the fathers of news literacy it is always vital to bear in mind Stalin’s role. Peter Kenez, reminds us (bear this in mind in watching RT [and all the federal channels], thank you Mikhail Lesin—js) “Although it is to Lenin that famous statement is attributed that film is the most important of all arts, it was Stalin who was preoccupied with cinema to an extraordinary extent. ..The primary social of films in the age of Stalin was not to portray reality but to help to deny it.” Cinema and Soviet Society: From the Revolution to the Death of Stalin (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2001) p.5

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as a commercial venture listeners commented, “the weather forecasts are more believable, simply because they are in English.”<sup>63</sup> It may seem in a supposedly seamless world a search ‘abroad’, if that term still has some retention of its old Cold War and pre-digital meaning, to repeat the experience of seeking out substitute free media, VOA, Radio Liberty, BBC.<sup>64</sup> The couplet from the Brezhnev era echoes this:

‘Est’ obychai na Rusi

Noch’iu slishat Bi-Bi-si’                    [There is a habit among us Ruskies/at night we listen to the BBC]

However useful, and even nostalgic, the 21<sup>st</sup> century version of listening along the internet illustrates, among other things McLuhan’s tetrad of media effects. It retrieves, enhances, reverses, and obsolesces.<sup>65</sup> The political trendiness, the domestic preoccupations, the pernicious framing, focus, and interpretation (as universal values) of ‘political correctness’, pace Yeats, “is loosed upon the world.”<sup>66</sup> Like satire and humor this can make for off-kilter intake and interpretation. Adding to the News Literacy tool kit navigational skills, like the ones Russia’s greatest enthusiast for ships and the sea, Peter the Great sought to learn when he traveled to Holland, the ones of sextant and chronometer he made sure to master *himself* no matter how talented or loyal his court, so that he could always figure out where he was, can help screenagers make allowances for time-space distortions. For shorthand call this addition to the NL skill quiver Peter’s sextant. Technology may have collapsed distances, but minds may still be rooted in places and culture. It is important as a reflexive action in reading and watching to employ Peter’s sextant to calculate how far is the source or the sender from the consumer what distance across a world that is NOT flat might have in distorting the message.

Anyone may post on YouTube. Something trending on twitter can instantly gain a following. It is simple to establish an identity on LiveJournal. In a crowd emotions can amp up adjectives. Enthusiasts can become overly enthusiastic. Agitators, activists, propagandists, poser and young people trying to grow into being their generations Tatiana Mitkova or Artem Borovik or Iuri Shchekochikhin or even Alexander Nevzorov can in over eagerness exaggerate or misinterpret or be spun or simply overwhelmed. Complicating the situation Big brother is watching...and worse acting. Actors of various stripes don masks, balaklavas, and utilize various software surveillance avoiding

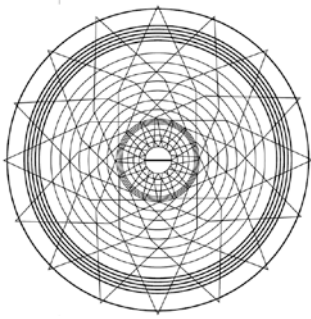
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<sup>63</sup> Jonathan Sanders, “Radio Maximum,” *The CBS Morning News* 26 June 1992. *It is vital that someone begin studying the differences between those with various grades of competence in consuming news from the English language dominated web and those exploring the information public sphere on line exclusively in Russian.*

<sup>64</sup> On this see the important work of Anna Sergeevna Kolchina especially, “Radio Svoboda v 1950-1970-e gody XX veka: poisk form propagandy v period kholodnoi voyny,” *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta* serii 10: *Zhurnalistika* n. 3 2010 pp.103-116; “Radio Svoboda v 1970-e gody I v poslednee desiatiletie,” in I. Aleshkovskii (red) *Materialy dokladov XVI Mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii studentov, aspirantov I molodykh uchenykh ‘Lomonosov’* (Moskva: Makc Press, 2009); and Gene Sosin, *Sparks of Liberty: An Insider’s Memoirs of Radio Liberty* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999).

<sup>65</sup> Marshall and Eric McLuhan, *Laws of Media: The New Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988)

<sup>66</sup> The reference here is to William Butler Yeats (1865-1939) poem “The Second Coming” (1919) line 4.



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technologies. Self-preservation is a good thing.<sup>67</sup> Some politicians lamenting the crumbling of old Cathedral dominant gatekeeper world want to prevent “provocations on the internet; others in an act the NSA might envy were it not doing something similarly with its advanced technology already are demanding a law that compels major Internet providers to keep records of traffic ready to present them to security agents on demand without a warrant (the demand for the law does not mean this action is not already happening regularly).

The world is not flat; the first amendment of the American constitution does not hold in most places in the world (and sometimes the Patriot Act drills holes in it inside the United States, too.) But this interferes greatly with screenager’s need to use key News Literacy tools: VIA (Verifiable, Independent, Accountable). Anonymity, and what to do about it is one of the great riddles of the internet age. At the very least screenagers confronting this tangle need to take a page from the mantra of NTV in its glory days under Igor Maleshenko—News is our profession. Each piece of information flowing over a screen needs to be challenged by the query...what is the profession of the content creator. Patterns need to be discerned if credential or real identities cannot be verified. Trust can be established in cyberspace, but warily. Issuing the NTV challenge is not a cry for reinforcing the narrow credentialing and denying of broad liberal arts higher education as proper preparation for journalistic careers too long dominant in the realms controlled by Kremlin power. The soaring accomplishments of Alexei Venediktov alone are refutation of that old order narrowness. The precedent, of course, came earlier, Vladimir Giliarovskii did not go to journalism school or studying writing. Was not proof enough?

The web contains many creatures, not all are innocent spiders, not are working out the dreams of digital-Kropotkinist making content for the greater glory of the public or even to show off their talents; are not even independent agents; digital thugs for higher abound, trolls practice troll craft. A starting point in roaming the web is for screenagers to ask ‘is news their profession’? If not what? Was it some innocent who posted that nasty video of Viktor Shenderovich after he, in politically incorrect fashion admitted on-line to liking Lulia Lipnitskaia, the 15 year old skating phenomenon mused, “if you only knew how Berliners, in the summer of 1936, liked shot putter Hans

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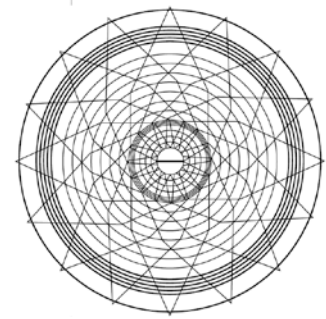
<sup>67</sup> The delicious irony of the most neon colored masking, splashed world-wide by those masters of attention grabbing, Pussy Riot, is that their very balaclava disguises make it impossible to distinguish the original Pussy Riot media event making pranksters from the break off minority faction lead by Nadia Tolokonnikova and Masha Alyokhina from the original, presumably genuine and non-ego promoting, anti-individualist feminist who escaped State repression and fawning western fames. Dostoevskii who loved creating characters and their doubles and who had more than a conflict filled relationship with the west might well love theatrical convolution of this masking and problematic image building. See, Julia Ioffe, “Pussy Riot Arrested in Sochi: Annals of Idiocy,” *The New Republic* 18 February 2014 . <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/116587/pussy-riot-arrested-sochi-during-olympics> (20 February 2014) the subtitle of this piece might well apply to Ms. Ioffe’s coverage of Russia in 2014. Yet another irony deep in this neon riddle is that the very English word BALACLAVA is one of the few rooted in the western powers horrific experience in meddling in Crimea, a place much quite suddenly on the front pages of world news screens and newspapers. See too, Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).



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Woellke, the first German track-and-field champion, a smiling, handsome guy symbolizing new Germany's youth!"<sup>68</sup> If a Dimitri Kiselëv wants to heap scorn on Shenderovich that is his right; everyone knows who he is and to whom he is accountable. But digital troll posters who upload falsified video, 21<sup>st</sup> century forgers pursuing 'active-measures' muddy the waters of understanding and identifying news. For screenagers and those teaching them the New Literacy tool kit can help make for critical-mind voyagers across the twenty-first century. Yet each must bear in mind the skill set has its own perils. Peter's sextant can remind how far home is from pleasant shores, how far in time they are removed from more ideal climates. Effecting Kuleshov can remind them of where artistic expression can soar and where big brother stifles it or where it is used to hypnotize and to disguise. The NTV challenge can enrage or remind screenagers of radiant hopes dashed by men in towers or inspire by examples of bravery, insight, and great works. Alienation of a special Russian kind, floated on a sea of relentless questioning and dissatisfaction may follow. Often this kind of critical-thinking minority carries the 'out of the mainstream' name *intelligentsia*. Teachers of this cadre must realize they are preparing people for storm tossed existences. Some may prefer to forgo the difficult voyage for a simple quest after 'shiny objects'. Those who embrace the tool kit of New Literacy have ways to move forward, even survive being wave-tossed backward as each mans her or his own boat. We may not be all in the same boat. There are commonalities; but currents vary, crafts evolve to meet conditions. No one, least of all someone from another shore should be so bold, so arrogant as to do anything more than share their experiences, knowing that they are limited and often the product of over-privileged circumstances. The rules of what is universal are only beginning to be discovered...and perhaps screenagers will refine and explain some of them.

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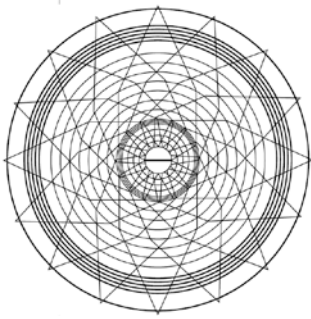
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<sup>68</sup> Leonid Bershidsky, "Olympics Bring Back the 1980s in Russia," [BloombergView](http://BloombergView) February 17, 2014. [www.bloombergview.com/articles/2014-02-17/olympics-bring-back-the-1980s-in-russia](http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2014-02-17/olympics-bring-back-the-1980s-in-russia) \_ (20 February 2014).



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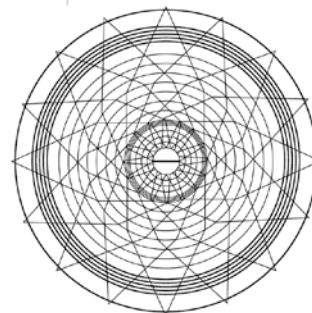
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## МЫ В ОДНОЙ ЛОДКЕ? СКРИНЭДЖЕРЫ, ГЕЙТКИПЕРЫ И ГРЕЙТКИПЕРЫ В НОВОЙ МЕДИАВСЕЛЕННОЙ

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### Аннотация:

Представленная статья дает авторский взгляд на новейшие феномены медиа и общества. Через понятие «скринэджеры» автор описывает поколение так называемых «цифровых уроженцев», современных подростков, для которых цифровая среда является естественной средой обитания, а личное устройство становится расширением человека.

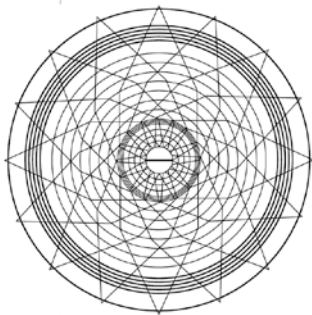
Через эту призму автор размышляет о событиях современного мира, переосмысляя «Галактику Гутенберга» через метафору черной дыры цифрового пространства, в котором циркулирует огромное количество информации, как правдивой, так и фейковой. Происходящее в медиа среде не может не трансформировать, по мнению автора, все сферы человеческой жизни, включая политику и экономику, которые также становятся информационными в эпоху цифрового общества.

Автор описывает также понятие «цифровой кропоткинизм», говоря о том, что и капиталистические, и социалистические стандартные схемы не оправдали себя в современном обществе, некоторые представители которого начинают искать «третий путь». Говоря о ситуации в России, автор приводит аналогию с книгой Льюиса Кэрролла и называет текущее молодое поколение «Алисой в стране Путина».

В такой ситуации, размышляет автор, становятся сложно применимыми основные навыки медиаграмотности, так как социальная и медиареальность, для существования в которой эти навыки необходимы, меняется постоянно и слишком быстро.

Автор определяет современную медиасреду как среду, в которой новости от профессиональных журналистов лишены доминирующей роли в силу существования таких сервисов, как YouTube, LiveJournal и другие медиа.

В такой ситуации, по утверждению автора, уроки по медиаграмотности, усвоенные современными молодыми людьми неформально «на кухнях» становятся куда важнее и полезнее тех навыков медиаграмотности, которым обучает школьное и высшее образование. Таким образом, современные молодые люди становятся скорее грейткиперами (от «grate» - решетка), получая возможность так или иначе фильтровать поступающую из медиавселенной информацию.



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**Keywords:** поколение экранов, цифровой Кропоткинизм, Алиса в Стране  
Путина, раздражители, фильтры, новая медиавселенная

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