

**INTELLECTUAL REBELLION IN MODERN RUSSIAN MEDIA:
SPIRITUAL VALUES IN POST-SECULAR WORLD**

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Abstract

The article describes State and Church as two main ideological actors in modern media landscape. Their relationship doesn't look nor like alliance, neither like struggle, though they occupy the same conceptual space and intersect in a single space. The author describes primary results of a media study in St. Petersburg State University that sets a value analysis as an effective instrument to observe social processes through the lenses of mass media. Intellectual rebellion is analyzed on the base of Pussy Riot case coverage in Russian print media.

Key words: mass media, church, power, religion, values

The category of post-secular started to be discussed after Habermas opened doors for it in 1990-s though the exact author of the term is not defined. Post-secular deals with a new place of religions and churches in modern society, with spiritual values of a man in a globalized world, with new approaches to communication between church and society. All these issues are reflected through the lenses of mass media. At the same time the main challenge for media is a usage of language for covering religious topic. Habermas named it "verbalization of sacred". Nowadays sacred can be expressed, and this is a new point for journalists and media researchers.

In general, studies of religious and social issues are handled by experts of different areas of humanitarian concern, with a focus on the following important areas: the forms of existence of religion in post-secular society, the functioning of religion and the churches in the Internet space, the radical challenge of modern religion and the public reaction, the political dimension of religious and social relations. In the sociology of religion, the key issue is the methodology of the analysis of the modern "religiousness". The well-known sociologist Ronald Inglehart found the only possible unified criterion for cross-cultural studies - the importance of religion [Inglehart R., Norris P. 2004: 219]. At the same time, the last 50 years in the sociology of religion were characterized by searching of religiosity scales.

Religiosity in sociological research is important for a number of international projects such as the "World values survey", "The European study of values", "European Social Survey", "International Program for Social Research". Their results can serve as material for secondary processing in media studies involving problems of modern religion.

Also, since the late 1990-s, there were research centers devoted to religious issues in the media context. This is a center of religion and media at New York University, Center for Media, Religion and Culture at the University of Colorado, research network "A new vision of religion in Europe" at the University of Manchester, and others. Anyway there were no specific media studies until recently. Nowadays at Graduate School of Journalism and Mass Communications in St. Petersburg, with cooperation with European colleagues, we started the project "Church and Society: practices of media discourse" aimed to describe Russian media sphere in condition of post-secular society.

Western studies directly devoted to the relationship between religion and the media are mainly based on the cultural approach. For example, in "Rethinking media, religion and culture," S. Hoover claims fusion of media and religion at the conceptual space [Hoover S. M., Lundby K. 1997]. His idea was continued in the collective work "Mediating Religion: Studies in Media, Religion, and Culture " (2003), in which the authors describe the concept of "religious and symbolic of the market" as well as identify the semantic feature of the modern media sphere - the substitution of the word "religious" to "spiritual" [Mitchell J. P., Marriage S. 2003:15].

Methodological problems of such studies are related to the fact that Mitchell and colleagues call "plausible narrative about me." Arguing about their own religion (in case of deep interview with family during the study "of coverage of religion"), the respondents, according to the researchers, consciously or unconsciously, tend to be cunning. This problem is related to psychological and sociological research, but it can be avoided in media studies. The fact is that media scholars have a deal with orientations and opinions of the society comprised in media texts. Here we can agree with T. van Dijk that researchers of discourse cannot say what the audience thinks, but they can predict what the topics audience thinks about are.

An axiological approach and specific tools of the value analysis of media becomes the theoretical basis for studies of religious and social discourse. There is a request in the Russian media sphere to conduct research related to the radical religious actions, interactions of Church and State in the media space, new manifestations of mythological thinking of contemporary Russian audience and others.

We must agree with Benedict XVI who claimed that the question of secularity is a European question. For instance, secular American society is strongly based on protestant culture, and interaction between numerous churches and the state is very close and natural. Every political question cannot be discussed without attracting opinion of church leaders. Even more, there are no American politics who are non-believers. In Europe and Russia, as a part of it, we observe a real collapse of Christian values under the pressure of new values based on consumption and social inequality.

At the same time religious issues in European Union and in Russia differ a lot. For instance, catholic Italy is much more interested in the role of the Church in information society; that means questions of evangelization via Internet, presence of the Church in mass media, working with people in terms of media education etc. Thus, M. Ricceri names three aspects that are closely interconnected with each other: 1) the main trends of change taking place in the modern mass communication society, with reference to the ambivalence of its positive and negative elements; 2) the awareness of this problem in the Churches, the evolution of their thought, their process of adaptation to the new situation, the concrete actions they promoted: as examples, the position of the Catholic Church on this issue is particularly examined as well as some interesting initiatives of the Islamic world being recalled; 3) the policies on the issue of media literacy undertaken by EU and other international institutions, and the benefits they can bring to the religious institutions for the effectiveness of their mission. [Ricceri; 122]

For Russian Federation, which is still multicultural but Orthodox, we underline the following problems: growing irritation caused by mutual support of the church and the state; inner controversy in the church among bishops; social discontent caused by church wealth or wealth of Patriarch himself; in other words, all these problems deal with the social dimension of the Church like an institute but not spiritual dimension.

There are 3 basic approaches towards the place of religion in post-secular society. These are:

- Coexistence of secular order and religious values (Habermas);

- Decline of secular ideology and new spirituality based on coexistence of different religious and spiritual values; (that was Pope Benedict approach, who believes that the future of Christian community is the future of creative minority);
- Defeat of secularism and the return of Christian hegemony.

Still we have no idea if the process of secularization is finished (or started) in Russia; there is a suggestion that our situation could be described as pre-secular.

Sociological surveys in Russia show that still we have a large amount of Christians, but very few believers, and this situation is very close to Italy. Until recently, the religious discourse in the mass media had been one of "cheap popular" (referring to the people, folklore, primitive techniques). Religious holidays, gastronomic details of posts, commentaries of priests on everyday situations, the rules of conduct in the temples, and etc. - were traditional for journalists regarding the preparation of publications. This phenomenon has two reasons. The first one - the information vacuum in the twentieth century and the non-public religious discourse led to the fact that the Russian people have been separated from the ritual side of church life. Second - historically conditioned Russian mentality that is characterized by sensual spirituality, by the confusion of pagan thought with the dogmatic, by simplification of the theological truths to everyday aphorisms.

These circumstances generated following problems in modern mass media. The first violation involved the use of language. The state sends a message to society in the form of imperatives and breach vocabulary, the church - in the form of exhortations and anachronisms, media, in turn, act as a means for translating these languages in public sphere without adequate translation. In terms of the multiplicity of segmented media audiences, society in whole is in a state of communicative, or more precisely – anti-communicative shock.

The second factor of violations of the feedback is related to the wrong destination. Mostly, the information policy of the Church does not provide a clear recipient. Against the background of the internal fragmentation of the Church, information messages to "outside world" does not reflect all its fullness.

The third factor (not the last, but significant) results in the absence of common interests of the state, the church, society and the media. On the part of society, in particular, one can see a consumer attitude to the spiritual realm. Analysis of the mass media shows a steady interest in ritual and formal side, the discourse of media targeted at intellectuals is divorced from the main flow of information. At the same time, journalists in secular media often resort to a balanced analysis of the functioning of the church as a social institution in comparison with reporters of religiously oriented media. By and large, with a few exceptions, the church media remain marginal in relation to the mass audience. Also noteworthy is the fact that the missionary department at the dioceses and their publications are focused on the fight against sects, but not for the church mission in the society as a whole.

The above situation has stimulated the study using value oriented media analysis to describe a system of spiritual values created in the public sphere by the media.

The starting point for the study "Church and Society: practices of media discourse" was covering of Pussy Riot case in national and regional print media in Russia. This episode happened 21 February 2012 got deep social resonance and divergent estimates in mass media that were heated by the criminal case initiated against the participants and held over them by the court.

Like any event which attracted worldwide attention, the Pussy Riot action has acquired a political character, exacerbated the existing ideological confrontation in the society and, therefore, their positioning in the media field. So, from the one hand, this case split different social and ideological groups from 3 points of view – political, religious and cultural. From the other hand, this phenomenon

united all these people around important cultural and ideological question: what are the forms of existing of Sacred in post-secular society and media?

In the present study, we explored the mass media in which the Pussy Riot action has received a particular covering, it is seen as a key episode of Russian public life and, thus, became a cause and starting point for the politicians, scientists, publicists to express their civil and ideological positions, ideals and values. This kind of objective inherent feature of the social media sphere to reflect political thoughts allows us to analyze the main trends and meanings of Russian political life, normally found in a latent state.

We mean that such a blasphemy like PR prayer is not interesting itself, especially for Europe, where people almost got used to such cases, but we highlight it like a signal, or a motive to discuss the place of sacred in media sphere and post-secular society in general.

The object of the study was status and trends of political thought in Russia expressed in the media sphere. The subject matter of the study is the Pussy Riot action in estimates of print and online publications in Russian mass media. The strategic aim is to determine the basic contradictions and dynamics of Russian political thought as media discourse.

This goal is achieved through a number of steps subdivided into three interconnected analytical blocks of selected segments of the Russian media sphere starting from 21.02.2012 (day of protest Pussy Riot) to 28.02.2013 (the final analytical reports for the year events published in the press).

The first set of tasks is due to the need to define the basic positions of mass national and regional newspapers. Solving problems of this block highlights the indicators of political positions in journalistic texts, the degree of ideological and political pluralism in this segment of the mass periodicals, as well as the dominant ideological solutions deployed by the mass media in the public consciousness. Thus we reveal the contrariety of the studied media process, objectively determined by opposition political forces in Russia. Task solution of the first block allows us to emphasize the most important value dominants of political life of the country operating in the media sphere, to predict the trends of social and political transformation of Russia.

The study of this set of issues is based on the analysis of publications associated with covering of Pussy Riot action in national print media and regional newspapers. I should mention that every set of media texts was analyzed by different performers discussing results on every stage and changing research frame if needed. Up to this moment we finished only the first step of content-analysis that will be followed by secondary processing of data and additional procedures.

The second set of tasks is aimed at the identification and description of the major religious and political movements in the country. We take into account the latest facts of the spiritual life of Russian society of the XXI century, among which, as noted by sociologists, are the growth of religious consciousness and strengthening the social and political position of the Russian Orthodox Church. The political situation is seen in the paradigm of the ideological split, traditionally inherent in the spiritual life of Russia. In this connection we group and classify publications associated with Pussy Riot action in the press of ideological opponents. In particular, we analyze the position of journalists, as well as the statements of the heroes of publications and experts involved in the coverage of this case, we study the lexical content of publications, which allows us to determine the political trends and hidden intentions of communicators reliably, and feedback. Solving problems is specified in the content analysis of publications on the chosen and described codes, expert surveys of journalists, drawing frequency dictionary, analysis of reader comments on the websites of selected publications on the Internet.

The third set of tasks continues the planned analysis in the main line but emphasizes research on the functioning of new media where we expect most clearly reflected intensification of political confrontation in the society. This fact is revealed through the study of the organizational features of

Internet publications in new media including social networks. Particular importance is attached to the ideological conflicts between the Christian-conservative and liberal directions of political thought expressed in new media. The most important for this stage of analysis is the question of the relation to the state and the government, and this approach is based on the hypothesis about the media perception of the Pussy Riot action as a political project implemented in the one's interests. It is permissible to claim that the Pussy Riot action naturally revealed deep divisions not only in public opinion but also in the media sphere, understanding that this split took place not so much in the attitude to the Russian Orthodox Church as to the authorities. Consequently, the goal of this unit allows us to determine the extent of the media perception of the Russian Orthodox Church as an ideological institution, which aims to support the functioning of authority and approval of the values of the Russian state. Among other results of solving tasks in the third unit we can name the opportunity to study the question of the merger of the Russian Orthodox Church and the state power in modern Russia.

The first step of complex media analysis was content-analysis of chosen print and digital media. The principle of selection was based on system of classification of Russian media that divides them according to criteria of:

- audience reach (national, regional and local);
- political base (liberal or conservative, pro-state or opposite);
- type of information (for mass or professional audience).

The sample unites 14 media (2 regional papers, 7 national papers and 5 web-sites) of different political orientations: liberal, conservative, marginal. Although the sample does not cover all types in all classification system criteria we suggest that these media influence public opinion crucially, especially in matters of ideology including religion. Text sample is solid, it implies all publications included key words "Pussy Riot" excluding context.

Content-analysis required defining special criteria to analyzed lexical fragments. First group of value indicators that allow ambiguous interpretation: human rights (freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, pluralism), rationality/scientific character, faith/belief, spirituality religious/humanistic, social solidarity (solidarity/split), secularization, authority (of Church, Patriarch, State/power).

For this group of indicators we looked for 3 connotations (speaking in terms of political estimation, religious or cultural) and cited fragments highlighting key concepts. The task was to find out the semantic field of expressing the sacred.

Second group of unequivocally treated value indicators: common cultural values, cultural heritage/memory, sacrilege/blasphemy. Here we searched only for key concepts to find out significance of every concept.

Additionally we gathered key opinions of experts expressed in the articles, dividing them on following categories: a journalist, an opinion journalist/observer, specialist in any field, girls from Pussy Riot, state representative, church representative, culture representative, Christian, representative of non-Christian faith, atheist, others. Content-analysis also included study of readers' comments on web-sites if found. Key reflected ideas were divided into 4 groups: neutral (estimate of journalist' work); negative (assessment of journalist' work and attitude towards scandal prayer); positive; unstable (changing position of a reader, the uncertainty in relation to the prayer and the work of journalists).

Every scholar from the small research group headed by Prof. Sidorov (St. Petersburg State University) analyzed different groups of mass media. In this article we represent 4 of 14. First one - national weekly newspaper application "Independent newspaper – Religions" - has positioned itself as a liberal, the authors of religious news application are experts at various levels, including the Orthodox theologians.

The overall tone of religious messages is close to conservative. "Literary newspaper" - despite the name, the socio-political weekly with strong traditions of Soviet journalism and expressing opinions. It describes its position as "free conservatism," but in the discourse, according to critics, one can find nationalist sentiments. The newspaper "Tomorrow" is almost a marginal paper of state-protective wing, editor in chief of which is a well-known journalist and writer Alexander Prokhanov. The newspaper is considered to be opposition not in a political sense, but in the ideological. Its style of covering is known for very intransigence and provocative rhetoric. "Russian Reporter" is a national weekly magazine aimed at the middle class, which is practically the elite; popular among young people due to new standards of journalism (emphasis on reports and interviews on regional life, on the analysis of the essential phenomena of reality). Since the magazine is aimed at critically thinking public, all the events are covered if possible involving a maximum of versatile expert estimates. The magazine has positioned itself as the edition of a liberal orientation, reflecting hidden discourse loyal to power.

Media analysis showed that the discourse of religion and the church in recent years actively involved experts from religious studies, cultural studies, political scientists and linguists. This means that there is a request for critical thought on new meanings and value analysis of what is happening. Key category of analysis may be the concept of "sacredness" of discourse. It is interesting that in "Russian reporter" which is known for neutrality the covering of Pussy Riot case involved maximum estimates as a "blasphemy" comparing to other papers. That doesn't mean that the word comes only from journalists' and experts' field, it was first generated by society itself. The most commonly used definition for the action was "scandalous" almost in every paper. 10% of articles in "Independent-Religions" were devoted to the split in society and church. We observed maximum experts from church field in "Independent" and civil activists in "Russian reporter", when "Tomorrow" and "Literary" express mostly points of their journalists' view.

On the one hand the Church as a religious and cultural phenomenon that is activated in the media field has not lost sacredness, which is confirmed by sociological surveys (confidence is still high - at the level of 60-70%). At the same time, the Church as a social institution that is presented including the personality of the Patriarch as an administrator, not a servant of the church, the sacredness leveled through its presence in the media field. "The image of the Church to most citizens is a monolithic sacred symbol, real life of which is far away and unknown" (Independent, 2012). In this case, the closeness of the church discourse creates in the audience a sense of the sacredness of it. "The sacred image of the Church also built a halo around Cyril priori trust that neither depends on nothing. Being taken out of the sacred religious context, the Patriarch immediately begins to be perceived in very different categories, it is then possible to treat him as a person, as a public figure - and express personal opinion about him" (ibid).

That is, there is a split of personality of the patriarch for media one and sacred. Patriarch during worship is a little interesting character to mass audience, including his talented sermons, church meetings about the internal life of the church. Patriarch on television and the Internet is characterized by expensive watch, fashionable neighborhood, where he speaks to the audience in understandable language and understandable concerns. The second image is not sacral, you can argue with him, and it can be criticized. Some newspaper columnists even more categorical: "Privileged religions are hiding behind a high fence, beyond which soon we will not see the sky" (Independent).

The balance between openness and closeness is a new dilemma of information policy of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as a difficult issue for the media experts. How far society has to wonder what is going on behind the fence of the church? How far society is willing to defend freedom of conscience, even if that conscience does not agree with their ideas? These questions can be answered by sociologists or psychologists; we on behalf of the media researchers have documented the following picture.

In general, newspaper journalists and experts have recorded a split in the following social groups: within the political opposition, within the Orthodox community, within the expert community and in society as a whole. In this case, the consensus of all these groups is that the polar opinions centered on the clear to all categories - blasphemy and cultural memory. In particular, many remembered that the Church of Christ the Savior, in which the action took place, was dedicated to those killed in the war of 1812, and was accomplished in the year of the 200th anniversary of this victory. Can the rebellion, leading to a split, be sacred? Obviously not. "Provocation in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior has shown once again that there is nothing more dangerous than to gamble on national and religious strings. A tiny spark ignited the whole of society" (Independent, 2012).

The spiritual has always been a highly intimate. At the same time, any mystery can turn into a show broadcast by the TV screen. That was an idea of Pope Benedict XVI who wrote about the values of modern times. "The scandalous action Pussy Riot" profaned the main church of the Russian Orthodox Church turning it into a platform for cultural and political action. On the one hand, there appeared a group of supporters of such art, perceiving religious sites as a platform for performance. On the other - a group of conservatives who speak primarily about the historical value of the cultural monument. The same goes for a discussion that arose recently in Italy, when the protesting businessman with a banner climbed the dome of St. Peter's in the Vatican.

An analysis of publications in the "Russian Reporter" has shown that the political dimension of the action was recorded only during the trial, then focus shifted to the cultural sphere. Pussy Riot - this is just one of the punk bands of the protest nature, part of the culture, part of a fashion trend that has its followers. In 40% of articles journalists qualify the prayer as "blasphemy." Accordingly, for the liberal paper in the reports covering the trial, in half of the cases journalists focused on human rights and freedom of speech, a quarter of text pieces were devoted to spirituality. Shift of blasphemy to the cultural sphere, giving it an aesthetic value - is the result of media practices play with meanings, total game with basic vital categories - life, death, justice and security.

An interesting assessment of Pussy Riot demonstrated newspaper "Tomorrow." Quite expectedly we see curses against any non-traditional movements and ideologies, but the paper provides a cultural assessment as well. The Pussy Riot action was covered in postmodern terms - feminist farce and carnival riot. Interestingly, this position was supported by well-known Orthodox missionary and writer Kuraev, which saw punk prayer as a Pancake carnival. Journalist of the newspaper "Tomorrow" develops the idea of how modify religion and beliefs in modern society. Now they are not just a private matter, but the part of the political and religious carnival. "These are:

- A surrogate Islam with his suicidal and terrorist practices in terms of the traditions of Islam;
- Krishnaism and other Eastern sects from the standpoint of the tradition of Hinduism;
- A popular Kabbalah in the light of the tradition of Judaism;
- "Liberal Christianity", the ideology of "aggiornamento" and all forms of new-renaissance from the point of view of Christian tradition, etc." (Tomorrow, 2012).

The main tool to combat the spread of viruses in media is to use the suppression of the response to them. Journalists consider the actions of the church in these conditions as defeatist. "The "advanced"clerics do not just take under the protection the "carnival" punk action, they are involved in the post-modern carnival, as they say, in full, for it demonstrates the perversion of meaning that is typical for carnivalized postmodern consciousness of children. Suddenly the church turned to be under the blows of sodium ruthless liberalism. Having no experience of the information wars, it hid from liberal attacks not beyond the walls of monasteries, but behind the notched Kremlin wall. But after the repression of the Russian Church out of the public space its place will not be left empty. Thus, in Western Europe, ousting the

Catholic Church did not lead to greater freedoms” (Tomorrow, 2012) It should be noted that such sentiments is not marginal.

The split in the religious discourse imperious fully reflects the division in the political discourse. According Prokhanov, in Russia three movements of thought independently coexist: the nostalgia for pre-revolutionary times, the nostalgia for the Soviet era and the liberal wing of modern times. The same can be observed in the Orthodox community – there are monarchist sentiments, greed criticism and conditional nostalgia for the Soviet era catacombs, as well as loyalty to the new missionary policy of Patriarch Cyril.

The primary analysis of messages in the media sphere reflects unrealized request audience on senses. One of the meanings was sought spiritual values, required careful handling, including those in the public sphere. The recent history of journalism shows the most careless attitude to the fragile world of spiritual meanings.

In this sense, for example, punk prayer could have been predicted by media analysts on the basis of pre-stress lines caused by unreasonable expectations of society against the state and the church. Extreme prayer focused a contradiction of intellectual life in Russia and became the starting point of a serious analysis of social life. Performance in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior was a response to the inadequate policies of the state and church authority in the spiritual realm. Analysis of the situation in the media revealed the accumulation of a variety of valuable landmarks around this conflict, exposing the fault feedback in the public sphere.

Conducted content analysis shows that all indicators exposed the existence of two historical and continuing discourses - the discourse of society (the discourse of power is one of its manifestations) and the discourse of the church (which is only a part of religious discourse). Considered in the study, the nominations of the values in the discourses are the same, the difference is found only in relation to them. The subjects of discourses are often the same. So the analyzed discourses are like nested within one another. This "attachment" is provided by integrating discursive practice media sphere, we call it media discourse.

Media discourse cannot be reduced to a set of media channels and texts functioning in it. It is an integral expression of the unity of the information needs of society and the church, the cultural basis of their being, cultural memory, and worldviews as personal interaction. Media discourse incorporates a variety of practice in information media sphere. In this case, it is the practice of media interaction of society with the church, and within society as well – on the question of place and role of the institution of the church in social relations.

Recorded in the study attitude to the Pussy Riot case as a blasphemy carries a very important message, which allows us to understand before marked controversy regarding to the different values, because they translate discourse from political language or religious to the language of culture.

We observe that the post-secular society moves from the negative attitude towards religion and the church to the treatment of the church as a cultural value. Thus, people from secular society and their heirs transform their ideological potential in two directions.

The first is the perception of the church as a sacred institution designed to be between man and God. The second is the attitude to the church as to the value of the national culture phenomenon that has deep historical roots and forms part of the universal cultural memory. These directions are no longer antagonists nowadays.

In other words, the hypothesis of the special importance of culture in the media discourse of the church and society to post-secular world finds its definite confirmation. We underline three key conclusions of the primary study.

The first point tells us a surprising thing: all mass media – liberal, loyal to state, radical conservative and loyal to church – oppose blasphemy as a cultural phenomenon. No one is ready to defend the freedom of speech to the death. At the same time all mass media agreed that this case split the society into 3 dimensions – political, religious and cultural. Another interesting thing is that this case divided the opposition itself which is not very strong in Russia in general. One of the journalists' conclusions was that Pussy Riot is the worst image of Russian opposition.

The second point shows that journalists and their audience are still very conservative in their value orientations. Even secular spirituality doesn't allow Russians to profane the sacred. But here we see some paradox. People support and trust the Russian Orthodox Church as a religious institute but they take Patriarch Cyril himself as a media person and political leader who can be judged not as a head of the church. In this terms only profane things can be mocked, not the sacred ones.

The third point demonstrates that laic journalists tend to be more neutral attracting more experts for commenting. Majority of them are church clerics (and half of them doesn't share the official church point of view), second place take jurists and officials, and then we have political experts and civil activists. Clerical journalism in Russia yet is very weak professionally and ideologically.

To sum up, in these circumstances, the socio-political mass media has not brought the matter through. Understanding the events in the media sphere has not changed views of the audience on the world of religion, the world of politics, the world of culture. In the case of Pussy Riot action, we can say that the audience was not satisfied with its assessment by journalists. New function of the media - navigation in the intensive flow of diverse information - did not work in its entirety.

In the wing of the liberal media we see "blasphemy" and "freedom of speech" hanging in the air. In the conservative and loyal to the authorities wing there are "split" and "cultural memory." In the non-mass media only unaddressed appeals and historical allusions have remained.

What Pussy Riot action actually said to the research community? In our point of view, this is about the fact that the Russian media has no language that would express the sacred. Church, state and society speak different dialects. And all of them are disconnected by "media illiteracy".

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