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«The New York Times»: досвід становлення редакційної формули у XIX ст.

Павленко В. В., Назаренко О. В.

Дніпровський національний університет імені Олеся Гончара

Для визначення поточних тенденцій самвидаву передбачено жанрово-тематичний аналіз журналу «Пороги». Типологічні особливості, проблематика, жанри розглядалися в процесі аналізу.

Українська нелегальна преса, яка не мала чіткої періодичності та механізму розповсюдження, повідомляла про порушення прав людини на території Радянського Союзу, створення національно-визвольного руху та руху за захист громадських прав, а також, зокрема, про репресії творчої та академічної інтелігенції. Варто згадати, що серед самвидавної преси журнал «Пороги» мав тираж та розповсюджувався в 1988–1990 рр.

На сьогодні світовий газетний ринок перебуває у стані глибокої кризи, ознаками чого є скорочення накладів, звуження регіонів поширення газет, скорочення ринку рекламодавців. У той самий час якісні суспільно-політичні видання на кшталт «The New York Times» залишаються фінансово успішними і надзвичайно впливовими. Визначення факторів, які дозволяють виданням якісної преси ефективно діяти в умовах скорочення ринку, є важливим завданням як теоретиків, так і практичних діячів медійного простору. Це дослідження має на меті вивчення поданих факторів на прикладі «The New York Times» як найбільш впливового видання США. Проблема розглядається за допомогою вивчення ґенези видання і дослідження впливу власника газети і редактора Адольфа Окса на формування факторів, що і сьогодні сприяють успішній діяльності газети. За допомогою біографічного та ідеографічного підходів визначаються засади, за якими Адольф Окс реформував газету у XIX столітті. Результати дослідження показують, що Окс застосував до видання бізнес-орієнтований підхід: залучив для якісної газети методи оптимізації масових видань (зниження роздрібною ціни, збільшення рекламної площі та розміру рекламних оголошень, оптимізацію системи доставки тощо), однак орієнтувався на «високоцоліх інтелектуалів» як основну аудиторію. Окс довів, що при застосуванні правильної інформаційної та економічної політики газета матиме успіх на інформаційному ринку, оскільки американське суспільство потребувало і потребує якісної журналістики. Розуміння стратегії розвитку одного з провідних газетних видань, яке залишається успішним у сучасних умовах трансформації інформаційного простору, є корисним не лише для вибудовування конкурентної практики, а й для модернізації локальних національних сегментів газетної індустрії. Результати цього дослідження можуть бути використані для корегування бізнес-стратегій існуючих ЗМІ, а також для порівняння визначених у дослідженні засад із фундаментальними засадами, за якими функціонують інші якісні видання.

Ключові слова: «The New York Times»; Адольф Окс; Генрі Реймонд; біографія; якісна преса; стратегії розвитку.

1. Introduction

Problem statement. In recent years, a modern world newspaper market has been in a deep crisis: circulations are reduced, regions of newspaper spreading are constricted, advertising market is significantly decreased.

According to 2017 data, a daily circulation of American newspapers has decreased by 10 % in comparison to 2016. The advertising income has also decreased by 10 % [1]. However, under the conditions when a great number of printed mass media has either to transform into digital form only or to stop their information activity, the issues

Pavlenko V., Candidate of Philological Sciences (Ph. D.), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of Mass and International Communication, e-mail address: vikapavlenko@ukr.net, tel.: +380563731233, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0430-5069>, Oles Honchar Dnipro National University, 13, Naukova str., Dnipro, 49050, Ukraine

Nazarenko O., Candidate of Philological Sciences (Ph. D.), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of the Department of Publishing and Cross-cultural Communication, e-mail address: olena_nazarenko@ukr.net, tel.: +380563732133, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3966-9994>, Oles Honchar Dnipro National University, 13, Naukova str., Dnipro, 49050, Ukraine

Павленко В. В., кандидат філологічних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри масової та міжнародної комунікації, електронна адреса: vikapavlenko@ukr.net, тел.: +380563732133, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0430-5069>, Дніпровський національний університет імені О. Гончара, вул. Наукова, 13, Дніпро, 49050, Україна
Назаренко О. В., кандидат філологічних наук, доцент, доцент кафедри видавничої справи та міжкультурної комунікації, електронна адреса: olena_nazarenko@ukr.net, тел.: +380563732133, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3966-9994>, Дніпровський національний університет імені О. Гончара, вул. Наукова, 13, Дніпро, 49050, Україна

like «The New York Times» not only saved their reputation as trustworthy influential media but also report about not bad economic efficiency (<https://investors.nytc.com/press/press-releases/press-release-details/2018/The-New-York-Times-Company-Reports-2018-Third-Quarter-Results/default.aspx>). The factors, which are basic for modern financial success of some social-political issues, have to be studied thoroughly.

The analysis of the latest researches and publications.

The genesis of «The New York Times» was studied by O. Kyrylova, S. Beglov, Ch. Wingate, F. Braun, etc. The research of newspaper development in modern times was done by N. Asher.

The purpose of the article. To define major foundations of «The New York Times» functioning as one of the most successful and influential newspapers, which are on the equal level with «The Wall Street Journal», «The USA Today», «The Times», «The Guardian», «The Daily Telegraph», «The Daily Mail», «Le Monde», «Le Figaro», «Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung», «Süddeutsche Zeitung», «Corriere della Sera» i «La Repubblica», is a burning issue of both theorists and media practitioners. Understanding of development strategies of one of the most leading issues, which is still successful in modern conditions of information space transformation, can be useful not only for competitive practice formation but also for modernization of local national segments of newspaper industry.

The object of the research. The object of the research in this article is ideological foundations of «The New York Times» functioning, as well as the strategies of newspaper development as a commercial enterprise.

The theoretical basis of the research. The research is based on the analysis of the issue history and publications devoted to the newspaper (meta-media). To define the main factors of newspaper development strategy, studied by Adolph Ochs, ideographic and biographic approaches were also applied.

2. Research results

The industrial revolution in the XIX-th c., which influenced all the aspects of American life, also had a great impact on the structure of the USA press. The 1850-s in America are characterized by a steady increase in the number of printed issues. In 1850 there were 2,526 printed editions. A yearly circulation of printed editions was half a milliard copies taking into account that the population of the country was less than 23,2 mln people (<http://americanantiquarian.org/earlyamericannewsmedia/exhibits/show/news-in-antebellum-america/the-newspaper-boom>). First illustrated weeklies appear. The news was accompanied by engravings made from correspondents' sketches or photos. The industrial revolution encouraged the population growth in New York to 500,000 people. The increase in the number of issues led to the growth of competitiveness in the American press market. To make a profitable newspaper, a

newsman has to search for new ways and approaches to publishing business.

It was in 1851 that three decisive men – a journalist and two financiers – Henry Jarvis Raymond, George Jones and Edward B. Wesley created a mass newspaper «The New York Daily Times». Taking into account the experience of New-York newsmen J. Bennet and H. Greeley, journalist H. Raymond preferred the editing principles of the latter because just under the guidance of Horace Greeley he started his career in the newspaper «The Tribune» (1841). Greeley and Raymond didn't find a common language and in 1845 Raymond left «The Tribune», however, Greeley's good example of the edition became useful when «The New York Daily Times» was being created. That's why it is right to say that «The New York Daily Times» was created due to the principles of simplified personal journalism of quality press under the conditions of great changes in the press market [2]. Only ten years passed since Greeley published «The Tribune» having 3,000 dollars. To create «The New York Daily Times» required 100,000, half of which was immediately spent on the equipment. Raymond, as the editor-in-chief, received $\frac{1}{5}$ of the enterprise. His two partners invested 40,000 dollars in cash and the rest of money was supposed to be obtained from shares selling which belonged to Jones and Wesley.

The first issue of the newspaper appeared in the information space of New York on the 18th of September 1851. It was a broadsheet issue on four pages. Each page consisted of six broad columns. All the materials were written in a perfect language showing a talented editor. The first page was filled with various foreign news under the feature European News. The events of France, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and other countries were presented by staff correspondents, while British news was reprinted from «The Times», «The London Spectator», «The London Daily News», «The London Examiner». The third of the first page was devoted to the USA news.

«The New York Daily Times» was distributed due to London plan, it cost 1 cent per copy. This showed Raymond's intention to become a mass edition. For ten weeks of its existence, the newspaper circulation was 20,000 copies, which was an unbelievable step for newspapers at those times! However, expenditures also were significant – 78,000 dollars for the first year of existence – the majority of this money was used for printing. That's why in 1852 Raymond increased retail price to 2 cents, simultaneously increasing the newspaper size in half. Then the title also changed: since that year the newspaper was called «The New York Times», it kept its title till nowadays [3, p. 95].

What reader did Raymond aimed at? Those who liked sensations got them daily from «The New York Sun» i «The New York Herald». Those who were fond of political discussions read «The New York Tribune». Meanwhile, Raymond understood that a middle class, which was still being formed under the influence of industrial changes, could not spend great money on quality press, but was not

ready to information or political «swings». «... We do not want to write as if we were influenced by emotions. This must not happen. We will use emotions as rarely as possible. There are not many things in the world which should be told about in an angry tone; but these things will never become better due to this anger», – such viewpoint was stressed by Raymond in the first issue of his newspaper [https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1851/09/18/issue.html].

Quite aggressive policy of getting information, the presence of staff-correspondents-detectives, immediate response to the events quickly drew readers' attention and helped «The New York Times» defined itself as a respectable issue. On the 27th of September in 1854 the newspaper was the first to write about the crash of the transatlantic liner «Arctic», surpassing even Bennett's «The Herald». The news was well-balanced, finely edited and diversified with information on foreign events. American audience was not interested in European events until the middle of the XIX c., and «The New York Times» obtained its readers at once. Raymond himself established and regulated the system of foreign correspondents choosing people who had broad political knowledge and experience, besides they had enough time to do their work properly not being driven away by sensations, conciseness and irresponsible hurry, which prevailed in world journalism with the start of Atlantic telephone cable work. Thus, Raymond created a good example, which the newspaper inherited during all the history of its existence.

The manner of material writing was inherited by «The New York Times» from London «The Times». Each material was written in a persuasive thoughtful style. Raymond was the person who didn't dare to change the old rules but wanted to improve them. These ideas were realized in «The New York Times», which appealed to the people of moderate views reflecting the thoughts of those influential circle, which occupied the place between the elite and mass. It is necessary to stress the desire of «The New York Times» to be objective. Raymond depersonalized his editorial articles on purpose satisfying information needs of people with different political and social views. Thanks to this, the newspaper was considered trustworthy among the readers and had a positive role in Raymond's political career.

«The New York Times» in the 1860-s is, according to the contemporaries of the issue, «neither moral treatise nor the way to introduce social reforms but just a newspaper with an emphasis on news, important life issues, foreign events, well-balanced and thoroughly edited. Raymond's main mistake, if any, is a bit boring manner of material presenting, which wasn't enjoyed by some the readers» [4, p. 64–76].

After the end of the Civil War «The New York Times» started to lose its position in the information market of North America. It was stimulated by a series of materials about the accordance of constitutional rights to southern states on equal terms with the north. Raymond held the opinion so strongly that didn't pay attention to the

gradual loss of both readers and advertisers. In three years, in 1869, Raymond died, but his edition was so respected among people that continued to be a quality standard for American newspapers.

«The New York Times» started its functioning with Raymond's initiative. He himself defined both information and financial policy of the edition, which was in great demand among masses. The owner of «The New York Times» proceeded Greeley's way not being carried away by sensations but providing the readers with a quality product. Thanks to the editor-in-chief, his journalistic and financial abilities «The New York Times» made a profit. After his death in 1869 the followers could not keep newspaper position on a proper level, and when in 1896 it was bought by A. Ochs for 75,000 dollars, the circulation was only 9,000 and daily expenditure – 2,500 dollars.

The purchase of the edition was not an easy step for Adolph Ochs who at that time, firstly, had already owned a small but quite successful newspaper «The Chattanooga Times», and secondly, he didn't have spare money because of unlucky deals with property. One more failure could make A. Ochs a bankrupt. The money for «The New York Times» was given by New York bankers at pretty high interest. That's how A. Ochs started a new stage in his life as well as in the activity of one of the most famous newspaper in the world. Of course, the edition required a significant reorganization. Raymond's policy which seemed appropriate for the middle of the XIX-th c., in the 1890-s did not work. Tough competitiveness, strict requirements to the printing quality, the immediacy of news delivery, the quality of material presenting – all this demanded serious editorial decisions.

On the 19th of August 1896 «The New York Times» published Adolph Ochs's speech in which he stated that «to rule the newspaper with its glorious history...is a great task. ... I will do all my best so that «The New York Times» can present all the news in a short attractive way, in the language, which is appropriate for a respectable circle; so that it can publish the news quickly, more quickly than it can be read in another printed media; so that it can present the news impartially, without fear and reproach, regardless parties, sect or interests of any groups...» [5].

These words became popular; however, talking about journalistic positions of the edition, Ochs did not forget that newspaper editing is, first of all, a business. The main product of this business is news, which in the second half of the XIX- th c. was sold by J. Pulitzer, W. R. Hearst, and other newspaper publisher in the USA.

A. Ochs started editorial modernization with the broadening of the issue topics and genre variety of publications. So, «The New York Times» got new departments (real estate activities, bibliography, letters to the editor); materials were supplied with daily comments, and a weekly issue appeared in 1861 with Ochs began to use methods of unfolding story-telling. «Important messages which were immediately reported by a daily issue got new details on Sunday. «The New York Times» overcome the limits of classic quality issue with

publications for a wide circle where a traditional fact-story with obligatory separation of facts and commentaries obtained new features: emotionality, practical value, interest for an ordinary reader. In 1896 the newspaper got its first regular supplement «The Illustrated Sunday Magazine» (illustrated weekly magazine) whose task was to prolong daily stories and present them in a new format of photo-illustrations» [6].

A famous story about the search for newspaper slogan demonstrates A. Ochs's abilities as a talented editor. Proposing a contest for the best phrase, which would laconically and essentially state the information policy of «The New York Times», the editor really looked through a great number of variants, chose the winner, paid the author 100 dollars, but kept his own variant «All the News That's Fit to Print»), which since the 10th of February 1897 has accompanied the newspaper title on the first page. Publications worthy publishing were those touching upon all the Americans: bills, reports from president's press-conferences, Pope's appeals, declarations, speeches, foreign leaders' and American politicians' statements, etc.

Open policy as for involving readers also was successful. Having reduced the retail price from 3 to 1 cent, Ochs pushed a mechanism of circulation increase. Within a year, it grew from 26,000 to 76,000 copies. Respectively, advertising benefits increased in several times. In 10 years after Ochs's purchase, «The New York Times» covered all the expenditures.

Ochs's newspaper was the only issue in the USA which published full bills and president's press-conferences, reports about American government budget, Pope's appeals, the most important documents, statements, speeches of foreign leaders, American senators and congressmen, etc. At the same time, the editor-in-chief of «The New York Times» was against the methods of mass journalism, rejecting comics and not paying attention at illustrations. As for «yellow newspapers», Ochs contrasted them with his edition under the slogan: «It Does Not Soil the Breakfast Cloth», being sure that in New York it was possible to have a competitive issue of a respectable character, which corresponds not only the standards of quality press but also is capable of being included into intellectual circles of the USA. S. Beglov characterized the newspaper policy in the following way: «One glimpse at the newspaper is enough to realize that not all Americans can overcome its 80 pages and 400,000 words of long messages (not taking into account the numbers of stock exchange reports) – this is an average size of a common issue. Can an ordinary person if his brain did not know a university education and longstanding experience of partial reading of business papers and political reports understand these words jungles, read them carefully and thus give the newspaper a daily ritual of reading?» [7, c. 209–210]. Of course, «The New York Times» could not boast of «pocket war» like W. R. Hearst's newspaper, or the exposure of Nellie Bly in Pulitzer's edition, but at the beginning of the XX-th c. the circulation of «The New York Times» overcame 100,000 copies, and

thanks to qualitative events coverage, thorough facts choosing, individual approach to authors involvement, the newspaper steadily entered the group of the most influential social and political world editions.

The main principles of Ochs's strategy formed in the XIX-th century allowed the newspaper to function successfully during the XX-th and XXI-st c. Business-oriented approach continued to function, and introduction of modern technical achievement significantly reduced the cost of information transmission to far distances. At the end of the 1990-s «New York Times» began to apply a new strategy of distribution at the national level, and was sold in more than 100 towns. Analyzing the data of 2006 as for circulation and qualitative characteristics of local newspapers and those of «The New York Times», taking into account readership division into layers and distribution geography, one can notice that the popularity of local newspapers among people who have higher education was reduced, while the circulation of «The New York Times» thanks to this audience increased. Local newspapers emphasize more the coverage of local events and cut down the coverage of national news, which results in the fact that their circulation can be increased only due to people without a degree [8]. Also «The New York Times» in the process of its adaptation to digital media surrounding came to the creation of a special on-line-editorial-office, the structure of which dynamically changed because of the use of modern technologies and approaches depending on the development of the situation of technological data application in the information market [9]. In 2010 the newspaper was the most influential edition in the USA, and its web-site was one of the leaders according to attendance among all the web-sites of similar editions [10, p. 4]. In 2010 the site of «The New Times» was the fifth after Yahoo!, MSN, CNN i BBC, and the number of visitors on it reached 30,000,000 per month. A lot of talented designers and developers chose a career in newspaper's technical department instead of similar positions in Silicon Valley. The indices of newspaper on the World net exceeded those of «Apple» and «Google». However, a financial crisis in the USA and competitiveness from the direction of social networks in the information market – the factors that conditioned the crisis in traditional American editions – also influenced the newspaper. Top-25 the most influential American newspapers experienced the reduction of circulations during several year. Even «The Wall Street Journal», which added to the number of general circulation the number of on-line subscribers, experienced the reduction in numbers [10, p. 33]. In the period of 2009–2012, «The New York Times» lost about 100,000 subscribers per year. However, doubling of the retail price, which surprisingly did not stimulate more readership outflow, as well as a well-considered plan of on-line subscription allowed the newspaper to improve financial situation significantly [10, p. 39]. «The New York Times» in March 2011 introduced a non-typical model of a limited subscription. Each visitor could look through

twenty publications a month free (in 2012 the number was reduced to ten), after that he would be offered to subscribe on-line (which can be accompanied with a printed version for a small extra charge). However, the system supposed beforehand that the materials would be distributed in social media as well, and this would not influence the stated number of the articles available free. In this way the newspaper also integrated into social networks, which made it possible in future to increase the number of subscribers both for printed and on-line version [10, p. 35]. This also allowed the newspaper to extend its influence. It should be mentioned that according to some researchers, «The New York Times» nowadays influence the agenda in coverage of international news for a lot of media (both in the on-line surrounding and beyond it) [11]. For example, in 2016 doctor Grygoriy Rodchenkov, a specialist responsible for dope usage by Russian athletes, described this state program just to the correspondents of «The New York Times». The coverage of these events influenced the agenda in sports journalism in the USA in general [12].

3. Discussion

The research of the newspaper shows that the basis of functioning which were made important for «The New York Times» by Adolph Ochs, continue to provide the newspaper with financial success and great impact on media in the whole world in the XXI-st century as well. The research results can be used while analyzing and comparing the bases of functioning of other successful newspapers of the world level. They also can be applied to correct the policy of national media segments that require improvement of their financial indices. To study the discussed issue in detail, it is reasonable to analyze the main principles of this newspaper functioning as on-line media on the Internet.

4. Conclusion

Adolph Ochs proved that the attitude to a newspaper like to business gave its owner high income. Applying to the quality newspaper the methods of optimization of mass editions (the reduction of the retail price, the increase in advertising space, the increase in the size of the advertisements, the optimization of delivery system), he successfully combined his activity as an editor, manager, publisher, and journalist. And this does not mean to come down to the middle or lower level of the audience, on the contrary, it means to appeal to «a brilliant intellectual» and get profit of such edition. Ochs proved that American society requires quality journalism, and using right information and economic policy, a newspaper will be of great success in the information market [2].

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Павленко В. В., Назаренко Е. В. «The New York Times»: опыт становления редакционной формулы XIX в.

На сегодняшний день мировой газетный рынок пребывает в состоянии глубокого кризиса, признаками которого являются сокращение тиражей, сужение регионов распространения газет, сокращение рынка рекламодателей. В то же время качественные общественно-политические издания вроде «The New York Times» остаются финансово успешными и чрезвычайно влиятельными. Определение факторов, которые позволяют изданиям качественной прессы эффективно действовать в условиях сокращения рынка, является важной задачей как для теоретиков, так и для практических деятелей медиапространства. Цель данного исследования — изучение данных факторов на примере «The New York Times» как наиболее влиятельного издания США. Проблема рассматривается с помощью изучения генезиса издания и исследования влияния владельца газеты и редактора Адольфа Окса на формирование факторов, которые и сегодня сопутствуют успешной деятельности газеты. С помощью биографического и идеографического подходов определяются положения, согласно которым Адольф Окс реформировал газету в XIX веке. Результаты исследования показывают, что Окс применил к изданию бизнес-ориентированный подход: использовал для качественной газеты методы оптимизации массовых изданий (снижение розничной цены, увеличение рекламной площади, оптимизацию системы доставки и т. д.), однако ориентировался на «высокообразованных интеллектуалов» как основную аудиторию. Окс доказал, что при применении правильной информационной и экономической политики газета будет успешной на информационном рынке, поскольку американское общество нуждается в качественной журналистике. Понимание стратегии развития одного из передовых газетных изданий, которое остается успешным в современных условиях трансформации информационного пространства, является полезным не только для выстраивания конкурентной практики, но и для модернизации локальных национальных сегментов газетной индустрии. Результаты данного исследования могут быть использованы для корректировки бизнес-стратегии существующих СМИ, а также для сравнения определенных в исследовании положений с фундаментальными положениями, согласно которым функционируют другие качественные издания.

Ключевые слова: «The New York Times»; Адольф Окс; Генри Реймонд; биография; качественная пресса; стратегии развития.

Pavlenko V., Nazarenko O. «The New York Times»: the experience of editorship formula formation in the XIX-th c.

Nowadays, the global newspapers market is considered to be in deep crisis as shown by the decrease in circulations, narrowing of the distribution areas, and the advertising market capacity decrease. At the same time, the quality newspapers that cover social and political issues, (e.g. The New York Times) stay very influential and effective in terms of financial indicators. The determination of factors that allow such newspapers to operate effectively in conditions of market decrease is an important task for both researchers and actors of media space. The paper herein is aimed at discovering of such factors with the use of the studies of The New York Times as the most influential newspaper in the US. The subject is studied with the use of researches on newspaper's genesis and Adolph Ochs's influence on setting the factors that have been supporting the newspaper effective operations so far. The biographical and ideographical approaches are used to determine the basics that Adolph Ochs used to reform the newspaper in XIX century. The results herein show that Ochs used the business-oriented approach for the newspaper: he used the popular newspapers optimization methods for the quality press (lowered the retail price, increased the advertising space, increased the size of advertisements, and optimized the delivery methods) but aimed at intellectuals as a main target audience. Ochs showed that the use of appropriate informational and economical politics allows the newspaper to be successful on informational market since US society demanded for the quality journalistic. The understanding of the development strategy of one of the leading newspaper that remains successful in modern conditions of media space transformation is beneficial not only for the building of competition practice but for the modernization of local and national segments of newspaper industry. The paper's results may be used for adjusting the strategies of existing media and for the comparison of the basics specified herein with the basics of other quality newspapers.

Keywords: «The New York Times»; Adolph Ochs; Henry Raymond; biographic; quality press; development strategies.



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