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Cultural and Literary Aspects of Media Policy

On the example of Post-Soviet Regional Print Media

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Introduction

Speaking on the diversity of goals set by the media, Denis McQuail in the normative theory of media singled out two types of diversity – internal and external (McQuail, 2005). Marshall McLuhan, in his famous work "The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man" marks the researchers' attention towards the periods of media history and links them with the development of communicatin. Prior to the replacement of "The Gutenberg Galaxy" with "Marconi Constellation," the role of "medium" was played by the oldest form of verbal communication (McLuhan, 1962). Today, "The Gutenberg Galaxy" can be considered as an accumulated body of human culture, art, experience and knowledge, where each communication technology is analysed according to the culture and traditions of a particular period. Since human relations and forms of communication have become an integral part of our social lfe, we consider "political communication" as a form of pubic relations in which the key element is power. The sender of the message has always seeked to persuade or manipulate the recipient. The aim of the sender was to gain or strengthen power (McLuhan, 1964).

Expressive means of media, literature and culture, identical genre features originate from ancient times and their coexistence has been relevant at all stages of society. When we talk about the society, we should take into consideration cultural context. Society as a living organism does not exist without culture, and vice versa, culture could not be created withour society. Media, as a cultural and social text, takes on new content in the information society and manifests itself as a medium for cultural bricolage. As for the media coverage of culture, art and literature, it undoubtedly shapes public discourse about the future of Georgia, which, throughout its existence, has always faced difficult challenges. Historically, when talking about the future of Georgia, we always refer to the most difficult landscape created by memory and experience, which in all periods of its development was saturated with painful, paradoxical, lost data of the logical framework; Willingly or unwillingly, the policy of an invader or a hegemon has always changed socio-cultural reality of the country and attitudes of its inhabitants: "When one nation becomes politically influenced by another, political conquest is followed by cultural conquest, the rider is replaced by a writer, the sword bearer – by a cultural agent (Gamsakhurdia, 1921).

The current socio-cultural changes in modern society have a significant impact on all aspects of human life, and the media is the main lever for the implementation and support of these changes. If earlier, it used to take centuries to change social paradigms, today a few years may be enough to transform them. The world has never faced the need to study socio-cultural and information-communication transformation as it does today. Media, as a cultural and social text and its new content in the information society, defines technological, economic, spatial and cultural criteria of the information society. Culture, as a discourse, creates the mood of the society and determines the formation of its taste through specific communication. Media, like culture, demonstrates its goals through the use of verbal, acoustic, visual icons / images, and therefore culture, as a performance, systematically becomes its inspiration in the continuous process of world development.

Based on the above, our research addresses the relationship between media and politics in terms of cultural and literary aspects, which we will discuss on the example of regional print media of a particular period. The study reflects transformation of existing trends in the country and region and the formation of a new, completely different reality in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Our purpose was to scrutinize regional print media priorities, publications and texts of individual publications, and study how information was related to the target audience's rethinking of new data of the era.

In the thesis we study certain peculiarities of Post-Soviet Georgian cultural-aesthetic and intellectual process; at the same time we study the postmodern current in the Post-Soviet communication environment. As a result, we see how the myth of Soviet invincibility was destroyed and how postmodern discourse contributed to the process in Georgian reality and media, how Georgia escaped mental shakles of the Soviet Union and started to form and strengthen a new identity, using specific media tools, including political and cultural aspects. We will focus on the factor of social change (known as "trauma" in scientific literature) after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War (Shtompka, 2004). In the case of Georgia, Post-Soviet difficulties were particularly painful for the media.

The paper is relevant for several reasons: it examines the synthesis of media and national thought, the relationship between society and media in 1989-1991 and gives a definition of this relationship; it studies the ideological character of Georgian media in the early 1990s. The actuality of the topic is determined by the need for a comprehensive description of media texts, which has become widespread in Georgia over the past 30 years and which is directly related to the ongoing economic and political changes in the country.

The thesis is based on the following empirical material: Georgian media of 1980-1990, in particular, regional print publications: the "Soviet Adjara" (a newspaper having a history of one hundred years. The body of Adjara Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the Supreme Council of the Adjara ASSR and the Council of Ministers), the "Chorokhi," (a journal publishing literary and socio-political issues/ articles, The body of Adjara branch of Georgian Writers' Union), The "Kronika" (an informative bulletin, that was periodically published within the party structure; publication of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara). The media outlets selected by us, in fact, operated in Georgian media environment with the status of government periodicals, but their editorial policies and even the accents of individual authors clearly show the contours of the agenda set in accordance with the new times and the processes of transforming ordinary ideological attitudes.

The paper is interdisciplinary because it introduces intersecting topics of communicative studies, culturology and literary studies. The aim of the research is to establish the interrelationships of media, literature and culture based on various theoretical and empirical materials and to focus on the widespread discourse and cultural issues - the important markers that make publicist texts close to literary issues and strategic communication.

The research methodology is complex. We have used historical-functional, typolocical and structural methods. The basis of the analysis of publicist and literary texts is mainly the synthesis of narratology and literary hermeneutics; The research methodology is also based on the analysis of the existing literature on media discourse and cultural structures. We have also used qualitative method – content analysis and the so called "case study." For the "case study" we chose April 9, 1989, one of the

best examples of collective trauma. We used the method of content analysis of textual narratives and monumental areas of memory, discussed the cases of dominant and non-dominant narratives and their effects on public attitudes. Based on the analysis of the selected materials and texts, we studied historical, political, cultural processes developed in Georgia in the transition period. We studied official documents, archival and newspaper materials by content analysis. Based on the discourse-analysis, we studied the relationships between the central and peripheral publications of the print media. Various types of research papers, scientific and newspaper articles are used by us in the thesis.

The value of the thesis is to show the framework of ideological domination for Georgian media freed from Soviet censorship and the Glasnost period. It also aims at a) establishing a link between media policy and publicist texts of literary content; b) finding, processing and comparing empirical material of various regional media outlets of the post-Soviet period. It is also important to define the features of media text architecture in the context of strategic communication, with an emphasis on genre and content change.

The structure of the thesis: The thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters, several subchapters, conclusion and the list of references.

Chapter 1.

Understanding Media Policy

The first chapter deals with the theoretical and practical overview of media policy formation, the precondition for the emergence of this discipline in Georgian reality and journalism, its comparison with Western media standards, media discourse and unified influences. The ability of the media to create a representative environment and to give a "subjectice character" to a "media event" (Fiske, 1996) is also discussed in the first chapter. Chapter 1 discusses the situation in the media space at the dawn of Post-Soviet era and emphasizes that the new media system has a universal ability – to erase time and space in its spheres of action: Moreover, it can create "time without time" and make up its own mental

landscape (Castells, 1996). During epoch-making changes, the media helps the public; it becomes a cursor and describes events to the masses in an understandable language, delivers the right messages to its customers during giant transformations. However, the unique ability of the media is to create a representative environment and to give the media event a subjective character. In this chapter we discuss Marshall McLuhan's famous formula "the medium is the message" (McLuhan, 1964), speak about the media and its role in society. When mass communication is considered as "groups of political and spiritual control, the groups that have culturological function" (Shoshitaishvili, 2010), it becomes essential for us to develop culturological function in them. In this case we use D. McQuail and A. Molly's theories.

  Communication should establish the discourse that would be adapted to the latest challenges made by governing institutions; it should adapt expressive means, find relevant tools and genres and launch them into a space where implicit meanings are to be evoked. These are peculiarities of communication that influence the masses and can be considered as a key component of media policy. For our research it is interesting to investigate the circumstances that characterized Georgia's recent past, (1980s and 1990s), how collective and communicative memory overshadowed the narratives of historical memory, how it contrasted with the existing ideological flows, arguments and facts. In order to analyse Post-Soviet era, it is enough to scrutinize collective memory. In the period of national movement activity, the society is able to overestimate each fact or event, overshadow its negative sides and try to forget all. In our reality it is impossible to accept a precedent based on poststructuralist theory and create a different reality. In order to make the whole society to turn to one idea, the most effective way of manipulation is to influence and propagate. That is why all Soviet leaders were distinguished by their manipulative decisions. Not only the leaders were negative, but their followers, because "the totalitarian state tries to control their behavior, but their thoughts and feelings (Orwell, 1984).

  Media has always attempted to have an influence on the awareness of the masses, to change their behavior. On our own example, we can say that during the 30 years of independence, Georgian media was developing, improving, looking for effective ways to influence. But if we look at the situation in the

media at the dawn of the Post-Soviet era, we will see that it was not a proper partner, failed to raise the awareness of citizens and the standards of resilence to the current crisis. In fact, it was the time when after the collapse of the Soviet Union, all states began to live in a dark room with their hands clasped. This process was accompanied by the most dangeorous situation - a gap between the media and society. It is interesting to know what role was played by the media in the 1980s and 1990s, when in the period of fundamental change society was left naked, face to face with ongoing transformations. Devoid of all pragmatic thoughts, the media of that time could not adapt to the news, systematize the acquisition and delivery of objective information, could not create a platform for discussion, could not find solutions with the public and left the society alone with difficulties. While the media can not be a collective propagandist, it should create appropriate platforms and provide the audience with information - "media always changes the form and takes the form of the social and political structures in which it functions" (Sibert, Peterson, Shram, 1956). The history of media development assures us of the importance of one more interesting tendency: "The more democratic a society is, the more information it provides" (Kovachi, Rosenstil, 2001) and clearly shows logical reasons for the weaknesses of Georgian media.

"Journalism" helps us to define the framework of our society and to develop a common language and common knowledge. Besides, journalism helps to identify the goals, characters and anti-heroes of the society…" (Kovach, Rosenstil, 2001). With the development of the media, the influence of the media increased. The media acquired additional skills and abilities with the help of which the information became easily transmitted to public. Nodar Tabidze, a well-known theorist of traditional and modern Georgian media, speaks about manifestation or selective description of subjectivity in Western terminology: "There must be a tendency in journalism. So there should be shown the author's direct attitude towards the depicted. By directness we mean not only the classification provided in the form of reasoning, but also the thought embedded in epithets and metaphors, definitions "(Tabidze, 2011: 15). It is clear, that when dominant definitions repeat the views of a common discourse in different ways, they are given a natural tinge through the media. According to Hall "The media has a role of reaching public consensus, which makes it a tool for reproducing the prevailing ideology" (Hall, 1980). With the modernization and perfection of media forms, at the stage of technological revolutions, the development

of sectoral media and the spread of cultural influences on it, is becoming more and more important. The inclusion of culture in the integrated communication system has important consequences for the social space. On the one hand, it significantly weakens the power of traditional message senders, who typically spread the message through historically determined social codes: religion, morality, authority, traditional values, political ideology. They do not disappear, but weaken or integrate into a new system where their power extends in the form of electronic materialization (Nemsadze, 2016). The conceptualization of culture as a system of meanings and symbols aims to escape from semiotic and other influences. World religions, empires, ideologies are united in the context of the "mental landscape without time" (Castells, 1996) and the cult of time without time - culture. The ideas of mosaic culture propagated by Antoine Abraham Molly contribute greatly to the production of discourse and formation of public opinion. Molly's view is the following: "Culture is the intellectual aspect of art that man creates during his social life" (Molly, 1973). This view makes it important to highlight the impact of mass communication on the transformation of traditional humanitarian culture into a modern "mosaic culture" (Molly, 1973).

Among the fields that use rhetoric as the art of verbal persuasion are: political science, psychology, sociology, linguistics, communicative linguistics, literary studies, etc. We must single out an interesting segment for us - communication and one of its "tools" - media text, for which the theory of rhetorical argumentation is the mainstay to have an influence on the audience. The types of texts that are commonly used in the press are the following: informative texts, argumentative texts and assertive texts. Each type is characterized by subjective nature, variety of accents, goals, and each has its own target audience. Rhetorical analysis can be used to comprehend any type of text, which is the subject of our interest.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, the Georgian media, due to its periodicity, has become the most popular mouthpiece of identity. Its function was reminding the nation about the identity. In modern communication "reminding" and "not forgetting' is widely used technique. In order to understand the role of media in the context of history and memory, it is important to recall another

essential aspect – relationship between memory and tradition. Tradition is considered as a special form of memory by M. Halbvaks (Halbvaks, 1992), as for A. Assman, he views memory as a super concept and divides it into two su-concepts: communicative and cultural memory (Assman, 2001). Communicative memory combines memories that refer to the past; These are the memories that an individual holds and shares with their contemporaries. Assman's devision of memory into two can be discuused according to five criteria: 1) content of memory; 2) form of memory; 3) medial means; 4) memory duration; 5) memory train (Assman, 2007). Critiria for each type of memory are: content, form, media, timeline and "train". Thinking about the past is the act of realization. Distance in time gives us possibility to see the events from a new (in some cases more objective) perspective. "Personal experience is a kind of text, and our thoughts and cognitions are commentaries on them" (Schopenhauer, 2012). Thus the narrators' stories about their own life and their own country are nothing more than an attempt to draw experiences from the past. The media of the 1990s decided to spread the messages that reflected movement, experience and national narrative. It did not focus on nomenclature issues. The media of the Post-Soviet period gradually began to deliver messages with the same content to the audience - repeating messages, faces, icons and opinions. It was, in fact, a chain of events that was also linked to the interest of the national government. The media of that period faced a serious challenge - the parallel architecture of reality in the monolithic communication space. Georgian media of the early 1990s devoted a considerable interest to representation of historical traumas.

Georgian public mood is based on Ilia Chavchavadze's journalism and his definition of "Popular Literature." Term "zhurnal-gazetoba" (Chavchavadze, 1961) became one of the preconditions for the creation and dissemination of a collective identity. It was Ilia who saw connection between journalism and literature and considered them as the basis of science. In 1861, in the journal "Tsiskari" Ilia published an essay "A few words on the translation of "Mad" where he formulated an idea of a "divine treasure." Ilia inherited the idea from his ancestors and believed that the patronage and protection of it was the duty of his descendants. "We inherited three divine treasures form our ancestors: Fatherland, language and faith. If we do not look after them, what answer will we give to our descendants" (Chavchavadze, 1961). It was the phrase that became the message of Georgian National Liberation

Movement in the 1980s. The leaders involved in the National Liberation Movement were lost in Ilia's definition of the intelligentsia - "Intelligentsia is the mother of the development and success of all peoples" (Chavchavadze, 1961). They knew quite well that trauma can be overcome not by forgetting but by awareness, ethical evaluations, strenuous work of imagination.

In Georgian media of the 1980s and 1990s, we often come across the views of Merab Mamardashvili, who preferred to focus on cultural memory rather than on collective trauma: "There is no classic state that oppresses us. There is a totalitarian state, which is not purely Russian. It has European dimension as well. Russia is not responsible. We have another phenomenon. Fighting against this phenomenon becomes useless if we do not look at it as a non-classical, non-traditional phenomenon. If we do not find out what is ahead of us, we may fail to carry out the historic mission of Georgian nation" (Mamardashvili, 1989). After the elections of October 28, 1990 National Liberation Forces came to power. The most authoritative publications of the country - the "Communist," the "Young Communist" were renamed. The name of regional newspaper "Soviet Adjara" was also changed. They were published with new names – "Republic of Georgia," Young Iverian, Adjara." The shift in newspaper titles reflects a shift in identity categories and dominant ideologies. "The history of Georgian media is the history of the struggle for liberation. It aims at getting free from the laws and values of political system." (Gogoladze, Toklikishvili, 2008). Georgain media of the 1980s and 1990s, including regional print media devoted considerable space to the representation of historical trauma and the production of its modern interpretive discourse.

Along with a theoretical and practical overview of media policy-making and a rethinking of the preconditions for its emergence in Georgian reality and journalism, we have tried to compare it with Western media standards, media discourse, and unified influences. In addition to giving a subjective character to the "Media Event" (Fiske, 1996) and analyzing the "message is a mediator" (McLuhan, 1964), we focused on the correlation factor with the governing institutions of media policy, studied media situation at the beginning of Post-Soviet period. We found out that the stagnant situation created after the collapse of the Soviet Union was marked by the separation of media and society. We also found

out that the media plays a special role in the process of producing discourse and shaping public opinion, as it often depends on the decision who speaks in the media, where, for how long, in what form, with whom, and so on. Consequently, he who controls the text controls the discourse as well and vice versa. While discussing the intersection of the spheres of influence of communication, talking about rhetoric, media, various forms of memory, representation of the past, we have used ideas of famous theorists and thinkers. These scholars are: Lipman, Fiske, Gramsh, Mcluhen, Crage, Coen, Hall, Bertnar, Kastels, Mall, Tard, Bilig, Assman, Shtompka, Chavchavadze, Mamardashvili, Tabidze and so on.

Chapter II

Cultural and Literary Discourse

Considering dozens of versions of definition of culture leads to a simple formulation - culture is the material and spiritual value of one particular nation, which is either not found in another or is completely different from all the others. Different cultural values create barriers in communication. It becomes desirable to acquire cultural perceptions and background knowledge in order to avoid misunderstanding.

In the modern reality nothing is impossible as there are technological tools of the digital world. But it is still difficult for the person to receive all the necessary and complete information about another culture. In this case it is necessary to generate background knowledge, the knowledge of the country's culture, norms of behavior, social morals. None of it can be ignored (Weirzbitska, 1996). It is nessesary for the researchers of culture to conduct interdisciplinary studies, which is very important in communicative space. Culture implies many factors in itself. According to Adam Cuper "the problem of cultural identity is inseparable from cultural politics. The person is free where his values are respected. In multicultural societies, cultural differences need to be cared (Cooper, 2000). According to American political scientist Samuel Huntington "cultural differences play a more important role in the modern world than political or economic. After the end of the Cold War, we have the perspective of international conflicts rather than 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington, 1996). The concept of "culture" is becoming more and more popular in communication theory and is often used instead of "society."

The formation of the cultural sciences was greatly influenced by the theories of Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Sigmund Freud, Antonio Gramshi, Jürgen Habermas and Stuart Halls. By comparing the theories of these scholars, we came to the conclusion:" Culture is important as it forms 'collective individual," the so called "nation." This ethnic material stops being the ethnic material as soon as it creates its national civilization and culture" (Gamsakhurdia, 1921). For us it is important to study cultural identity, communication, context, and other issues, as the mixture of time and space always reminds us of historical parallels.

Since the last decades of the twentieth century, the problem of culture has become the object of interest for politicians as well. Political regimes try to legitimize identity, political autonomy, and other goals through the phenomenon of culture. Postmodern epoch completely changes the content of culture and leads to the emergence of new fileds of study. According to Baudrillard, Modernism is the "epoch of the stage"; Bell equated postmodern era with the emergence of a post-industrial society; Umberto Eco wrote that "the signs of the postmodernist vision characterize all eras in times of spiritual crisis" (Eco, 2012). Postmodernism did not differentiate between styles, genres. It was indifferent to evaluations. Perception of mass culture alongside with any other culture, does not mean that postmodernism is mass culture. It is interesting to mention, that different genres became so much interwined that even works of high quality contained the elements of mass culture. The work of art becomes acceptable for both – the mass consumer and the elite. Current processes in Georgian culture of the 90s of XX century are logically in line with the local social context. The great chaos in Georgian culture was caused by the collapse of Soviet values and their subsequent reassessment on an intellectual level.The progress of this process was significantly facilitated by the oldest paradigms. In the 1990s, propaganda of non-Soviet ways of thinking and living was observed. Its aim was to accelerate the process of forming new systems of thought.

It should be noted that the period which made postmodernism in Georgian culture the subject of the research and linked it to the emergence of a new Georgian identity, is marked by the overflow of the Soviet writer/journalist cult by the authors of "Fateful 90s." Almost at the same time, the 1990s are

associated with the influx of information and media. This period was characterised by a tendency of expelling reality from public life. Printed media of this period corresponded exactly to all the main signs of the postmodern era and was formed as: deconstruction, ambiguity, carnivalization, parody, game, double coding, performance, constructivism, the death of the author, author's mask, intertextuality, creation of a new reader, simulacra (Svanidze, 2017).

The literary reflections voiced in the media in the early 1990s also gave way to a kind of existential fear. Narratives voiced during the existence of the first independent country were the following: "One hundred years ago, Georgians greeted the Russians with joy and excitement. In Russian literature of the 19th century, Georgian man was described as carefree, adulterous and lazy. Such characters are found in Tolstoy's "Stupid Gruzinski Kniaz," Artsibashev's "Georgian Hero" and others. These words belonged to Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. He added: "…Only those who are strong can create history. One can not feel pity towards the weak and helpless. It is possible to lose national freedom, but it must be regained by the nation through struggle (Gamsakhurdia, 1921). Connection of such kind of narratives with the new Georgian identity is well seen in the literary and publicist texts of that period. The media narratives of the new times united Georgian society around the idea of freedom. These were elements of strategic communication, through which the so-called Dissident and Informal Forces - tried to portray and establish the idea that they were the universal force that possessed the qualities of a Georgian spiritual leader. The policy of "Perestroika" and "Glasnost" made it possible to liberalize the regime, to express their opinion freely, as a result of which these forces managed to create various socio-political organizations and reflect patriotic sentiments in the national movement. Under the liberalization of the Soviet regime, the intelligentsia was given the opportunity to be more actively involved in national processes. Freedom of the press allowed their activists to develop a narrative that reinforced their national identity. Georgian literary text and its general sociocultural context show that the modernist cultural choices of twentieth-century Georgia throughout the subsequent period reflect Georgia's social, political, and cultural aspirations.

Chapter III

Media, culture and reality in the country and region

The third chapter deals with the analysis of three different spheres: media, culture and literature in the reality of the country and the region. Here we talk about interrelations between medial policy and social change. We discuss the forms of collective and historical memory based on the theories of the famous French historian Pierre Nora and sociologist Maurice Halbwax. The chapter presents socio-cultural analysis of the Post-Soviet period and a literary narrative based on the political discourse of the regional press. Much attention is drawn to the new epoch, important dates and cultural and literary tendencies. Special attention is given to the process of representation of new names, faces, events, dates in the current period and the subconscious way "from the new past to the new future."

XX century is often called as "traumatic century," however, we do not analyse the reality of Georgia in terms of trauma theories. The collapse of the Soviet Union, gaining of independence and radical changes developing in social, economic and political systems were accompanied by a series of dramatic events that took place after April 9, 1989. Unfortunately, the messages and narratives of public institutions and media of that period are not studied. The period was really difficult; national government often took very bold, impulsive and spontaneous decisions. Georgian society was involved in these difficult processes and was ready to listen to and accept any type of explanatory text, formula or message heard from government, media and the authorities. One of the authorities of that period was Merab Mamardashvili who spoke on national shortcomings. His message was unacceptable for Georgian society of the 1990s. According to Mamardashvili "Georgia has no enemy in the form of a hostile ethnos. Its enemy is totalitarianism – the ideology. The soul of it comes from Russia but develops in Georgian mind" (Mamardashvili, 1989). Mamardashvili believed that it was impossible to create a new society from the people who were left in the country after the so called "collective suicide" (Bakradze, 1989). "Talking about freedom does not mean "Freedom." For me freedom is creating a mechanism, a democratic procedure which will limit any expected aggression, anti-democratic action, oppression. We should not send declarations to the United Nations and ask for help. Personally, I dislike being

oppressed. It is shameful to feel oppressed and shout for help" (Mamardashvili, 1989). This interesting and a very individualistic approach of the famous philosopher was considered to be subjective as it addressed intellectual audience and not emotionally charged masses. Merab Mamardashvili focused on typical problems of a developed, democratic society and paid great attention to human rights issues. "We must make an effort and endure loneliness; Before taking a big step ahead, we will be spiritually lonely. We should not expect salvation from anyone" he said. Mamardashvili thought that it was possible to co-exist with Russian "democratic" movement. "We have to use stronger forces against our enemies. We have to take part in the game that is going on throughout the Soviet Union. We should build a strong democracy and leave a strong and democratic Russia. If we abandon weak and authoritarian Russia, it will kill us, or we will die with it. Democratic forces should win in Russia (Mamardashvili, 1989). Neither Georgain society of that time nor the next generations could guess what Mamardashvili meant under cohabitation with Russian democratic forces. The rigid attitude of the society towards the above mentioned issues was saturated with counter-arguments.

In the thesis we discuss the patriotic-emotional discourse that arose from the national movement. On April 9, 1991, after the declaration of independence, Guram Petriashvili wrote about the mood of Georgian people: "It was an extraordinary, unforgettable event, defining the present and the future of the nation and the country… (Petriashvili, 1991). This is how the writer assessed the election results in the article "Little Toast": "Let October 28 be a great proof that Georgian nation is wise. Georgians are wise in heart and it is the main wisdom. The heart will win and the nation will win. It wil be able to free the nation." These proposals clearly demonstrate the emphasis of government policy on the current situation and how the author made an influence on the public mood. The author's narrative is impressive as it says" The most important event in Georgian history was born in the heart." However, the words of Akaki Bakradze, a thinker of the same epoch, prove the opposite: "If the way of thinking does not change, we will have nothing more than patriotism based on feelings. Time after time democracy will disappear like a soap bubble." According to him, changing the way of thinking is a much more difficult process than physical disintegration of the Soviet Union or the regulation of socio-political issues related to the construction of the country.

"Collective trauma" suffered by the population of Georgia on April 9, 1989, served as a starting point in defining further history and memory. Dramatic changes in Georgian society at the end of the Soviet Union collapse and the first years of indefendence can be analysed in the context of "Trauma-Triumph Theory" (Chikovani, 2017). From this period, the "non-Soviet future" of the country demanded a new past, with new values and accents. After the shocking days and months of 1989, the communist government of Georgia began to rethink the new reality and became more and more compliant with the demands of the national movement and the people in general, who were no longer "homosovietics" (Koridze, 2016). In the regional press, the principles of "double coding" reveal the hidden accents of the editorial policy. For example the authors of the materials published in April 1989, in "Soviet Adjara" offered readers harmless newspaper platforms, the purpose of which was to leave the society wrapped in the usual ideological veil in a kind of hypnotic trance. In the thesis we discuss the editorial policy of regional press after April 9, 1990. In order to cover the shock of April 1989 events, "the Soviet Adjara" was saturated with materials distinguished by Soviet nomenclature and institutional influence. It should be noted that the newspaper of this period was loaded with reports of the congresses of Central Committee of the Communict Party of the Soviet Union. There were long speeches of officials, analytical articles of an ideological nature. In the thesis the focus is on the fact that the communists of the country and region tried to take advantage of the gains of the national government and disguise their real face.

In parallel with the main findings of the paper, we see that when a particular trauma is actualized in society and the media - fears, memories, imagination, the connection between the past and the present come to life. The reinterpretation of a parallel event shapes the narrative of influence. This fact is observed in the thesis and reflects the attitude of the society towards the framework of the party nomenclature. The statements of the members of the communist party once were saturated with the ideology of the Soviet Union but at that time "wind of freedom" was felt in their statements. As we see, the media in general and especially printed media of that time tried to cover current strange events by using various influencial tools. The language of the newspaper should be considered as one of the tools. Due to the nature of the texts used in the regional press, we can distinguish texts that are rich in

euphemisms and dysfemisms. Their frequent usage strengthens the mechanisms of media influence through informative, argumentative and evidential texts.

Texts of all types are analysed in the thesis and special attention is drawn to accents, narratives and unified influences. It should be noted that with the replication of such type of texts begins the analysis of the process of transforming trauma into a social event. In terms of ongoing public and social activities in Adjara region, attention is drawn to the first sanctioned public speeches, protest narratives. Main theme at the meetings was April 9, but mass gatherings included topics relevant to different types of society. The speeches were delivered by individual speakers in the form of specific narratives.

After April 9, 1989, the national liberation movement became more active and made the society look back to historical past, gave impetus to the representation, remembrance of past tragedies and struggles, and the reconsideration of February 14, 198, April 14, 1978, and March 9, 1956. The newspaper "Soviet Adjara" has become a platform where the authors presented the process of public speeches in chronological dynamics, however, they used the methods of analytical assessment of the situation as well.

We also see the transformation of media policy in the materials reflecting May 26 celebrations after April 1989. According to Alexander, if we want events and facts to acquire the effect of cultural trauma, trauma-bearing groups must emerge, trauma should have the form of a universal narrative. A successful narrative must consider the following: the nature of pain, the manner of the victim, the connection of trauma victims with a wider audience, the issue of shipting responsibility, etc. Narrative depicting collective trauma must reflect the event, show what happened and how it influenced the group. "Narrative should show that traumatic event affected not only a certain group of society, but the whole society. Narrative should show who is guilty, who must answer for their actions" (Alexender, 2004). It is difficult to say, if the organizers of April 9 considered themselves being guilty, but if we try to rethink the processes, we should recall Giorgi Maisuradze's words: "We were born at the meetings. Our generation belongs to a special breed of "political animals" (Zoon Politikon) who expresses their own opinion and political will and passions at the meetings (Maisuradze, 2011). Therefore, reading the recent

history of Georgia in the light of the protests is an important perspective that will make a significant contribution to the understanding and evaluation of this great story.

In spite of the fact that events of April 9 were developing in Soviet Georgia, the National Movement crossed out the past. April 9 turned out to be the historical "seismic error" (Assman, 2011), which destroyed the cultural and mental frameworks of Georgian society living within the Soviet system and completely changed social reality. Georgian society tried to erase from the memory the names, facts, events, symbols connected with the Soviet period. As Assman says, it was the period of "active forgeting" (Assman, 2001). Nora called the same period as 'retribution for the past" (Nora, 2002). Historical monuments became one of the first targets of this process. Their destruction took place mostly in public, sometimes silently, without emphasis and resonance. The main result of such events was that the countermeasures of the Soviet period gradually became a normative, recognized memory and shifted into the public spotlight.

When discussing different types of material ("The Soviet Adjara" 1989-1991) another interesting trend was observed - when emotion enhances memory with joy, sadness and grief, cultural codes and cultural patterns are put on the agenda. They see codification of rituals and beliefs as an alternative way of dealing with tragedies and trials (Assman, 2011). Here we can choose the method of turning a chosen trauma into a "chosen triumph" (Volcano, 2007). On April 9, 1991, at a special session of the Supreme Council of the first convocation, the President read the results of the "Independence Referendum" held on March 31 and said: "From all the above, we consider it expedient for the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia, taking into account the will of the people, to declare the restoration of Georgia's independent statehood to the civilized nations of the world on May 26, 1918. It is symbolic to announce the restoration of Georgia's independence on April 9, as the fate of Georgia was decided on this day. The souls of the martyrs look down and rejoice, because the will of Georgian nation has been fulfilled. Long live independent Georgia! God bless you! ("Georgian Republic", №70, 1991, 10 April). The final sentence of this historical statement echoed the sentiments of the society over the years, creating narrative texts and approaches with examples of transforming the "chosen trauma into the chosen

triumph" and victory. In this respect, the newspaper "Soviet Adjara" was no exception. In this newspaper the process of reflecting the objective reality and telling real stories by specific authors underwent interesting transformation and presented journalistic products saturated with elements of artefacts and mythology. The local print media, on the one hand, feeds on the traumatic events of the 1990s, and on the other hand, with its clear, precise and constant description, helps to form a specific trauma. From the analysis of the texts discussed in this paper, we can assume that the events of the 1990s are clearly placed in the narrative of the "trauma of victory" of Shtompka.

When we talk about media policy on the example of Adjara region, we can take some examples from other regional newspapers as well. The examples are taken from the magazine "Chorokhi" and publication "Kronika." The latter was printed in the form of a newsletter of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara and had a very strange form. In fact, the government-run periodical "Kronika" focused on resolving the long-running military conflict in Abkhazia and gave detailed information about mediation of the regional leader, Aslan Abashidze (ruler of the Autonomous Republic of Adjara in 1991-2004). The periodical analyzed the process of mediation and showed the resonance of specific results. "Kronika" was characterized by a specific pathos. On the example of "Kronika" we clearly see how stereotypes were created. The print media can have a huge impact on certain events only then, when the media is well aware of the public mood.

When we talk about the symbiosis of parties and media, it is obvious that this process damages not only the media but also the political landscape. It can no longer hold critical opinion. It bends the mirror and contributes to the polarization of society. This is when the media can use unjustified methods - label facts, forget political figures or constantly remind the audience of ugly and tired politicians. Bulletin "Kronika" is the best example of trying to establish the above mentioned tendencies in the regional media and inadequately informing the target audience. The "Chorokhi" played the role of ideological dominant in Adjara region. It tried to make the readers see the current, historical and future challenges from an interesting angle. Although "Chorokhi" was a literary publication, it never ignored the analytical analysis of the events happening in 80s and 90s of the 20th century. The authors

of the articles continued to show the persistence of traumas received through sacred memory by representing painful facts from history.

Here we want to analyse the extract from Mamia Varshanidze's essay 'Thoughts, thoughts….'' ("Chorokhi, №4, 1991:42-43). The author recollects tragic facts from Georgian history and tries to show traumatic feelings: "I want to recollect the time when Georgian nobleman sold our children, girls and boys. Ships approached Poti and foreigners bought our children and moved them to different counties (Chorokhi, №4, 1991:42-43). Recollection of past painful event by the author helps the readers to "cross the bridge and come closer to the past" (Zerubaveli, 2004).

When talking about the phenomenon of narrative and its characteristics, it is important to consider two different forms of it: dominant and non-dominant. The goal of the dominant narrative is to create a dominant opinion about the historical event that took place. The non-dominant or social narrative is built on personal stories but it also reflects the state of society as a whole.

This chapter also highlights typical post-traumatic stressful texts that are highly emotional and focus on the state of society. It is well known that overcoming collective trauma is the most diffidcult, as these traumas do not belong to anyone (Freud, 1900), but represent the pain of the whole nation. We can rely on the "dual nature of collective trauma" discussed by Sigmund Freud in his"Psychopathology of Everyday Life". Freud believed that traumas fill societies with fear. But sometimes nations forget about some aspects of trauma. On the other hand Societies need to go baack to traumas" (Freud, 1900). Any type of trauma reaches a new level, when fears, memories, imagination, the connection between the past and the present come to life. The reinterpretation of a parallel event even shapes the narrative of influence. Memoirs, fictional texts, memorials, monuments form the so called "collective memory" create social moods.

After April 1989 the first reaction of the society was of pain, anger, grief and mourning. All these emotions are still present in Georgian society as a collective memory. We are interested in knowing how the post-independence regional media portrayed the traumatic events of the 1990s, how it was understood, interpreted and analyzed using methods of content and discourse analysis. In this chapter

we discuss the dynamics of the narrative from the long time distance perspective. Vygodsky (1981, 1987), Bakhtin (1986) and Taylor (1985) paid attention to how individuals interact with each other in the process of giving meaning to facts and events, how they use "cultural tools" to equip their own socio-cultural environment.

In the study of history and memory issues, it is language and narratives that attract particular attention. "The term 'repositories of stories' can be understood as narrative meanings that are provided by our socio-cultural environment. Coping history by "Glasnost" seems to be an explanation or answer to the question why we lived the way we lived or what gave rise to what we did not like. There was the cascade of changes in various forms: memoirs, literary and publicist texts. All these played a great role in forming the so called counter-memorabilia (Nora, 2002). Talking about monuments started after 1989 and was full of contradictions and rethinking of identities. The wave of "active oblivion" of the Soviet past (Assman, 2011) begins with the disappearance of monuments and memorials. In most cases this process contained agitated mood and affective charge which became an integral part of people's collective memory. This process became memorable for all parts of the country, especially for the regions where civil positioning attracted public attention with loud activities. In our time, the intellectual life of a man is in the coding and decoding of mass symbols. According to the plan of monumental propaganda (which was a special agitation mechanism and put "art and sculpture in the service of the people" (Tsereteli, 1959), such monuments were perceived by people as duplicated symbols. Monuments of Stalin and Lenin stood in every region, town and village. Unfortunately they really had the greatest influence on the mood of the masses. It is already known that the influence of the symbol system on human behavior was taken into account by all anthropological schools. "Structuralists" – Roland Bart and Michel Fouco also shared this idea. Their approaches had one thing in common - they recognized the systematicity of the cultural significance of symbols and autonomy of the symbolic system. As a result of the breakdown of broad narratives in the new information age, many nations rediscovered inconsistent nature of former leaders, prominent figures and symbols (names of cities, streets, institutions). As we mentioned above, new reality required new past. It required revival of symbols, going back to old and well- forgotten names and facts and giving them an animated character.

In this regard, we analyse newspaper portraits and essays and discuss the revived faces of national heroes, historical chracters on the pages of the newspaper "Adjara." The names of Akaki, Iakob Gogebashvii, Ilia, Gulo-Aga Kaikatsishvili, Memed Abashidzea and other liberators of Adjara appeared in the local press.

In the theory of journalism, there is one original method and a publicist means called "dialogue with the reader." The author of the flawless monologues, Ilia Chavchavadze, gave a more expressive function to the publicist word and enriched its content. By bringing the problems of Adjara to the forefront, Ilia directly addresses his compatriots and puts them in the middle of the process, makes them his accomplices, encourages them and pathetically calls for good deeds: "Georgians, it is time to show yourself to your newly joined brothers: It is time to show that Georgians can stand side by side and struggle together" (Chavchavadze, op.1). As for the appeal to the reader: "Soon it will be clear, the will of our ancestors is a combination of empty words or it is meaningful for us. It should be noted that this method has much in common with a rhetorical question and creates emotional bond with the reader. This narrative ultimately reflects the attitude towards the common past and creates a unified narrative field for the Georgian national-patriotic landscape. This method appears to be the most important direction in terms of defining media policy and developing a narrative acceptable to the audience.

In order to activate "New past" and the names of national heroes, articles and literary texts in the newspaper "Adjara" described the political and cultural life of the Democratic Republic of Georgia in major tone. Functioning of the government of the First Republic, national pathos and political arrangement were topics analyzed in the newspaper. The task of the government was to strive for the growth and development of Georgian statehood. Holding of multi-party elections, the existence of a coalition government and the adoption of a progressive constitution were considered to be unconditional achievements and an epochal event. The current public life in the Democratic Republic of Georgia was also positively assessed. There were articles about the Democratic Republic of Georgia in emigration. The recurring events and personalities have formed the basis for the creation of a new narrative. The bridge was built between the present and the Democratic Republic of Georgia. At the

beginning of 1989, May 26, 1918 – the day of Georgian Independence was remembered as the achievement of the Georgian people, however, in the narrative of May 26 there were not the names of the political elite and public figures who participated in the declaration of independence. May 26 was not mentioned in any official documents, but the issue of celebrating this day was discussed by the authorities.

The trends of the new era and the resonance of the themes become especially noticeable and memorable for the regional periodical press of the 90s, especially when the media of that time actively used literary texts, literary works, poetry and prose rubrics. "Text is the primary data and a starting point of the humanitarian disciplines. It is studied in philology, linguistics, literary science, etc. (Bakhtin, 1986). Bakhtin believed that text was universal category "Where there is no text, there is neither a subject for thought nor for research" (Bakhtin, 1986). Text is a key factor for functioning of traditional and modern media platforms. The media of that period relied primarily on the text. By constantly repeating, reminding and emphasizing the fragments it tried to unite the audience around common challenges and recurring tragedies.

Literary edition "Chorokhi" like the newspaper "Soviet Adjara" often used the ideas of public figures, writers, people of different professions, the so called "new authors" in order to show the readers current situation of the country and make it evaluated by them.In parallel with the events of April 1989, the authors who published articles in the regional press informed the readers about the first reactions of the society, showed the emotions of public figures and ordinary citizens. These articles accumulated codes and cultural practices existing in Georgian society. It is worth noting that government officials took an active part in these processes. It was their last chance of self-presentation.

The newspaper "Soviet Adjara" also presented the topic of ethnoconflicts through literary texts and narrative methods. At that time Georgia had many centuries of positive experience of coexistence with different ethnic groups, taking into account geopolitical, cultural and other aspects.This experience also contained significant challenges, as the ethnoconflicts that gradually erupted in Georgia were based on serious causes. In order to discuss such problems and get an adequate assessment from the public, it was

undoubtedly important for journalists to focus on the ideas of competent individuals, historians, analysts. There was a precedent for the resonance of Chochiev's article in "Likhni's letters" and "The Bzip" (http://www.abkhazia.gov.ge). It was important for the media to focus on the issue reflecting history and political manner of the Ossetian people. In the thesis we analyzed the article "Samachablo our pain and sorrow" ("Adjara", №18, 1991) published in newspaper "Adjara." The article is based on the Ossetian legend "Sircha" and asseses current hazardous situation. It should be noted that apart from this media text and several poetic works, we rarely find the examples of rethinking of the mentioned data by the journalists. The media did not have experience to act in a free space, nor did it have skills to conduct an information war. The events developing in the early 1990s, made the society feel uncertain. It was quite odd and confusing for the well-known media specialists to change the communist "agenda," so they replaced passive positions with active silence. Nobody thought about the standards of media policy then, because intonation and rhetoric were formed by emotional pulsation, and in the process there were a lot of lapses, shortcomings and even unforgivable mistakes.

The paper also discusses the new trend established in the regional media, which combines different types of journalistic material reflecting current processes and objective realities. This tendency aims at showing vicious sides of the society to the readers. Along with reviews, sketches, portraits, feuilletons, we often find the examples of poetry saturated with patriotic spirit and ideological sentiments in the newspapers. It seems that poets worried about the consequences of the chaotic situation in the country, the change of people, the fragility of moral qualities, the rise of new times.

Ilia considered the printed word as a tool of national and social progress. In 19th century Georgia, due to the polarity of the existing and desired reality, Ilia wrote: 'There, at the foot of life, you will find many pearls and more poems and mud. Art should not be afraid of depicting any, Journals should not be frightened of writing about them (Chavchavadze, vol.3).

In the thesis we speak about civil position of well-known Adjarians which clearly demonstrate the context of media policy produced by literary texts and publications in regional media. After April 9, a different political reality emerged in Georgia and the country faced awakening and a new life.

Regardless of the format of the print editions, they have cultural or literary aspects, which take the periodicals away from the informational format. Creating a media text is an art that shows cultural peculiarities of the author on the hand, and a given epoch on the other.

Chapter IV

From Media Policy Aspects to Awareness Transformation

The fourth chapter deals with media policy discource analysis in fictional texts. Here we speak about discourse genres, the diversity of the genres and the nature of expression. The focus is on understanding the text, discourse and genre. Special attention is paid to genre and content changes. In the present chapter we rely on the views of well-known theorists relevant to the research topic: "Text is the primary data and a starting point of the humanitarian disciplines. It is studied in philology, linguistics, literary science, etc. (Bakhtin, 1986); According to Hegel, Fichte and Shelling, thinking and "consciousness in general"does not gather facts and circumstances but is quite active and creative. Hegel showed that "man lives in an objective culture, world, and that the latter gives a peculiar look to man, in particular, determines the history of human existence. The objective mind exists in time, it is historical, its variability determines the variability of a person in time" (Hegel, 2017).

The subject of our research - cultural and literary aspects of media policy includes discussion of media texts, as well as communication goals of media exchange. The author of the theory of media sociodynamics, French culturologist Antoine Molly discusses the peculiarities of functioning of the media in terms of cybernetic approach. In his view, people's knowledge of the world is created not through education and other systems, but through the work of the mass media. "Media representatives are the mediators between the 'creators' and the masses, between the macro and micro layers. This social group is focused on creating forms of expression" (Molly, 1973). Antoine Molly also names several types of "doctrines" which makes it possible to influence the audience. These are: demagogic, dogmatic, culturological, and dynamic doctrines (Molly, 1973).

Term "Discourse" is defined in different ways. It is sometimes associated with the text. According to Galperin, text is associated with written speech: "A text is a complete verbal process that exists in the form of a written document, has specific purpose and pragmatic direction. It has a title and different types of lexical, grammatical, logical and stylistic connectors" (Galperin, 1981).

As for the media discourse, in particular, the newspaper discourse, it is relevant today. Quite often we "monitor and catch the reflection of our lives in the eyes of other people" (Bakhtin. 1984). As a result of these arguments, we can agree that text is a means of spreading information as well as a reflection of fragments of reality and a transmission of culture. I. Galperin singles out five functional styles that characterize different types of texts:

1) The belles-letters style – aesthetic-cognitive function;

2) The publicist style – brain - washing function;

3) The newspaper style –informative function;

4) The scientific prose style – proof function;

5) The official document style (Enukidze 2000:22).

When speaking about text categories, the scholar singles out two types of text categories: semantic and structural. According to I. Galperin, semantic categories are the following: informativeness, depth, pragmatics (Galperin, 1981). As for integration, retrospect, continuum, continuity – they belong to structural categories (Galperin 1981). Text is a true fusion of linguistics and culturology; It is a form of cultural existence as well. From the journalistic text the addressee demands elasticity, emotionality and conciseness.The genres that belong to publicist style are the following: essay, sketch, pamphlet, etc. All genres have their peculiarities. For example, pamphlet is a publicist work the purpose of which is to expose specific, civic socio-political aspects. Linguistic means used in pamphlets are rich. Pamphlets contain slang, composites, neologisms, etc. With the help of satire it criticizes the object. This genre is related to postmodernism. Feuletton functionally and in terms of content expresses and embodies the essence of journalism. By reviewing the peculiarities of discourse and genres we tried to connect

explanations and hypothesis to different types of journalistic material published in the periodical press of 1980-1990. We found out that almost every discourse contains a moment of ambiguity. So the readers need to be attentive to resist ambiguity.

The publicist style fully manifests in newspapers and political magazines (Vinogradov, 1952). Georgian media theorist and practitioner Nodar Tabidze said "It is important for journalism to convey the idea in logical categories. If thinking with concepts is replaced by thinking with faces, the text will resemble fiction. In publicist texts the author's attitude towards the described event should be directly shown. By directness we mean the idea expressed in epithets and metaphors (Tabidze, 2011). Today, when people read and analyze media products more than fiction, special attention should be paid to the study of journalistic discourse. Media discourse may be of two types: written and oral. Journalistic discourse differs from other types of discourse and is characterized by restrained style.

It is true that the distinction between literary and media discourse is quite clear, but we must always remember that "great writers often come from journalism, and these two vast spaces are often mixed up because both of them have ability to express culture and polyphony" (Svani, 2017). Journalist working on an analytical text must be a good narrator. He should make a dialogue with the masses and make an impact on them. When we talk about influence, it is impossible not to draw a parallel with the term "soft power" (Nai, 2004). This term was coined by Josef Nai. According to him "soft power is a national resource that creates positive attitude. "Soft power" differs from "hard power." The latter uses military capabilities and economic strength to influence states, groups and individuals (Nai, 2008). "Soft power" is a kind of cultural force used by states to achieve foreign policy goals through cooperation, persuasion, attractiveness. Joseph Nye focuses on "soft power resources" such as the country's culture, language, and values. He also argues that "in today's global information age, victory depends not on whose army wins, but on whose story wins" (Nye, 2004). "Soft power"is an important element in communication. In the process of effective communication decisions are made, ideas are formulated, packaged and then delivered to the public in order to have an impact on them and gain conscious support.

While talking about the printed media, we should pay considerable attention to the study of language means and stylistic devices. Attention is drawn to the media expressions and language of the epoch, technological capabilities and the words, the meaning of which depends on where and when, in what context they were used. The media uses words that give power to verbal acts. The best examples of it are the titles of the articles "Georgia will say "Yes"!" ("Soviet Adjara", 1990), "Georgia must be united and indivisible!" (regional bulletin) or "Those who stand near the God" (literary journal). In these examples we see one side communication and dominant influence on the readers.

In our thesis we repeatedly emphasized main ideologies, media means; we mentioned the names of authors, politicians, leaders of the national movement, readers. We noted that mythical equivalence between the reader's speech codes and the newspaper's written discourse codes allows the newspaper to conduct a dialogue with the reader. The principles presented in media discourse create a familiar environment for the readers. The readers unite and become loyal to a specific newspaper. In many cases the ideological values of the newspaper and its readers are shared. It should be noted that in the media of that time, dialogue was activated. Dialogue facilitated the conversation between the newspaper and the readers. It seemed that both parties understood well what they were talking about and neither of them needed an in-depth analysis of the topic of conversation. Official language, serious tone, journalists' measured assessments and objective reports gave media style stable character. No matter how understandable the discourse of the newspaper material is, the reader is still an active participant in constructing the meaning of the text. "The reader not only decodes characters and meanings, but searches for the codes needed to understand the discourse "(Hall, 1980). The reader examines the mythical menings generated by the accents of the text. He/ She is not only the user of the coded meanings but is the creator of the default story in the text. There were many examples of mixing content and form in the regional print media of 1989-1991. These articles were characterized by resonance of moods and traumatic, painful emotions. The result of these psychological traumas is that the negative feelings made an impact on the readers, made them obedient and pathetic. Therefore the quality of people's civic activism deteriorated. Such a tendency hinders and makes the formation of public opinion selective. Society has always been a great force and public opinion has always had a great

importance. In the transitional period, when one system collapsed, it was necessary to establish strategic communication with the public, to use a language understandable and acceptable for them and make the society to adapt easily with the new reality. Of course, in the Soviet-era format (1980s and 1990s) hardly anyone considered this discipline as a means of communication with mass audiencies, however the study showed, there was a demand for best narratives and messages.

It is interesting to know media attitude in the 1980s and 1990s to the essence of information. Information, communication are mechanisms of influence, but social influence is the process by which a person or a group of people is able to change the opinion about another person or a group of people, push them to specific actions through comnpromise, conformism, fear, manipulation. In order to influence the masses, the methods of assertion and repetition are actively used. For the production of strategic communication it is essential to form accurate narratives and messages based on the identification of motive, context, problems, ways of solving them and final results. The main "ingredients of a good product are: values, history, identity and vision for the future. Today, the media is considered as a powerful propaganda tool and its role as the creataor of messages is great. Media policy in the classical sense is the formation of a purposeful discourse adapted to the latest challenges in a particular time and environment. Its aim is to choose relevant tools, genres, expressive means and launch information into a space. Final result lies in persuading the masses and changing their vision and behavior. These are the peculiarities of strategic communication that are getting more and more popular and effective in terms of influencing the masses. Conclusion   Analysis of the regional papers of 1980-1990s showed the role of the media in Adjara region, how it tried to transform the reality and form a new reality in Post-Soviet Georgia. We have seen the importance of literary texts and publicist letters in the process of rethinking new data. We found out that the existence of postmodernism in the last decades of the XX th century led to the formation of a new Georgian identity in Georgian culture. We have also clarified that the policy of periodicals in post-Soviet Georgian culture in the 1990s corresponded to all the main features of the postmodern era. It possessed all three peculiarities of postmodern cultural process: deconstruction, carnivalism and simulation. We assessed the literary and media narratives as an effort to unite around the idea of freedom of the Georgian society. In our thesis

we analysed media texts, spoke about political discourse, literary narrative, reviewed the meanings of specific dates of the new era. Discussion of the following topics revealed the importance of the media in the transition era and its role in shaping public opinion. The study showed how current postmodernist discourse in Georgian reality and media contributed to the shattering of the myth of Soviet invincibility and the formation of a new identity. The study also revealed the ideological nature of the media of the 1990s, the relationship between society and the media. The detailed description of the media texts confirmed their direct connection with the political and economic processes of the country As the empirical material for our research was the regional government periodicals published in 1980-90 ("Soviet Adjara", "Chorokhi", "Kronika"), the process of highlighting their niche and difference in Georgian media environment was particularly interesting. We have seen the examples of ideological transformation in the editorial policy and individual author's thinking. We have marked our attention towards the relationship between media, literature and culture, identified their impact on the audience. We have singled out the main peculiarities of the publicist genre, studied discourse markers and cultural aspects that bring publicist texts closer to literary studies.   Usage of historical-functional, typological and structural methods while doing the analysis of publicist and literary texts showed us regional official print media policy of 1989-1991 and the beginning of the transformation process.

The List of Publications on the Present Research:

1. Determination od socio-cultural processes into the Media and their impact on society; ჟურნალი Journal L' Associacion 1901 "SEPIKE", Ausgabe 30, Poitiers(France), Frankfurt(Germany), Los Angeles(U SA); 2017-12-31 Page: 72-77 ინდექსირებულია: Index Copernicus(IC tm Value): 5.15 (2013) Cite Factor, Word Cat, Research Rible U S Library of Congress, DNB and LoC ; e-ISSN: 2372-7438 Los-Anjeless, USA , 2018

http://paper.researchbib.com/view/paper/149673

2.   "Cultural processes and their impact on society," "Humanities in the Information Society- III," International Conference Proceedings, ISBN 978-9941-462-86-3. Batumi, 2018;

3.   "Cultorological Aspects of mediapolicy ," International Conference "Modern interdisciplinarism and Humanitarian Thinking," A. Tsereteli State University, Facuty of Humanities, Journal "Thoughts.", Kutaisi, 2017.

4.   " The Impact of Media on Society" Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, Proceedings of the III Scientific Conference of Young Scientists,p 23-29; ISBN 978-9941-462-79-5. Batumi, 2017;

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5.   "Media as a new symbolic environment of a giant supertext," Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, Proceedings of Student Conference, Batumi, 2017.

6.   The Role of Language in the formation process of media discourse," Collection of Articles – Social Science Issues ,Publishing House "Universal", p. 112-126; ISSN 1987-7684; Batumi, 2017;

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