

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Flora Esebua

***Pierre Bourdieu Socio- Analysis: Energy Sector - Cross-point
of the Field of Politics and the Field of Journalism in the
Georgian Press***

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Supervisor of Studies:

Amiran Berdzenishvili

Associate Professor, TSU

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Pierre Bourdieu's Social Analysis: theoretical approach

Our era has established itself as an age of information and television. No one argues over the significant importance and the scope of influence of media. Nowadays, even the politics has attained new attributes: it operates in a new environment being both determinant and determined. One can hypothesize about the autonomy of political field shaping 'political weather'. However, autonomy does not exclude the influence of other fields. Considering that every field is influenced by the media it is unreasonable to study political field ignoring its effects. Furthermore, many social scientists trace crucial influence of media over the political field.

On the one hand media is also often under the pressure of political and business interests, always trying to break out, but on the other hand it attempts to establish its own influence over politics and business, therefore it is hard distinguishing the borders of the fields.

In a modern society as of today, where information, its style and distribution plays very important role and development of network society is emphasized completely relying on media facilities and living in a virtual, networking reality, it is difficult to find out whose influence - media or political prevails. As 'mediatization' put on pace, do the politics often accepts media logic, or does media suffer from the influence of politics?

This research aims at identifying the cross-points of the field of politics and the field of journalism. Pierre Bourdieu's structural constructivism and fields' theory provide interesting explanations of field functioning and society formation issues as well of cross-points of two fields that are the major points of interest of this research.

Social science distinguishes two different approaches: objectivism and subjectivism. One approach is that social reality comprises social facts, objects while the other is that social reality

comprises images that are individually structured by the agents. By combining two approaches Bourdieu formulated his own conception of structural constructivism.

Following Bourdieu, objective structures existing in social science are shaped by a sociologist using objectivism ignoring the individual images of the agent. However, these images are applied to everyday struggle either by the individuals or collectively. Everyday struggle is aiming at maintaining or changing the objective structures. Objective and individual approaches are dialectically correlated.

Bourdieu's attempt to overcome this dialectics finally resulted in his conception of structural constructivism. He introduced the term 'social space' to describe social reality. In social space different agents, groups and institutions begin to obtain similar features as they become closer within this space. This is a space on a paper where the extent coincides with the social distance. People being geographically very close to each other may have great social distance between them.

Bourdieu's social reality structuring study ascertains that:

- *Structuring does not exist in a social vacuum, but occurs under the social pressure;*
- *Structural formations are socially structured by themselves, as they involve social genesis;*
- *Social reality might be structured not only individually but also collectively.*

Bourdieu's social reality is double-structured. Initially yearly or in other words objective structuring occurs through social relations that are involved in distribution of different material and non-material resources. Secondly, social reality is structured through agent's vision of these relations, different social institutions and generally social world, thus affecting initial structuring.

Bourdieu managed to overcome this dialectics by introducing habitus category. His agents are able to adapt spontaneously in a social space. The ability to respond adequately the developments and to correspond to the environment is shaped through socialization process and is crystallized as a habitus type.

Bourdieu's social space is not only the 'realization of social distribution' but also is the space of the 'vision of this distribution'; not only taking certain positions, but also shaping these positions. Therefore social space is an objective and at the same time subjective/individual space structure which partially is an outcome of incorporation of objective structures.

There are three main categories – habitus, field, and capital - of Bourdieu socio-analysis.

Habitus is one of the categories of Bourdieu's social analysis. It is a phenomenon that enabled Bourdieu to overcome the objectivism-subjectivism dialectics. Habitus is a regulated disposition that creates regulated conditions regardless of rules. Agent's actions are outcomes of habitus, that don't prevent spontaneous actions, if they are not forced and resulted from agent's disposition. Moreover, actions resulted from habitus are spontaneous rather than free. Even though, these actions should not be viewed as forced ones.

Field is an arena of concentration of powers, where the agents hold particular positions determining their attitudes towards this field and their practices, which are oriented on maintaining or changing of the structure of relations between the powers that create this field. Field is a specific historically developed space of players with its own interests, goals and stakes and existential rules.

Field is perceived as a modus of social reality. It is a space of powers' relations and competition, where the process of competition and distribution of powers is aiming at transformation of aggregate power. Competition and struggle within the field comes about to legalize the matter of

competition. Agents of one particular field affect power distribution and structures and regardless of the existing pressure over them they still have influence over the field. They behave in the field according to established rules, but they exercise certain portion of freedom as well.

Capital is a kind of welfare. A struggle for capital accumulation and legal possession is often observed within the field. Individuals are striving to take their positions in respect of three types of capital: *economic capital* – material welfare; *cultural capital* – education and diploma, as well as a level of scholarship one can use without the group of people who exercise power (family, church, club, etc.); and *symbolic capital* – authority and reputation.

Capital distribution between the agents implies the distribution of powers and influence within the given space. Agents' positions in a social space are determined by volumes and structures of their capital. Economic and cultural capital is a source of power for those who possess it personally, enabling agents to exercise power over those who possess less capital or don't possess any capital at all. Such capital is not only a gaming stake or merely winnings, but also the necessary precondition to get involved in the process.

“The field of politics is an arena of a competition between the agents ultimately resulted in a political product, problem, program, analysis, comment, concept, event and an ordinary society member – a ‘consumer’ is to make the choice.”

The field of politics could be examined through supply-demand pattern; it creates a product. According to Bourdieu, a product created by the field of politics is an instrument of expression and perception of social world. Views are shared out within the society by particular groups by means of possession and availability of these instruments. The field of politics is a ‘censor’ that determines what is allowed to be expressed affected by interests of a particular group.

Politically viable and legal forms of expression and perception are prerogatives of professionals' monopoly. Political market is one the most independent markets for a few professionals and a large number of consumers, who are incompetent in politics and transfer their rights to the monopolist professionals. According to Bourdieu, delegation of political power is explained following this homology. Groups, delegating power to a particular individual are defending their own interests through the individual who is idolized and a transferee of the power. The voters are themselves interested in transferring of their rights to a particular person, who takes the responsibility of defending and exercising these rights. Transferee is also interested in defending voters' interests in order to maintain their support and trust.

Political success much depends on a special competence. Special training includes specific theoretical knowledge and corresponding experience. The field of politics rules require the politician to be practical, equipped with player feeling, whose 'practical skills' help to guess the opponent's future plans. Guessing the future plans of a politician is also possible with these skills. However, it is important that the politician is ready 'to play competent, serious, reliable and stable game'. Commitment to the game itself is an essential requirement of political game. Game investing is outcome of game process as well as its condition. It is hard to define what is more important participation itself or the benefits in terms of material profit one receives playing this game. Nevertheless, participation itself is in any case considered as a certain value by the participants.

The field of journalism is one the fields having the most influence over the political field. According to Bourdieu, journalistic field is affected in two ways: pressure from the readers and pressure from advertising customers, in other words pressures from audience and economics.

The field of journalism is focused on generating non-durable goods; therefore the struggle for priorities in this field is the struggle for the news. Struggle for the news, chasing sensations are the priorities. More the press becomes commercialized more is the passion for this struggle. As Bourdieu asserts in a majority of cases most of these sensations are not spotted by the readers but only by the competitors. Only journalists themselves read all newspapers.

The logic of the field of journalism calls for 'one-day-life' and 'one-day-thinking'. In this field competitors carefully watch each other and repeat mistakes of each other. Covering the issue only because others have covered or enticing away journalists only just to spite the competitor – all these are inherent to journalistic field. Examples of competition aiming at producing new and totally different media product are very rare.

According to Bourdieu, competition in this world results in homogenous products. Borrowing from Bourdieu, Patrick Champagne declared that the field of journalism is double-correlated and is at the cross point of political and economic fields.

Primary goal of media is to provide information to the audience. Media is collecting, processing and delivering news through observations of social environment. News delivered to the audience is certainly selected by a particular group(s). Nevertheless, society is kept informed of events happening across the globe.

Two major trends are distinguished in news industry. On the one hand news commonly delivered by media is insignificant and has minor impact, but on the other hand news might be very serious and vitally importance for the society. News that may have crucial effect on our lives could be delivered by the media. Media industry has much developed during recent years and issues are covered in details from all over the world in most timely manner possible.

'Hot' news has advantages over thematic news. Hot news refers to the one the audience calls "news" which are covered in a timely manner and from usually the hot spots (e.g. robbery, murder, accident). Hence, the major function of media is to deliver news. However, this function is interpreted in different ways. Following market approach news is a sale good. Another approach views news acting in favor of public interest reminding the government and, the opponents as well as private sector and other institutions of their accountability towards society.

Media's focus on audience by delivering a product satisfying its needs is undoubtedly a component of economic field logic. Media is commercialized institution. Commercialized media implies creation of a market good, corresponding advertising and providing highly-demanded media product and a kind of lifestyle to the audience.

In our time, high level of openness makes political debate in media possible, especially when so actively demanded by the society.

Understanding the importance 'mediatization', politicians always try to use official style any time delivering a speech, talking about any topic or anyhow appearing in information field. This is often called as a colonization of politics by media or vice versa. Nevertheless, it should be noted that politics compromise more than media. By ignoring media politicians become 'political marginals' and lose public interest.

Political power is not a 'material notion' and it needs to be permanently refreshed through communication. "Media logic" focusing on something new, interesting and attractive has much impact on the voters and influences their political choices. Hence, the field of politics often follows this logic. Journalists tend to simplify politics. To avoid becoming boring, journalist field agents prefer confrontation of opponents to debate and argument confrontation. Journalists often use panelists in this demagogic simplification.

According to Bourdieu, journalists working on political issues obtain the knowledge of political world not through observations and research but by their personal contacts and rumors. They are interested in a political game and its players and not the gaming stake, political strategies or the essence of the debate. Main point of their interest is the effect of appearance of agents of the field of politics and not the essence of appearance.

The field of journalism focuses on sensations, making information/news contradictory that causes ironic interpretation of information. Following Bourdieu, journalists' forecasts are incompetent but they are quickly forgotten as soon replaced by other news. Besides, huge flow of information most likely is not scrupulously analyzed. Audience view of political games as a matter dealt by the professionals only is leading to total disengagement in politics, occurrence of less politicized audience and stagnation.

Audience follows the political developments by means of media. Volumes and structures of capital determine the impact level of information in the field of journalism. Not always most authorized high-professionals hold the positions in journalistic field as economic capital has its niche. However "most expensive edition" is not necessarily most influential.

As in any cultural field two types of recognition could be found in the field of journalism: small recognition, arising from peers, colleges, professionals and wide recognition i.e. external – public, nonprofessionals, and customers, says Bourdieu.

According to Bourdieu, 'serious press' satisfies high-professional requirements but is not commercially profitable. Unlike serious press "yellow press" has larger circulation and is profitable. Champagne also distinguishes two types of press: the press that is influenced and controlled by the government and the press practically independent from the government but under the great influence of the economic field. Furthermore, Bourdieu assumes that democracy of market rules is just a myth. Market competition does not lead to the diversity of media products but to continuing standardization particularly of press and television. In order to reduce costs and increase profit, major information groups create similar products: series, entertaining programs, glamorous magazines, etc.

McQuail also assumes that popular press is influenced by the commercial interests. It is overflowed with sensitive issues and controlled by the powerful 'barons'. According to Bourdieu, competition for maximum profit in a limited period of time contradicts the concept of

culture. For centuries, artists tried to make art independent and struggled against customer control. Commercialized culture of our time diminishes the role of the artist and ignores its independence.

Scientists, intellectuals and researchers take every opportunity to get involved in the information field to receive external wide recognition beyond their professional circle. Bourdieu also distinguishes the 'media intellectuals' who are frequently invited as guest speakers in 'intellectual' programs.

Following Bourdieu the border line between journalists and scientists is fading away changing the meaning of a scientist. Bourdieu calls them publishers holding scientific degrees, who make their career by different means - external support and justification by the media.

For Bourdieu the weakness of analytical program lies in 'short-term memory'. He assumes that this phenomenon is revealed in two ways: 1) articles and programs are based on ongoing developments apart from historical context. Analysis absolutely ignores monitoring of previous circumstances and historical developments because no one is expected to revise these materials; 2) analysts providing forecasts to the audience don't take any kind of responsibility.

Neither audience nor journalists are interested whether the forecast worked well or not. According to Bourdieu media is ill with its own 'amnesia'. Scientists certainly are not supposed to refuse using media power and influence. Most of the intellectuals do not ask themselves before and after their appearing on TV screen why they need to appear in this field without a possibility to say something.

Following Bourdieu when participants agree to appear on a TV screen they automatically agree to speak of nothing. Nevertheless they participate in a program not to say something but to introduce themselves and attract audience attention. Bourdieu views TV screen as a Narcissus in

the mirror – venue of Narcissus exposition. Bourdieu assumes that media mainly covers ‘omnibus events’. These kinds of events are not surprising without any background, are never followed by emergence of rival groups and maintain common consensus.

Everybody is interested with news that does not raise important issues. Incidents is rudimentary news that is interesting for the majority and fills the most of the TV air time which could be allocated for coverage of more important issues. However, since precious air time is spent on rudimentary news this information is important. Following Bourdieu overflowing of air time with omnibuses is intended to overlap much more serious issues left behind the scene.

Small and large scale groups are distinguished within the audience with respect of information sources. Small group consists of readers of ‘serious press’, both local and international. Larger groups receive all political information from television. The latter group members as Bourdieu assumes have no store of political knowledge.

Journalists are always seeking for some extraordinary news, but what is extraordinary for journalists is ordinary for others and vice versa.

Bourdieu distinguishes two types of newspapers: a newspaper providing news and a newspaper providing views (analysis). Analytical newspaper dates back to 19 century in response to large-circulation newspapers chasing sensations, invoking intellectual readers’ panic and annoyance. ‘Omnibuses’ are more frequently used in journalistic field rather than views. Everyday life is full of idle talks, such as talks about weather not being either painful or fundamental or raising any contradictions. Such topics are absolutely ‘peaceful’. “As the newspaper circulation increases, more and more omnibus-items appear invoking fewer problems.”

Basic difference between ‘news-sensations’ and ‘news-views’ lies in different political views of the readers. Reading a public newspaper is a way to demonstrate that you have a right to

participate in and are committed to politics. This type of newspapers helps the readers to feel themselves political players, rather shaping their own views, with an opportunity to be at least history discourse player if not of history itself. Even though having own views is also important for individuals.

Moreover, two other groups of readers are distinguished: 1) readers with considerable economic capital, who read less, mostly 'omnibuses' and 2) readers with considerable cultural capital who read more not only daily public press, but weekly editions as well.

To summarize foregoing, media is a market and profit oriented institution broadly offering news and a fewer views and analysis. Even with abundance of news it fails to create any innovations. Media is under pseudo-competition and produces homogenous goods. Popular culture as well as political statements also follow media logic and do not create anything innovative. In spite of ordinary trends, political and journalistic fields regularly intersect and it is hard to determine which of them dominates.

Media Monitoring Results

The aim of this research is not only reviewing Bourdieu's vision of the fields of politics, economy and journalism or the role of media but the analysis of particular issues within this context, namely energy sector coverage in Georgian press in a post Georgian-Russian War 2008 period. Energy sector of Georgia is a part of Georgian political discourse. Involvement of Georgia in international energy projects and its positioning as an energy corridor is broadly addressed topic by the politicians.

Since each political group or political leader tends to position his image by generating at least one 'great idea' and incorporates one section in political program about achieving particular 'great goal', geopolitical location of Georgia and its positioning as an energy corridor is one of the most important component of policy of Georgian political elite.

Obviously, Georgian energy sector and its developments as well as Georgia's involvement in international energy projects comprises area of interest of both foreign and local press. This issue has become most topical after August 2008. Many issues have been raised on Georgia's involvement in international energy projects, helping to maintain its security and sovereignty. It is notable, that not only three sides (Georgia- South Ossetia and Russia) have been enrolled but also the West mediated on the conflict related issues.

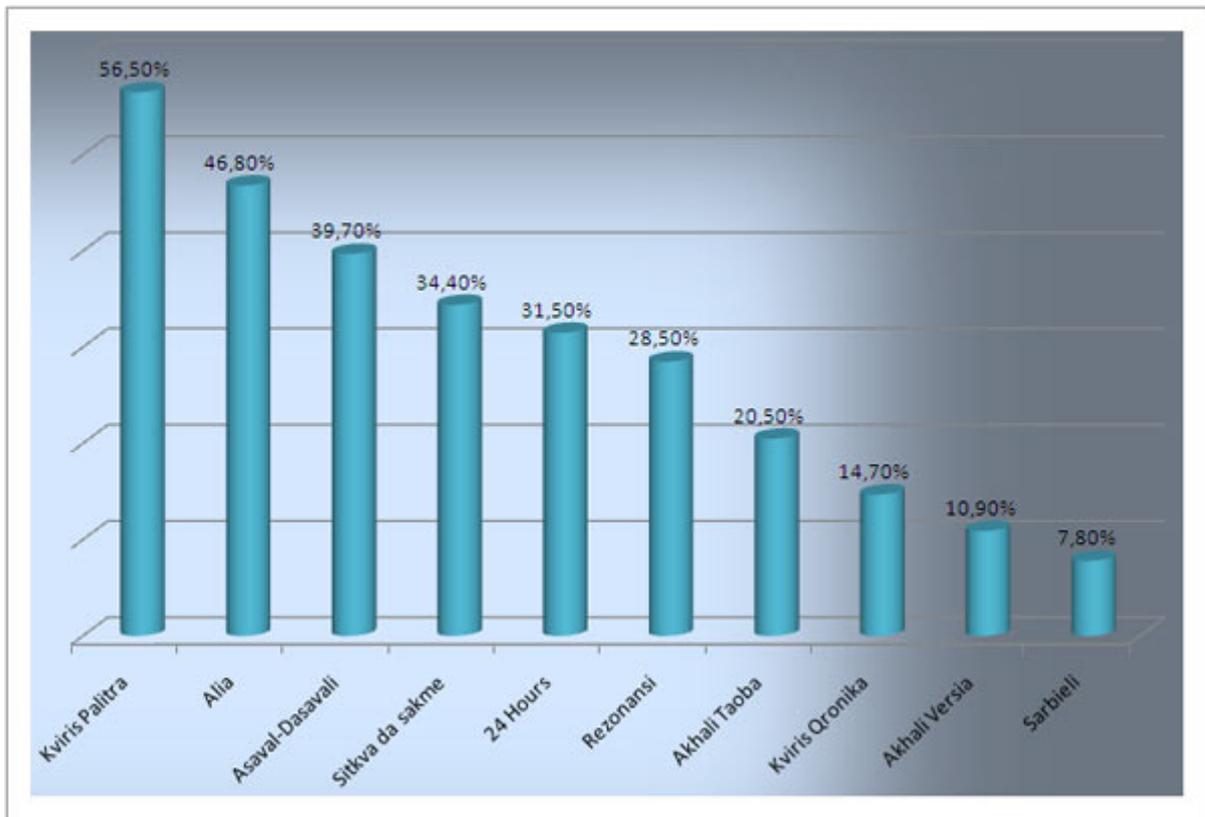
In globalization age, engagement of world's key political players in the conflict solving does not seem surprising. World leaders' involvement has been invoked by Russia being one of the major energy player across the globe. Western experts and media repeatedly reported on compromises from West owing to the energy dependence on Russia. Besides, Georgia's participation in the international energy projects has become uncertain.

Hence, this topic being as one of the top issues of political agenda could become one of the most important issues addressed in media after the August 8 Georgia-Russia conflict. To determine the scope of coverage of the post-war energy issues in Georgian press is the major aim of this research.

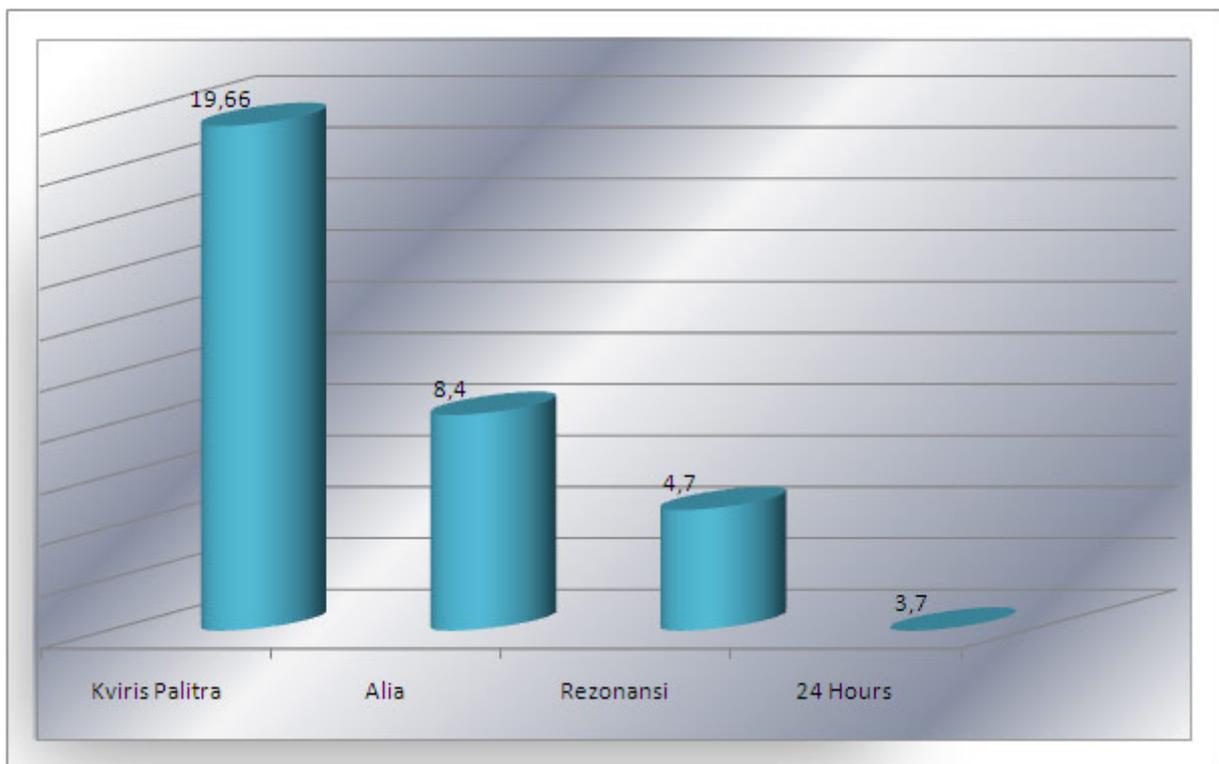
Research methods include press monitoring and content analysis. For research purposes four newspapers have been selected: “Resonance”, “24 Hours”, “Alia” and “Kviris Palitra”, out of which “Resonance” and “24 Hours” are daily newspapers, “Alia” is issued three times a week and “Kviris Palitra” is a weekly newspaper. Newspapers were selected according to their frequency of issue among the ten most popular editions.

IPM Research group data:

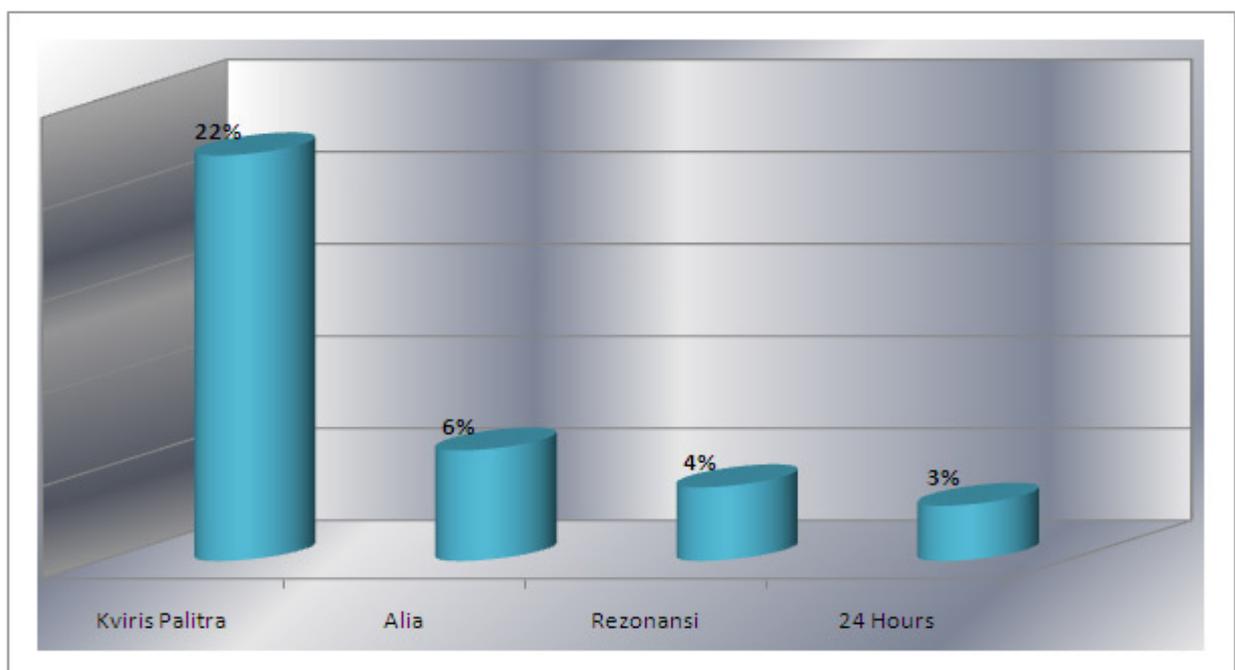
Rate to the Newspapers



Trust to the Newspapers



Regular Readers



The research aims to discover the reporting rate of Georgian energy sector issues; to explore how Georgian press took the interest of existed situation and country's opportunities to participate in international projects; to identify the most frequently addressed issues, commentators – 'leaders of ideas' or as Bourdieu refers to them – 'mediatized intellectuals' and the major trends of coverage.

Energy transit initiative is a subject matter of economic field rather than of a political field, but energy issues are also viewed in a political context within the contemporary political discourse. Oil and gas pipeline projects are viewed as political undertakings and political leverage of monopolists over the other field players.

Russia is a strong player of the global energy market that uses its hydrocarbon reserves as a tool of political games. EU is working on several large-scale projects for diversification of energy supply. Whenever highlighting the importance of these projects, EU representative emphasize their political advantages rather than economic benefits. EU projects are aiming at energy independence from Russia.

Western media has broadly reported on 8 August, 2008 conflict from energy perspective. This is the key issue of the politics and is frequently positioned in media as a political issue. A number of articles were published in foreign media with the thematic headlines explaining Russian aggression toward Georgia as an attempt to strengthen its monopolistic position in energy market. One of the major incentives for Western support lies in Georgia's role as of an energy transit country. Considering active global interest, Georgian press was supposed to be concerned with the energy issues and country's involvement in international projects.

Georgian press monitoring has been carried out for one month period. Monitoring period has been selected from 5 September till 5 October. During the conflict certain limitations were

placed upon media that were put to an end only on 5 September when agents of journalistic, political and economic fields were permitted to share their views and analysis.

As mentioned above, two types of news are distinguished: hot news and thematic news. The latter does not necessarily require the immediate coverage. Analysis of energy field developments and energy perspective of Georgia as of an actor does not contradict the coincidence principles and complies with thematic news coverage logic. Main objective delivering of this kind of information is not the immediate informing of audience but the thematic coverage and sharing of views. Energy issue is not an 'omnibus', it is rather a combination of 'news' and 'views' components.

Monitoring reveals that during the month period energy sector is most sufficiently covered by "Resonance". Only two articles were published in a weekly newspaper "Kviris Palitra", four articles were published in "Alia" and three in "24 Hours".

"Kviris Palitra" articles were focused on electricity and gas tariffs. The newspaper underscored the expected increase of tariff rates for commercial and public sectors. "Kviris Palitra" incorporated comments of Minister of Energy on tariff rates. However, one of the large circulation and best selling weekly newspaper didn't publish a detailed article about country's energy policy, its involvement in international projects and the energy sector challenges and prospects in general. It did not submitted comments of panelists ('meditated intellectuals') either.

"Alia" published four detailed articles focusing on the energy issues and each addressing different problems. Alongside the general picture of energy policy of Georgia articles contained information on particular issues, such as: sanctions against Kaztransgaz and Energy Invest; changes in gas tariff and a possibility of control of Enguri power station by the Abkhaz separatists. Readers could also find historical developments in these articles. They were reminded of Russian energy companies entering Georgian market and provided with some data about oil and gas volumes and alternative routes of supply to Europe. However "Alia" also did

not include any comments of panelists on these issues. Articles were based on facts, public comments of Minister of Energy and information from ‘private sources’.

“24 Hours” published three articles and one insert also focusing on energy sector. The articles include information about energy independence, NABUCCO project and Enguri power station. Articles are detailed enough, including many facts about construction of Enguri power station and its capacity, as well as capacity and NABUCCO construction perspectives; comments of EU representatives delivered in foreign press. However, articles don’t contain comments and analysis of local experts, except the comments of Minister of Energy. Monitoring results showed that “Resonance” had the best coverage of energy sector issues.

The audience is not following the forecasts.’ Short-time’ memory is a common feature of both the analytical media and the audience. Bourdieu ascertains that audience and journalists are not interested whether predictions worked or not. Media is ill with its own ‘amnesia’ not paying attention to the quality of analysis.

As an agent of the field of journalism press stands at the crossing point of the fields of economy, politics and journalism. Energy sector as a vital component of country’s economy and the key point of political game. It is hard to define whether energy sector affects political game or is a tool of political games. In this particular case we have come across the major sociological challenges of subject-object and agent-recipient. The aim of this research does not include estimation of power domination through defining which has the most power economic and political fields or a journalistic field that gives opportunities to both of them for positioning themselves. The aim of this research is to estimate the scope of attention paid to the energy sector; to what extent thematic issues are covered by press since the energy issues are not ‘omnibuses’; type of priority issues; identify ‘mediatized intellectuals’ and if they make any predictions.

General Conclusions

Georgian media most frequently reports on omnibus topics. In other words it attempts to make omnibus-news from thematic ones. For example, when covering energy issues Georgian media is focused on tariff rates (sensitive issue) rather than the country's perspectives in the energy sector. Hence, Georgian press follows the principle of locality, since it acknowledges the importance of covering events happening in the 'immediate surrounding' compared to those happening 'at distance'. Readers find tariff issues more important than international projects. Georgian press correspondingly responds to the audience interests and focuses on coverage of local news.

In a survey conducted by CRRC in 2007, majority of respondents (60%-44%) are interested in national politics. Readers' interests dictate Georgian press the topic it should focus on independently of its realization of the principle of locality. Along with the journalistic field political field also concentrates on tariff issues. These topics are often addressed by the opposition forces prior to the elections. Almost every opposition party addressed the tariff issue during Mayor and local government pre-elections period. However, "Christian-Democratic Party" managed to put this issue on the top of its political program and formulate its energy policy under the slogan: "Gas – 10 tetries, electricity – 5 terties, water – free."

Georgian press acknowledges the audience is attracted by 'news' rather than 'views'. Hence, it provides the readers 'pure news' without any kind of analysis. Furthermore, this trend is maintained to the extent 'mediatized intellectuals' not being involved to 'intellectualize' the media product.

Bourdieu's conception to the best applies to this particular case, asserting that chasing of sensations ultimately results in homogenous media products. Consistent attempts of Georgian press agents to make responsive tariff issue a sensation was followed by a massive coverage in

press. Ultimately, none of the newspapers could provide new and totally different product but created a space that Bourdieu refers to as homogenous.

Georgian press have covered any significant developments in the energy sector of Georgia since 2008. It focused on political issues more as Georgia's involvement in international projects is a matter of political discourse rather pure economic issue.

Georgian press remained under certain limitations for a month period and energy issues were covered *post factum* from the perspective of expected change in tariff rates. Nevertheless, this assumption is controversial as Georgian press followed the timely coverage common standards and focused on the most sensitive topics.

In order to test this hypothesis another monitoring has been carried out within this research with the target group of the same press agents ("Resonance", "24 Hours", "Alia" and "Kviris Palitra"). The major point of interest of the monitoring is the coverage of a particular topic. Monitoring period was determined by 24-31 January, 2011.

The period is selected with the intention to illustrate how particular issue - the completion of constriction of gas pipeline in Poti industrial zone and initiation of gasification of Poti has been covered by the press agents. This is an unprecedented undertaking of this kind in the region. Besides, it facilitates investment process and serves a necessary precondition for development of an industrial zone.

Project was carried out within the framework of President's initiative - "Gas to Every Village". President himself attended the opening ceremony and declared: "Cooperation between Azerbaijan and Georgia is very productive... an agreement with Azerbaijan ensures fixed gas prices while everything in this world is so unpredictable." *Mikheil Saakasvili, 24 January, Courier 18:00,*

Rustavi 2. An important statement of the President attending the opening ceremony invoked respective interest of press towards this issue.

Following monitoring results five articles have been published by some press agents during one-week-period with the following headlines:

“Power Generation in Georgia Expected to Rise up to 50 Billion KWh” Resonance, 25 January, 2011;

“Russia Leaves NABUCCO Azerbaijan Gas” Resonance, 25 January, 2011;

“Electricity Exported for Four Tetries” Resonance, 27 January, 2011;

“Rehabilitation of Enguri Completed by 2014” 24 –Hours, 28 January, 2011;

“Project of the Year – Socar Gas Georgia Gasifying Poti” Kviris Palitra, 36 Jan-6 Feb, 2011.

Gasification of Poti city issue was covered only by Kviris Palitra. Article contained information about the completion of construction of a particular section as well as information about completed and planed gasification. President’s statement about gas prices has been also incorporated. Since Kviris Palitra is a weekly newspaper the article was published a week later, but the timely coverage standards have been maintained considering the frequency of issue. The topic was covered in a ‘news’ style rather than “views’ style. The article does not contain the panelists’ analysis, opportunities of the project or the comments on tariff issue.

Resonance and 24-Hours reported on some energy issues, but haven’t addressed these particular projects. Newspapers mainly covered the issues of power generation. 24-Hour published an article focusing on the allocation of 5 billion Euro monetary aids by EU for rehabilitation of Enguri power station. Announcement of Minister of Energy made on 27 January was followed by the immediate coverage by 24-Hours on the next day (26 January).

However, 24-Hours showed its reluctant interest towards Poti project. Prioritizing Enguri issue obviously was not aiming to avoid different energy issues overlapping, as Poti project completed on 24 January and daily newspaper committed to timely coverage ethics could report on the issues on 25-26 January.

Resonance published articles on power generation and export and NABUCCO projects developments. Two articles (“Russia Leaves NABUCCO without Azerbaijan Gas”; “Electricity Exported for Four Tetries”) were issued on 25 January. This topic was not of a “hot news” and could be addressed lately as it does not require immediate coverage.

Despite 24-Hours has not wrote a single word about Poti project it was the only newspaper to report on the ‘hot topic’ – allocation of monetary aid by EU.

It is apparent, that Georgian press neither has clear priorities nor strictly follows the timely and concurrent coverage of the energy sector. Monitoring results of 2008 press show that Georgian Press is not concerned with international transit projects, Georgia’s role as of an energy transit corridor and focuses on tariff issues. Unlike 2008 press monitoring results tariff issue is no longer significant in press in 2011. This trend could be explained by the expected increase of tariff rates in 2008 that made this issue ‘sensational’ no longer threatening in 2011 when president declared the gas prices to remain fixed. Georgian press could no longer observe the necessity for the forecasts. President’s statement excluded any possibility to make the news sensations and Georgian press agents reacted correspondingly. Moreover, news didn’t become ‘omnibuses’ either.

Hence, Georgian press is following the timely coverage standards only on a certain occasions, e.g. 24-Hours followed these standards when covering on particular issue (EU monetary aid) and ignored when covering the other (Poti project).

It is hard to explore the logic of the Georgian press agents. If energy sector is viewed as a thematic topic, than Georgian press should behave as analytical press, being committed to “intellect” and providing much more thematic news and analysis. Analytical newspapers are trying to satisfy readers’ intellectual interests, while Georgian press is trying to obtain much information and to be timely informed.

Another assumption is that Georgian press is commercialized. If Georgian press is commercialized, why does it cover such uncommercial topic as energy sector? More likely, Georgian press agents do not have general strategy. They have not made their preferences and choices between commercial and intellectual coverage. Monitoring of Georgian press agents also shows that being effected by external factors Georgian press is not solely focused on thematic issues, but also attempts to break out of ‘yellow’ cliché.

The scope of coverage of energy issues in Georgian press is hard to estimate. In 2011 press addressed only the most sensitive energy issues as the majority of its readers were interested in tariff issues. It is also difficult to specify topics’ selection and prioritizing tools. Burdieu’s assumption on producing homogenous media products is applied to 2008 monitoring results, but has not been justified for Georgia press trends in 2011. Although monitoring was conducted only for one week period time, it was aiming at observing scope of coverage of a particular topic, therefore it was unreasonable to extend the target period.

Energy sector could be viewed as a popular topic for Georgian press; energy sector as thematic news is covered by ignoring or partially following timely and concurrent coverage standards; energy sector related issues are “news” rather than ‘views’; panelist fewer views are incorporated in press; readers are abundantly offered news and fewer views and analysis.

Obviously, coverage of energy issues by the media being fundamental for global geopolitics is very important for political actors and society. Politicians use this topic for pre-election manipulation and different political games. The remained so-called ‘intellectual electorate’ is

also equipped with its own views and ideas. Moreover, the latter is sometimes 'leader of ideas', a panelist within its social group.

Journalistic field agents provided general picture of energy policy. Even though they shaped multiple opportunities for themselves as well as for experts and sometimes political actors to act as "opinion leaders". However, coverage of these issues already implies intersection of political and journalistic fields. As a result some of the press readers become generators and 'leaders' of their own ideas facilitating mass discussion by broader social groups.

CRRC survey respondents' majority (80) nominated television as the first main source of receiving information, press as the second (29%) and neighbors and friends the third source. It is notable that neighbors and friends obtain the information from the same sources – television and press. Hence, a small portion of information obtained by the media is more likely to be broadly distributed. However, the outcome of this debate is a subject matter of another research.

In globalization and information era, where society is overflowed with huge amount of information hard to analyze at a time, initiation of discussion is very important. Even though energy sector has not been prioritized by Georgian press every attempt of political debate points to the interest towards and importance of this issue.

A number of thematic issues become 'omnibuses' and less media space is allocated to views. Nevertheless, as social media becomes more and more popular society attempts to independently sort out major messages and news delivered and pays attention to the most important events invoking active debate. As long as the source of information exists the audience will always manage to sort out and prioritize news.

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