

Russian News Coverage of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games: A Transmedia Analysis

RENIRA RAMPAZZO GAMBARATO¹

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

GEANE CARVALHO ALZAMORA

Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil

LORENA PÉRET TEIXEIRA TÁRCIA

University Center of Belo Horizonte, Brazil

The journalistic coverage of the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, Russia, involved various media platforms and the flow of information between mass media and social media. This phenomenon is not new; therefore, the research question that motivates this article is to what extent transmedia strategies were effectively applied to the Russian official news coverage of the Sochi Olympic Games. The theoretical framework focuses on transmedia journalism, and the method is based on the analytical model regarding transmedia news coverage of planned events developed by Gambarato and Tárzia. The research findings demonstrate that, although transmedial features are incorporated in the Russian coverage, there is modest content expansion and limited engagement with the audience.

Keywords: 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games, Russian news coverage, transmedia analysis, transmedia journalism, transmedia news coverage

Transmedia storytelling, a term coined by Jenkins (2003, 2006) about a decade ago, remains under construction, although there are clear indications of its conceptualization. In the midst of convergence culture, media production and consumption are more complex and less segregated than ever before. Convergence, as “the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want” (Jenkins, 2006, p. 2), is intrinsically

Renira Rampazzo Gambarato: renira@msn.com

Geane Carvalho Alzamora: geanealmazora@gmail.com

Lorena Péret Teixeira Tárzia: lorenatarcia2@gmail.com

Date submitted: 2015–05–15

¹ The authors thank Sergey Medvedev for data collection and Russian-English translations.

Copyright © 2016 (Renira Rampazzo Gambarato, Geane Carvalho Alzamora, & Lorena Péret Teixeira Tárzia). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

intertwined with the idea of transmedia storytelling. Transmedia storytelling refers to stories that unfold across diverse media channels, incorporating audience engagement and promoting the expansion of content. The transmedia approach is not about repurposing the same content across different platforms but about offering meaningful experiences to the audience.

According to Jenkins (2007), "Transmedia storytelling practices may expand the potential market for a property by creating different points of entry for different audience segments" (para. 7). Even though the concept of transmedia storytelling was originally conceived in the context of fiction, several scholars, such as Moloney (2011), have investigated to what degree transmedia storytelling could also characterize contemporary journalism, which constructs a narrative that creates various entry platforms and involves different audience segments. In general, this was the case of the international news coverage of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games.

Channel One, the leading Russian channel among the official broadcasters of the Games and the focus of this study, invested in live-streaming applications and in various social media environments, such as Facebook and VKontakte (Russia's largest social networking service). These aspects are sufficient to situate the relevance of multiplatform journalism in the coverage of the Sochi Olympic Games. However, to what extent could the Russian coverage also be characterized as a transmedial experience? This research question guides our study.

This is a compelling case study in the sense that Olympic Games in general (and Sochi in particular) are major planned events that normally (a) attract vast domestic and international audiences; (b) have the potential to integrate the audience in the news making; (c) are planned well in advance; (d) have a considerable amount of human, technical, and financial resources for the news coverage; and (e) have many characters and diverse stories. These characteristics configure an ideal environment for the development of transmedia journalism. This article explores how the Russian news coverage of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games took advantage (or not) of these circumstances.

The theoretical framework focuses on transmedia journalism (Alzamora & Tárca, 2012; Barbosa, Silva, & Nogueira, 2013; Moloney, 2011) and concepts such as gatewatching and gatekeeping (Bruns, 2006; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). The methodology used in this research is based on the analytical model regarding transmedia news coverage of planned events developed by Gambarato and Tárca (2016). The research findings demonstrate that some transmedial features are incorporated in the Russian coverage, with modest content expansion and limited engagement with the audience.

Multiplatform journalism with citizens participating in producing and distributing information on social media has been the tone of Olympics coverage since at least the BBC coverage of the 2012 London Summer Olympic Games, which is considered the "first truly digital Olympics" (O'Riordan, 2012, para. 3). The International Olympic Committee (IOC) owns the global broadcast rights to the Olympic Games, which include broadcasts on television, radio, mobile, and Internet platforms. In 2001, the IOC established the Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) to serve as the permanent host broadcaster for the Olympic Games, which "ensures that the high standards of Olympic broadcasting are consistently maintained from one edition of the Games to the next" ("Olympic Broadcasting," n.d., para. 14). The host broadcaster is

responsible for delivering the images and sounds of the Olympic Games by producing and transmitting live radio and television coverage of every sport from every venue, which is called the international signal or the world feed.

In addition to drone cameras, three innovations were presented in Sochi. The news channel offered a 24/7 ready-to-serve program feed with highlights, interviews, and feature reports for organizations that did not have the financial resources to produce their own programming. The multiclip feed distributed supplementary clips from the alpine events, giving access to unseen camera angles, primarily from high-speed cameras. Another innovation in 2014 was the Olympic video player, which delivered content to mobile devices and allowed the IOC to broadcast the Winter Games in territories that had never experienced the Winter Olympics.

In Russia, the state is traditionally involved in Olympic broadcasting. In the case of the 2014 Winter Olympics, an autonomous nonprofit organization called ANO Sports Broadcasting was created to be the local official broadcaster. The pool encompassed three TV channels: Channel One, Russia 1, and the satellite broadcaster NTV+. The channels shared broadcasting time. Channel One has a nationwide outreach and is controlled by public and private shareholders; Russia 1 is a public broadcaster with country-wide penetration; and NTV+ is a nationwide sports channel included in the state-owned Gazprom Media holding. Channel One, the leading corporation within the pool, covers 98.8% of the Russian population (Channel One Russia, 2013) and is "Russia's largest broadcaster and the primary content distributor for the host country of the Games" (Barber, 2014, para. 2). Thus, the transmedia analysis proposed in this article focuses exclusively on Channel One news coverage of the event.

Transmedia Journalistic Coverage

Sports communication, in the case of the Olympic Games, involves the transmission of games and media coverage. The transmission depends on agreements between sports and media institutions on a global scale. Media coverage involves specific editorial planning in each media institution, which generates more diverse news coverage than broadcasting games. Any transmission of the Olympic Games media coverage, however, seeks as broad an audience as possible from the center of the information broadcast. This communication process is characterized by the logic of transmission—or transmission view, as Carey (1989) called it. The "archetypal case of communication under a transmission view is the extension of messages across geography for the purpose of control" (Carey, 1989, p. 18). In this scenario, it is up to the audience to interpret and discuss the issues guided by editorial perspectives.

Theoretical approaches to journalism, such as gatekeeping (White, 1950), emphasize the primacy of journalism as a privileged central issue at the expense of the productive activity of the audience. Gatekeeping is the process that "determines not only which information is selected, but also what the content and nature of messages, such as news, will be" (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 1). According to the typology proposed by Shoemaker and Vos (2009), the gatekeeping process involves (a) influential individuals; (b) communication routines that evolved from mass communication; (c) organizational decision-making groups; (d) social institutions; and (e) social systems and ideologies. Although this approach was designed under the dominance of the logic of transmission, most of the logic of sharing

associated with convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006), as well as new theoretical approaches, such as participatory journalism (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Russel, 2011), focus on the editorial strategies and language of journalism.

Bruns (2006) proposed the term *gatewatching*, instead of gatekeeping, to address the contemporary information scenario in which users decide for themselves what they find interesting and worth noting and sharing with their peers. "Gatewatching describes the continuous, communal observation of the output gates of conventional news organizations, as well as of the primary sources of news and information, for information which seems to be of interest to the gatewatcher's own community" (Bruns, 2006, p. 74).

Cossiavelou, Bantimaroudis, Kavakli, and Illia (2011) stated that the journalist is not the one to play the role of gatekeeper in the contemporary context of digital information, which favors the emergence of new models of informational filters. According to the authors, "the Olympic Games are an integrated platform to check the media gatekeeping model, within the framework of globalized cultural industries, as they are one of the main cultural products of culture media" (Cossiavelou et al., 2011, p. 57).

Media coverage of the Olympic Games in London in 2012 and in Sochi in 2014, each coverage in its own way, signals the emergence of a new scenario for journalism, in which the integration of diverse media environments favors hybridity between the logic of transmission, which is typical of mass media, and the logic of sharing, which is typical of social media. Lewis (2012) argues that the hybrid logic of adaptability and openness should be a normative goal of a truly digital journalism. The convergence between mass and social media focuses on editorial planning, which is concerned about the segmentation of the audience and citizen participation in producing and circulating information in the network. In this context, many actors begin to fulfill their usual mediating role of journalism in activities such as posting and sharing information online. Nevertheless, it is paramount to highlight that, in the case of the Olympics, independent of the place where the Games are held, the tight rules and regulations imposed by the IOC interfere in such a hybrid process (see Canton, 2014).

Bailén (2010) created the *audienciación*, a neologism that describes the contemporary process of fragmentation and integration between fractional and engaged audiences on social media. In addition, Castells (2010) called mass self-communication the capacity that every citizen has to produce and disseminate information on a massive scale throughout social media connections. The two concepts seem to undertake a common aspect that underlines contemporary information scenarios such as transmedia storytelling.

Method of Analysis

Theoretical and especially analytical approaches related to transmedia storytelling and transmedia strategies in journalism are still loose but evolving (Barbosa et al., 2013; Moloney, 2011; Renó & Flores, 2012). In this context, the analytical model developed by Gambarato and Tárca (2016) is the method chosen for the transmedia analysis of Channel One news coverage of Sochi 2014, aiming to

outline the transmedia strategies in the Russian official news coverage of the Winter Olympic Games. The model is organized according to 10 dimensions of transmedia news coverage, such as premise and purpose, news storytelling, extensions, media platforms, and genres. Brief descriptions of the 10 dimensions are provided in Table 1. The development of this specific analytical model regarding transmedia news coverage of planned events is based on the transmedia project design analytical model developed by Gambarato (2013). Elaborated in 2013, the original model was structured as a tool to facilitate the analysis of transmedia projects in the fictional and nonfictional realms.

**Table 1. Concise Description of the Analytical Model
Regarding Transmedia News Coverage of Planned Events.**

Topic	Practicable questions
1. Premise and purpose	What is the planned event agenda? What is its core theme? What is the fundamental purpose of the event? What is the magnitude of the event? Is it a local, regional, or global event? Which areas are involved in the coverage (sports, culture, politics, economics, etc.)?
2. Structure and context	Which media enterprise is covering the event? How big is it? What is the available coverage infrastructure offered by the event organizers? What is the media enterprise budget for the news coverage of the event? Is the journalistic coverage planned to be transmediatic? How does the coverage end? Do some extensions continue to be active after the event ends?
3. News storytelling	Primary and parallel news stories What elements of the news story (who, what, where, when, why, and how) of the event are involved in the coverage? What is the time frame of the news story? Does the news coverage utilize gaming elements? Does it involve winning or losing? Is it possible to identify intermedial texts in the news stories?
4. World building	Where is the event set? Does the storyworld involve any fictional characteristics? Are different time zones involved in the news coverage? If yes, what are the potential issues related to it and the alternative strategies for each platform? What are the regulations and policies related to the journalistic coverage? Is the event big enough to support expansions throughout multiplatform coverage?

5. Characters	<p>Who are the main characters presented by the coverage? How many? Are they aggregated to the coverage a posteriori? Who are the primary and secondary sources of information regarding the event? What is the approach of these sources? Are the sources official, nonofficial, or both? Can the audience be considered a character as well?</p>
6. Extensions	<p>How many extensions are included in the news coverage? Are the extensions mere reproductions of the same content or genuine expansions of the news stories across various media? Is there a plan to keep content updated in each extension (for instance, on blogs and social media networks)? Do the extensions have the ability to spread the content and provide the possibility to explore the narrative in-depth? How long does the event last? If the event is overlong, how does the coverage proceed to maintain audience interest throughout the entire period?</p>
7. Media platforms and genres	<p>What kind of media platforms (television, radio, print media, Web, mobile) are involved in the news coverage? Which devices (computer, tablet, mobile phone, etc.) are required by the coverage? Is there a rollout strategy for launching each coverage extension? If yes, what is the plan to release the platforms? Which journalism styles (news articles, reports, opinions, etc.) are included in the coverage? Which journalistic genres (sports, celebrity, investigative journalism, etc.) are presented by the coverage?</p>
8. Audience and market	<p>What is the target audience of the coverage? Who is the intended reader/user/viewer/listener? What kind of readers (methodical or scanner; intimate or detached) does the project attract? Does other journalistic coverage like this exist? Do they succeed in achieving their purpose? What is the coverage business model? Does it involve open platforms, open television channels, cable TV, satellite, pay-per-view, monopoly, etc.? Is the event coverage successful revenue-wise?</p>

9. Engagement	<p>What percentage of the public participates in the event <i>in loco</i>, and what percentage of the audience accesses the event via news coverage?</p> <p>What are the mechanisms of interaction in the transmedia strategy of coverage?</p> <p>Is participation involved in the coverage? If so, how can the <i>reader/user/viewer/listener</i> participate in the open system?</p> <p>Is there user-generated content (UGC) related to the event (parodies, recaps, mashups, fan communities, etc.)?</p> <p>Are there any policies restricting the disclosure of UGC?</p> <p>What activities are available to the audience within social media networks related to the event?</p> <p>Is there a system of rewards and penalties? For example, can the audience have its comments/photos published, can people get rewards for social media activities, and can they have comments blocked/removed?</p>
10. Aesthetics	<p>What kinds of visuals (video, photo, infographics, news games, animation, holography, etc.) are used in the coverage?</p> <p>Is the overall look of the coverage realistic or a composed environment (usage of holography, immersive journalism, augmented reality)?</p> <p>Is it possible to identify specific design styles in the coverage?</p> <p>How does audio work in the coverage? Is there ambient sound, sound effects, music, and so forth?</p>

Analysis of Channel One Coverage of the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games

Premise and Purpose

The XXII Olympic Winter Games took place February 7–23, 2014. The fundamental purposes of the coverage are the games, the athletes, and their performances. In Sochi, a record number of more than 2,800 athletes participated (more than 40% were women), and 12 sports were added to the program, including biathlon mixed relay, snowboard parallel slalom, and women's ski jumping (Organizing Committee of the XXII Olympic Winter Games, 2014).

However, since it is a major event, the media also must be aware of everything else that occurs around it, such as controversies, security, and political and economic issues. For example, in Sochi more than 2,500 doping tests were performed in the largest detection campaign in the history of the Olympic Winter Games. Other controversies in Sochi involved some of the games results (Stanford, 2014), fear of terrorism, damage to the environment, and scandals covered by the international media. A particular fear is related to the black widows, women who carry out suicide bombings as revenge on the deaths of their

husbands or family members (Conley, 2014). In this scenario, government officials intensified the surveillance, including online and off-line monitoring. These circumstances contribute to the uniqueness of the Games in Sochi.

Structure and Context

ANO Sports Broadcasting—encompassing Channel One, Russia 1, and NTV+—was the local broadcaster of the Games. The press accreditation, with 2,800 credentials (A. Pavlov, personal communication, November 5, 2014) started two years before the event. A limited number of credentials were given to the Non-Rights Holding Television and Radio Broadcasters Organizations (named ENR by the IOC), and there were credential restrictions even for the Sports Broadcasting members, with a total of 12,000 credentials (A. Pavlov, personal communication, November 5, 2014).

Channel One had four studios in Sochi for talk shows, a morning infotainment show, and news. All the shows existed before the Games. Together with other two channels, Channel One had cameras and other equipment at all the Olympic venues. According to sports director Nikolai Malyshev, the channel predicted “enough to show all the fun” (Sandshark, 2013, para. 17).

The broadcaster planned multiplatform coverage of the Games, including online streaming (six channels broadcasting all the sports events without commentary), social networks (announcements and TV broadcast reports and online streaming, results, questions for discussion, photo reports, polls, contests), apps (news, schedules, live, medal count), and an interactive website (video streaming, breaking news, and general services about the Games and the TV program). At the end of the Games, the website olymp.1tv.ru, created especially for the coverage, was taken down.

News Storytelling

The news coverage of the 2014 Winter Olympic Games in Sochi involved different kinds of stories. In general, the primary stories broadcasted, especially on television, were directly related to the sports events, such as Olympic competitions, games’ results, and stories about the athletes being portrayed as heroes. However, parallel stories, especially when shared via social media in convergence with mass media, were also diffused widely. That is the case, for instance, of unprecedented international pressure regarding the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual community due to the controversial political position of Russian president Vladimir Putin. The campaigns to boycott the Olympic Games in Sochi were globally based on social media in convergence with mass media before the Games.

Primary News Stories

On television and on online live streaming, the primary stories were related to the sports competitions, news, talk shows, and documentaries. News and schedules were available on mobile applications. The strategies for expanding the news coverage in social media were mainly related to questions to discuss the news, embracing audience engagement—for instance, the question “Not Gonna Get Us,” about the record of Russian medals in the Olympic Games. This example is a typical case of

multiplatform journalism, which deals only with commentary produced by the audience, not with news produced by them. The journalist is the traditional gatekeeper here. The coverage of the 2014 Olympic Games focused on TV broadcasting and streaming in connection with social media networks in order to expand the news coverage. However, the audience did not produce its own content within the official news coverage. This occurs, on the one hand, because Channel One did not offer real opportunities for it and, on the other hand, because of a low level of civic activity in contemporary Russia and narrow choices for community actions (see Gambarato & Lapina-Kratasyuk, 2015).

Parallel News Stories

In addition to campaigns for an international boycott, Russia, according to Arnold and Foxall (2014), had to cope with issues that occur at any international sporting event as well as its internal political system. "These issues include the development of a Winter Olympics 'narrative' surrounding Russia's administration of the Games (including alleged corruption), the vast development of an Olympic infrastructure" (Arnold & Foxall, 2014, p. 6), other protests, and organized crime. Although the primary news stories produced by Channel One focused on results and heroes, other parallel news stories were built in a collaborative way on social media networks. Gay rights activists across the world, for instance, organized protests against the Russian government just two days before the event began in Sochi. During the Games, gay rights activists posted messages on social media against the Russian government in order to portray another face of the Olympic Games. The audience engaged in human rights (mainly international, not domestic) participated in a collaborative narrative that expanded through social media, producing high visibility and an uproar around the world. That is the case of the Google logotype, also known as the Google doodle, which was changed in order to engage the human rights collective discourse (see Figure 1).

The page "Boycott Sochi 2014" on Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/BoycottSochi2014>), with 17,890 likes, invited users to share their reasons for boycotting the 2014 Winter Olympics, and the page remains available. It is important to emphasize the difference between the temporality of the broadcast, related to the duration of the Olympic Games, and the temporality of webcast-related social engagement around the theme. The process of social mediation of information is also different from journalism mediation of information. People engaged in mediating information on social media are closer to the idea of the gatewatcher (Bruns, 2006) than the idea of the gatekeeper (Lewin, 1947; White, 1950).



"The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play." –Olympic Charter

Figure 1. Google defends human rights in the practice of sports.

Source: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/olympic-charter-google-takes-swipe-3120055>.

World Building

The storyworld of the Sochi Olympic Games unfolded across various media platforms. Geographically, it took place in a complicated region around the city of Sochi, in Russia. The Olympic Village and the Olympic Stadium were located on the Black Sea coast. All the mountain venues were 50 kilometers away in the alpine region known as Krasnaya Polyana, in the North Caucasus. The neighboring regions, historically involved in conflicts and battles for independence, are Abkhazia and Chechnya, for instance. Sochi is a subtropical resort on the Black Sea and a summer holiday mecca. In the past, it was an inexpensive option for Soviet workers; currently, it is a luxurious paradise for wealthy Russians. Thus, Sochi is a peculiar choice for the Winter Olympic Games. The open-air winter sports venues were located in the Caucasus Mountains, but the indoor stadiums were built at sea level. The Sochi Games slogan clearly depicts this paradox: "Hot. Cool. Yours."

In terms of media coverage, the world building had to take into account the different time zones in Russia, a continental country, and the worldwide penetration of the Olympics. In Russia alone, there are nine time zones. Therefore, the Internet played a major role, allowing the audience to follow and watch the games at their own pace. Channel One had the infrastructure to deal with all platforms but had to work under the rules stated in the *IOC Social Media, Blogging and Internet Guidelines* (International Olympic Committee, 2013).

Accredited media may freely utilise social media platforms or websites for bona fide reporting purposes. Photos taken by accredited photographers may be published for editorial purposes on social media platforms or websites in accordance with the Photographers Undertaking. The Olympic symbol—i.e. the five interlaced rings, which is the property of the IOC—can be used by accredited media for factual and editorial purposes. (Organizing Committee for the XXII Olympic Winter Games, 2012, p. 2)

Another characteristic of this news coverage is the close attention the media must pay when using the official brand. The IOC monitors the global Internet and broadcast coverage of the Olympic Games to identify any messages that “damage the Olympic brand or infringe upon the rights of the official Olympic marketing partners” (International Olympic Committee, n.d., p. 52). This Infringement Monitoring Program also ensures that unauthorized parties do not use Olympic intellectual property and that Olympic broadcast rights holders comply with their contractual obligations. The Internet Monitoring Program “uses the most advanced technologies available to prevent, track and take action against violations, such as video infringements on any online or mobile platform” (International Olympic Committee, n.d., p. 52).

During the Games, many debates (“Sochi in Focus,” 2014) discussed the freedom and bias (“Sochi 2014—The Propaganda Games?” 2014) of the media coverage in Russia and in the rest of the world. In addition to the intense political debate and challenges, the delights included the voices of the public, remarkable images, and the Cultural Olympic Games, with more than 3,000 cultural events.

The fact that the Olympic Games are surrounded by plenty of action provides ample opportunities for expansion throughout multiplatform coverage. The total TV audience of the Sochi Games exceeded 3.5 billion people, according to the Organizing Committee. In addition, the official website of the Games (<http://www.sochi2014.com/en>) was visited by more than 52 million users, which in total resulted in 128 million visits and 635 million page views (Organizing Committee of the XXII Olympic Winter Games, 2014).

Characters

In addition to the impressive array of international athletes who were the primary focus of the news coverage, the key character in Olympic broadcasting is the IOC and its ramifications. The restrictions and regulations imposed by the IOC are considered tight, controlling, and even controversial, especially regarding social media use during the Games. For instance, “two athletes were expelled from the 2012 London Games for social media faux pas” (Canton, 2014, para. 12).

Before the event, the Organizing Committee released a guide that described the press operations in Sochi. For example, the guide detailed the Internet connectivity, presented the policies and procedures for photo ops, and reported the functions of the Olympic News Service (ONS). Channel One followed the official news service provided by the organizers to the media. In Sochi, the ONS was responsible for collecting, producing, and distributing a range of news and information about the Olympics, with emphasis on servicing the accredited media, which included Channel One. During the Games, the ONS operated as

an international news agency with a central editorial desk and venue-based reporting teams to keep journalists informed (Organizing Committee for the XXII Olympic Winter Games, 2014).

The excess of control, regulations, and economic interests restricted the audience's overall capability to actively participate in the news coverage. Although Olympic fans in general and social media users in particular were neither necessarily aware nor worried about the IOC restrictions, the official coverage was affected. Consequently, the audience cannot be considered a leading character in the Channel One coverage of Sochi. However, Sochi itself could be seen as a protagonist of the Winter Games. Especially in anticipation of the mega-event, the Russian city and its surroundings made headlines because of territorial conflicts, environmental issues, terrorist threats, and climate matters, among other issues.

Extensions

Channel One's Olympic coverage embraced TV broadcasting, online live streaming, a special website (olymp.1tv.ru), social media networks (Facebook, Twitter, VKontakte, and Odnoklassniki), and mobile applications. The tent pole of the coverage was television. The TV broadcasting concentrated on sports competitions; news production direct from the studio in Sochi; talk shows, such as "Let Them Talk"; and the production of original documentaries, such as "Golden Moments of the Olympic Games."

Online live streaming was available on the website olymp.1tv.ru. Six streaming channels broadcast Sochi sport competitions without commentary or narration. This option offered the opportunity to choose one of the six streaming channels and enlarged the audience selection beyond what was being aired on TV. The website dynamically displayed breaking news before it was broadcast on TV, although the website mainly repeated TV news content.

Social media networks contributed with discussions, contests, polls, and photo reports. The official Channel One News community on VKontakte proposed questions for discussion, such as "What do you remember most from the last Olympics?" Also on VKontakte, the audience had the chance to win free tickets to Olympic events by recommending the page to a friend. A poll on VKontakte, for example, asked who would win the Russia-versus-United States hockey game and received more than 65,000 votes (Laird, 2014). The Sochi Opening Ceremony was one of the subjects of photo reports presented by Channel One on social media. The IOC's social media director, Alex Huot, reflected upon the different audience approach to social media in Russia:

One thing they do differently than users in other countries is stay engaged longer on social media. According to ComScore, Russian users are No. 2 in the world in terms of minutes spent on social media per month at 555 minutes, right behind Argentina at 565 minutes. (Laird, 2014, para. 10)

Channel One, in collaboration with RIA Novosti, designed the so-called second screen mobile application to boost the multiscreen coverage of Sochi 2014. "The purpose of the project is to increase the ability of Channel One audience to keep track of sport events during the "Winter Olympics in Russia"

("Channel One and RIA Novosti," 2013, para. 2). With the app, users could read live reports on sport events and access additional information about the athletes. In addition, Konstantin Ernst, Channel One CEO, stated,

Television has a huge interactive potential. The number of people, who want to receive additional information and share impressions, is rising constantly. This tendency is especially relevant in large live events, primarily sport events. "Second screen" mobile service will be launched during Channel One Hockey Cup, which starts on December 19, 2013. Thus, we and our audience will be able to evaluate its effectiveness. And then, hopefully, "second screen" will become an important complement to Olympic television broadcasting. We want Sochi Olympics audience to have the maximum opportunities that TV and Internet are capable to provide. ("Channel One and RIA Novosti," 2013, para. 4)

Other available mobile applications displayed mainly the competition schedule, medal count, and news. All extensions were canonical and maintained the continuity of the news storytelling. They helped keep the audience interested and informed during the two-week mega-event. The social media opportunities made available by Channel One spread the content, while the mobile application initiatives offered in-depth content. Channel One's efforts to make the second screen experience available during the Olympics were aligned with the international tendency, especially after London 2012. Notwithstanding, Channel One did not advance much toward a transmedial experience, because the broadcaster tended to repurpose content rather than offer new content.

Media Platforms and Genres

Channel One news coverage converged television, Internet, and mobile media platforms. Mobile technology represents a major shift in Olympic coverage worldwide, contributing to expanding the audience and the content production. In Sochi 2014, there was more social media activity than ever, with about 2.2 million new followers on all platforms and 7.7 million Facebook fans (International Olympic Committee, 2014). IOC social media rules encouraged first-person viewpoint posting, but prohibited the disclosure of confidential or private information related to people or organizations involved in the Olympics (International Olympic Committee, 2013). The IOC posture exemplifies the contradictions between the democratic Olympic values and the economic interests behind mega sporting events. Moreover, there is a battle between IOC and hosting countries' policies. Authoritarian nations, such as China (Beijing 2008) and Russia, have their own issues with freedom of speech and control of information flow. The grandiosity of staging the Games in Russia served as an opportunity to reconfigure the country's global power image. Despite all the turmoil, the predominant journalism genre of the coverage was sports. Channel One also invested in documentaries, not to depict the economic, social, and political issues around Sochi 2014 but to emphasize the glory of the Olympics. The predominant journalist styles were reports and interviews, the latter especially conveyed by talk shows.

Audience and Market

According to the International Olympic Committee (2014), for a record 102,000 hours of broadcasting on television and digital platforms, the potential number of viewers during the Games was 4.1 billion. Because of the large-scale audience for the Olympic Games, it is crucial to know the scope of the audience in order to produce the most appropriate delivery of news coverage. The problem in that context is how to discern the specificity of audiences in each segment of news coverage in a multiplatform communication, considering the large dimension of the audience involved in it. To answer this question, it is necessary to know the target audience of the news coverage and what kind of audience the news coverage attracted in each platform, among many other aspects.

It is possible to understand which kind of audience is related to each segment of news coverage in the 2014 Olympics by following the trails left in digital media, such as activities related to access, sharing, and commenting. In addition to the diversity of the audience in multiplatform news coverage, the 2014 Olympics played differently to two large audiences: domestic and global. What distinguishes one from the other is the impact of the event in everyday social life. Although the 2014 Olympics was a global media event, the Olympic Games affect local daily lives more than global daily lives, which makes the domestic audience more complex than the global one. The global sporting event reaches high media visibility and features a large capacity of social commotion, mobilizing people. Consequently, this kind of event is surrounded by several correlated political and social events that took the opportunity to gain media visibility and social engagement, especially in the domestic market. According to Clarke (2014), President Vladimir Putin put greater stock in the domestic audience, using the Games to rally Russia's heartland and solidify his political base. However, the domestic and global audiences were frequently together in the realm of digital media during the event in a process in which one influenced the other.

The audience can be engaged in transmedia experiences in various ways. According to Gambarato and Tárca (2016), the audience can be methodical or scanners, intimate or detached. A methodical audience does not scan very often, using drop-down menus and navigation bars to locate stories. Scanners read part of a story, look at photos or other items, but generally do not return once they have left the text. An intimate audience maintains nearly constant contact while touching, tapping, pinching, and swiping to adjust their view. A detached audience carefully arranges a full screen of text before physically detaching as they sit back to read.

We do not have sophisticated information about the diversity of the audience's behavior during the Sochi Games, but we can comprehend general aspects of what type of audience the global sporting event can attract based on official divulged data. According to the Olympic Committee of Portugal ("Jogos Olímpicos de Inverno," 2014), Sochi 2014 was transmitted by a record number of television channels, more than 300, including a record number of free channels, more than 200. In the first and second days of the Games, there was more site access than during the entire competition of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics. These data demonstrate the relevance of the broadcast model in Sochi 2014, which involved open television channels, such as Channel One, and cable news coverage. The diversity of the coverage and the variety of business models available during the Games contribute to the transmedia experiences involved in the coverage.

The data divulged by the Olympic Committee of Portugal ("Jogos Olímpicos de Inverno," 2014) also reveal a record number of accesses through mobile platforms: 50% of accesses were made through smart phones or tablets, and a large number of people engaged on social media. The IOC page on VKontakte (<http://vk.com/olympicsrus>) registered more than 2.9 million followers. Therefore, the data demonstrate that the 2014 Olympics probably attracted large methodical and intimate audiences, with people who access diverse channels and social information to adjust their view. The posting and sharing activities on a network on a large scale suggest that the sporting event generated relevant social engagement. Although the collaborative coverage was not rigorous, it signaled the plurality of voices and opinions engaged in the communication process. Thus, the engaged and connected audience was a distinguishing aspect of the Olympic Games in Sochi.

The 2014 Olympics dealt with significant financial sums in the advertising market and contributed to a sophisticated business communication model. According to the Kwendi RusMediaAudit report, the revenue of the official broadcasters of the Sochi Olympic Games was 1.95 billion rubles (US\$590 million). This revenue recouped the 1.6 billion spent on acquiring the broadcast rights. From 55% to 65% of this total sum was earned by Channel One. During the Olympics, TV advertisements were more expensive than usual. Among the official broadcasters, the highest advertising rates were offered by Channel One. The price for one gross rating point (GRP) of Channel One exceeded 250,000 rubles (US\$7,500) for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies, for instance. Gross rating point measures the size of an audience reached by a specific media outlet. In total, 29 brands bought advertising space on Channel One during the Opening Ceremony. Together Channel One and Russia 1 earned 136.2 million rubles (US\$4.2 million) from the Opening Ceremony broadcast alone ("Russian TV Earned About Two Billion Rubles," 2014).

Engagement

The relationship between the Olympic movement and the audience was challenged by the IOC logic of exclusiveness and people's longing for sharing and participation. Channel One coverage privileged interaction to the detriment of actual participation. Interactive action allows the audience to relate to media outlets somehow—for instance, by pressing a button or control, deciding a path for experiencing it but not co-creating and changing the story (Gambarato, 2012). Participation "invites viewers/users/players to engage in a way that expresses their creativity in a unique and surprising manner, allowing them to influence the final result" (Gambarato, 2012, p. 74). Audiences could interact, for instance, by posting comments on social networks and voting in online polls organized by Channel One. However, the audience response was closely monitored, and offensive comments, for example, were deleted. The audience could follow the array of links available on the channel's website, social media communities, and mobile applications to access the intertwined net of news and transmissions of the Olympic events. However, the traffic was one-way, granting the audience the possibility to interact with but not participate in the news coverage. Therefore, Channel One coverage functioned as a cultural attractor that drew "together a community of people who share common interests" (Jenkins, 2009, para. 26), but not as a cultural activator, which would give the community something meaningful to do.

As a sporting event, the Olympics offer the chance for the audience to be immersed in the story universe, and as a powerful commodity, the Winter Games made available uncountable merchandise and

memorabilia options. Officially, 640,000 spectators attended Sochi 2014, according to the number of fan passports issued by the local Organizing Committee (RIA Novosti, 2014). This figure is difficult to compare with other Winter Olympic Games, which typically measure visitor numbers by ticket sales. "Organizers in Sochi tracked spectator numbers by issuing so-called 'fan passports,' a measure that saw personal information collected for security purposes. Without a passport, spectators could not use tickets they had bought" (RIA Novosti, 2014, para. 6). Dmitry Chernyshenko, head of the Organizing Committee, stated that the total ticket sales for Sochi 2014 were higher than for Vancouver 2010, but he did not provide details of the final number. In Canada, 1.49 million tickets were sold, 97% of the total (RIA Novosti, 2014). Compared to the 4.4 billion viewers, attendance (*in loco*) was small.

The impressive number of protests, calls for boycotts, and other concerns added tensions to the Sochi 2014 experience. Mainly concentrated in the period before the Games, the major protests were related to criminalization of libel and the "gay propaganda" law, which banned propaganda for nontraditional sexual relations. As a result, the calls for a boycott spread worldwide, and, although there was no real boycott, several representatives from Western countries—such as U.S. president Barack Obama, British prime minister David Cameron, and German chancellor Angela Merkel—did not attend the Opening Ceremony. Terrorist threats and attacks, such as the bombings in Volgograd in December 2013, and the escalation of the crisis in Ukraine also increased tensions during the Games. At the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics, because of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, 65 countries did not participate in the Games, including the United States, China, and West Germany (Andreyev, 2014).

Major sporting events motivate user-generated content, and Sochi 2014 was the subject of several Internet memes, parodies, illustrations, games, and more, especially because of the international tensions surrounding the Games. In addition to sports, the economic, political, social, and security issues related to the event were represented by user-generated content, although not directly incorporated into the Channel One coverage.

Aesthetics

The aesthetic aspects enhanced the overall transmedia experience that unfolded across multiple media platforms. The kinds of visual information used in each media platform are related because of the sign reference processed from one medium to another. For instance, when Channel One changed its logo for the Games, and incorporated the Olympic Flame,² the sign reference was changed to produce symbolic information.

The Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Winter Games were marked by symbolic situations. In each symbolic moment of the Olympics, the visual elements built the environment across media platforms. For instance, during the Opening Ceremony, only four of the five rings materialized in the opening scene. The fifth ring did not expand, and the pyrotechnics never went off (see Figure 2), but the Russian TV viewers did not see the malfunction because it was replaced by "rehearsal footage. All five

² Access the Olympic logo of Channel One at <http://img1.1tv.ru/imgsize640x360/PR20140207091327.JPG>.

rings came together, and the fireworks exploded on cue” (Vasilyeva, 2014, para. 4). The hashtag #sochiproblems on Twitter became a trend, especially after the Opening Ceremony (Arrouas, 2014).

Parallel stories related to problems in the one ring engaged the audience more on social media than did the primary stories related to the Opening Ceremony. In the Closing Ceremony, the Olympic ring malfunction that had occurred during the Opening Ceremony was amusingly reproduced (see Figure 3). It is the typical case of symbolic reference translated into another symbolic context: The unforeseen during the Opening Ceremony was translated into aesthetic value during the Closing Ceremony. Russia made fun of itself in a smart way. The Closing Ceremony, which focused on the emotional conclusion of the Games, was dedicated to Russian culture.



Figure 2. One of the five Olympic rings failed to open during the opening ceremony in Sochi.

Source: <http://metrouk2.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/1000x62515.jpg>.

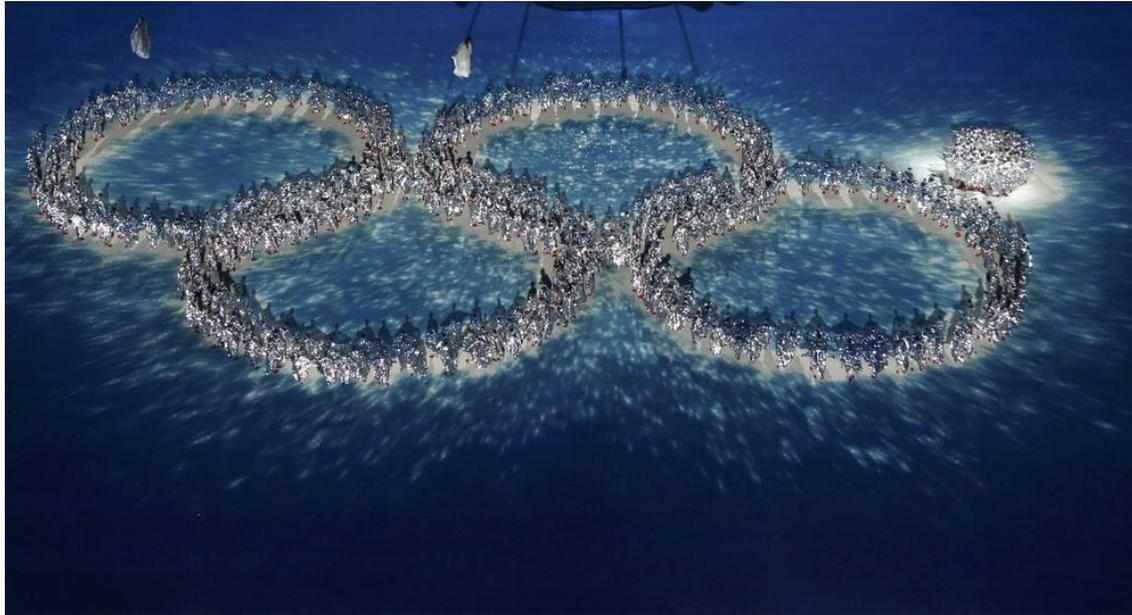


Figure 3. Performers in the closing ceremony reproduced the Olympic rings malfunction that had occurred during the Opening Ceremony in Sochi.

Source: <http://metrouk2.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/1000x5451.jpg>.

The audience appropriation of the ring malfunction to produce and share memes through social networks that aesthetically referred to the failure of the Opening Ceremony. Memes (catchphrases or pieces of content that spread from person to person via the Internet) were usually associated with the hashtag #sochiproblems, demonstrating a critical stance, but many were good-humored (see Figure 4).

If unpredictable occurrences could be translated into aesthetic elements related to Sochi, the magnitude of the event itself was certainly planned to be commercially and aesthetically explored. That is the case of the video game Mario & Sonic at the Sochi 2014 Olympic Winter Games, produced by Nintendo Wii. In this video game, players from around the world could take the action online and compete with others in winter sports. Every time players won a medal in online game play, they gathered points for their home country, and the ranking could be accessed online. However, most user-generated content and the video game are not a transmedia strategy specifically related to the news coverage, although it can engage audiences around the theme of 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi.



Sochi Problems @Sochi_Problemz · Feb 17
The Sochi Sandwich #SochiProblems



Figure 4. Olympic memes in the 2014 Winter Olympics.

Source: <http://blog.sfgate.com/olympics/2014/02/12/38-best-olympic-memes-and-sochi-sass/#20567101=4>.

Conclusion

The 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games were surrounded by concerns and controversies since Russia was announced as the host in 2007. From environmental to economic issues, from the lack of political stability to terrorist threats, from human rights violations to alleged corruption, Sochi had it all under the media microscope, including the struggle between the Olympic democratic values/humanistic ideal, the IOC economic model of the Olympics, and the Russian authoritarian constraints.

The local media—the majority of which are controlled directly or indirectly by the state—emphasized President Putin’s triumph in holding the Olympics in the problematic Caucasus Mountains. The city of Sochi is a subtropical resort on the Black Sea located 50 kilometers from the mountains. Neighboring regions include Abkhazia, North Caucasus, and Chechnya. The bidding process to host the Winter Olympics occurred right after Putin’s victory over the rebels in Chechnya, a poor Russian region stigmatized by Islamist rebels, terrorism, and female suicide, and profoundly affected by historical battles, conflicts for independence, and a tragic genocide committed by Joseph Stalin exactly 70 years before the Games. In an interview with the world media in January 2014, President Putin stated that there is a certain moral aspect involved in hosting the Olympics and that it strengthens the morale of the nation (Russia Today, 2014).

Putin’s statement exemplifies the tone that the Games acquired in the Russian media, and Channel One was not out of this scope. Because the goal in this article was to analyze the potential

transmediality of the coverage, some transmedial features were observed in the Channel One news coverage of the Sochi Olympic Games: Modest content expansion, especially through online live streaming and mobile applications, was presented, and interaction with the audience existed mainly in social media networks, but it was limited. The Russian coverage was probably more similar to the multiscreen production of London 2012 than to a fully transmedial experience, particularly in relation to participatory culture. The limitations of the concrete participation of the audience into the official coverage have several facets, such as (a) the fact that Channel One did not offer real opportunities for participatory journalism, which is still a new experience to be developed in Russia; (b) the restrictions imposed by the IOC; and (c) characteristics inherent to Russian society such as social self-censorship (Morozov, 2011). Morozov (2011) stresses that, "Knowing that they might be watched by government agents but not knowing how exactly such surveillance happens, many activists might lean toward self-censorship or even stop engaging in risky online behavior altogether" (p. 145). Even the vast resonance that, for instance, the hashtag #sochiproblems had in Russia, the domestic audience response to it was more humorous than critical, with comments such as "we don't have problems in Russia, we have adventures" (Keeney, 2014, para. 8).

Despite a modest transmediality during the Olympic coverage, Channel One was aware of the transmedial developments worldwide and announced in April 2014 the creation of a new department responsible for expanding the channel's content across different media platforms (Kitaeva, 2014). Transmedia storytelling permeates journalism but is not restricted to it.

References

- Alzamora, G., & Tárzia, L. (2012). Convergence and transmedia: Semantic galaxies and emerging narratives in journalism. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 8(1), 23–34.
- Andreyev, V. (2014, January 31). Moscow 1980 Olympics: A Soviet success story. *Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sponsored/rbth/features/10611080/moscow-olympics-1980.html>
- Arnold, R., & Foxall, A. (2014). Lord of the (five) rings issues at the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympic Games. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 61(1), 3–12.
- Arrouas, M. (2014, February 7). @SochiProblems is way more popular than the official Sochi account on Twitter. *TIME*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/6013/sochiproblems-is-way-more-popular-than-the-official-sochi-account-on-twitter>
- Bailén, A. (2010). *La audiència investigada [The investigated audience]*. Barcelona, Spain: Gedisa Editorial.
- Barber, L. (2014). Elemental video processing selected by Channel One for Sochi 2014 Winter Games [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://www.elementaltechnologies.com/newsroom/press-releases/elemental-video-processing-selected-channel-one-sochi-2014-olympics>

- Barbosa, S., Silva, F. F., & Nogueira, L. (2013). Análise da convergência de conteúdos em produtos jornalísticos com presença multiplataforma [Analysis of the convergence of content in journalistic products with multiplatform presence]. *Revista Eletrônica do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Mídia e Cotidiano*, 2, 139–162.
- Bruns, A. (2006). *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life—From production to produsage*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Canton, D. (2014, January 29). Sochi Olympics—Social media for personal use only [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://canton.elegal.ca/2014/01/29/sochi-olympics-social-media-personal/>
- Carey, J. W. (1989). *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
- Castells, M. (2010). *Communication power*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Channel One and RIA Novosti to launch "second screen" service for Olympics [Первый канал и РИА Новости запускают к Олимпиаде сервис "второй экран"]. (2013, December 13). *Digit*. Retrieved from <http://digit.ru/technology/20131213/409442152.html>
- Channel One Russia. (2013). Социальный (нефинансовый) отчет [Social (nonfinancial) report]. Retrieved from <http://www.1tv.ru/first/socialotchet2013.pdf>
- Clarke, L. (2014, February 22). Sochi Olympics played differently to different audiences. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/olympics/sochi-olympics-played-differently-to-different-audiences/2014/02/22/c689f4c6-9bd7-11e3-9080-5d1d87a6d793_story.html
- Conley, M. (2014). Scandal and terror in Sochi. Retrieved from <http://sports.yahoo.com/blogs/olympics-fourth-place-medal/scandal-in-sochi-223356627.html>
- Cossiavelou, V., Bantimaroudis, P., Kavakli, E., & Illia, L. (2011). The media gatekeeping model update by R and I in ICYs: The case of wireless communication in media coverage of the Olympic Games. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Telecommunications and Networking*, 3(4), 49–74.
- Deuze, M., Bruns, A., & Neuberger, C. (2007). Preparing for an age of participatory news. *Journalism Practice*, 1(3), 322–338.
- Gambarato, R. R. (2012). Signs, systems and complexity of transmedia storytelling. *Estudos em Comunicação*, 12, 69–83.
- Gambarato, R. R. (2013). Transmedia project design: Theoretical and analytical considerations. *Baltic Screen Media Review*, 1, 80–100.

- Gambarato, R. R., & Lapina-Kratasyuk, E. (2015, December 16). Transmedia storytelling panorama in the Russian media landscape. *Russian Journal of Communication*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/19409419.2015.1121789
- Gambarato, R. R., & Tárca, L. (2016, January 28). Transmedia strategies in journalism: An analytical model for the coverage of planned events. *Journalism Studies*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2015.1127769
- International Olympic Committee. (2013). IOC social media, blogging and Internet guidelines for participants and other accredited persons at the Sochi 2014 Olympic Winter Games. Retrieved from <http://www.olympic.org/social-media-and-internet-guidelines>
- International Olympic Committee. (2014). *Factsheet: Sochi 2014 facts & figures*. Retrieved from http://www.olympic.org/Documents/Games_Sochi_2014/Sochi_2014_Facts_and_Figures.pdf
- International Olympic Committee. (n.d.). *IOC marketing: Media guide Sochi 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_Marketing/Sochi_2014/IOC_MEDIA_GUIDE_2014.pdf
- Jenkins, H. (2003, January 15). Transmedia storytelling. *MIT Technology Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.technologyreview.com/biotech/13052/>
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2007, March 22). Transmedia storytelling 101. Retrieved from http://henryjenkins.org/2007/03/transmedia_storytelling_101.html
- Jenkins, H. (2009, December 12). Revenge of the origami unicorn: The remaining four principles of transmedia storytelling. Retrieved from http://henryjenkins.org/2009/12/revenge_of_the_origami_unicorn.html
- Jogos Olímpicos de Inverno Sochi 2014 contará com rede colaborativa [Sochi Winter Olympic Games will count on collaborative network]. (2014, January 8). *TI Inside*. Retrieved from <http://convergecom.com.br/tiinside/webinside/08/01/2014/jogos-olimpicos-de-inverno-sochi-2014-contara-com-rede-colaborativa/#.U9Hq-fmSySq>
- Keeney, L. (2014, February 6). More absurd #sochiproblems from the 2014 Winter Olympics. *The Denver Post*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.denverpost.com/olympics/2014/02/06/sochi-problems-have-grown/26267/>
- Kitaeva, K. (2014, May 22). "Первый канал" усилит присутствие в интернете и новых медиа ["Channel One" will strengthen the presence of the Internet and new media]. Retrieved from <http://top.rbc.ru/society/22/05/2014/925656.shtml>

- Laird, S. (2014, January 17). The Olympics' social media secret *weapon*. Retrieved from http://mashable.com/2014/01/16/olympics-russia-vk/?utm_cid=mash-com-fb-main-link
- Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in group dynamics: II. Channels of group life; social planning and action research. *Human Relations*, 1(2), 143–153. Retrieved from <http://hum.sagepub.com/content/1/2/143.full.pdf>
- Lewis, S. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(6), 836–866.
- Moloney, K. T. (2011). *Porting transmedia storytelling to journalism* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Denver, Faculty of Social Sciences, Denver, CO.
- Morozov, E. (2011). *The net delusion: The dark side of Internet freedom*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.
- Olympic Broadcasting (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.olympic.org/olympic-broadcasting>
- Organizing Committee for the XXII Olympic Winter Games. (2012). *Press services and facilities guide*. Retrieved from http://franceolympique.com/files/File/actualite_presse/jo/sotchi/Sochi%202014%20Press%20Services%20and%20Facilities%20Guide.pdf
- Organizing Committee of the XXII Olympic Winter Games. (2014, April 7). Organizers summarize the XXII Olympic Winter Games and XI Paralympic Winter Games of 2014 in Sochi. Retrieved from <http://sochi2014.arch.articul.ru/www.sochi2014.com/en/news-organizers-summarize-the-xxii-olympic-winter-games-and-xi-paralympic-winter-games-of-2014-in-sochi.htm>
- O'Riordan, C. (2012). The story of the digital Olympics: Streams, browsers, most watched, four *screens*. *BBC*. Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/bbcinternet/2012/08/digital_olympics_reach_stream_stats.html
- Renó, D., & Flores, J. (2012). *Periodismo transmedial* [Transmedia journalism]. Madrid, Spain: Fragua Editorial.
- RIA Novosti. (2014, April 7). Sochi Olympics beat Vancouver on ticket sales—Official. *Sputnik International*. Retrieved from <http://en.ria.ru/russia/20140407/189084913/Sochi-Olympics-Beat-Vancouver-on-Ticket-Sales---Official.html>
- Russel, A. (2011). *Networked—A contemporary history of news in transition*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Russia Today (RT). (2014, January 14). Sochi Olympics: Vladimir Putin's interview with world media in full [Video file]. Retrieved from <http://rt.com/politics/official-word/putin-interview-sochi-olympics-840/>

Russian TV earned about two billion rubles with the Olympics [Российское ТВ заработало на Олимпиаде около двух миллиардов рублей]. (2014, March 3). *Lenta.Ru*. Retrieved from <http://lenta.ru/news/2014/03/03/sochi/>

Sandshark, D. (2013). Sochi 2014 Olympic media updates [Forum post]. Retrieved from <http://www.gamesbids.com/forums/topic/22413-sochi-2014-olympic-media-updates/page-15>

Shoemaker, P., & Vos, T. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sochi 2014—The propaganda games? [Video file]. (2014). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dibhZFPRIvY>

Sochi in focus: Media coverage of Russia and the Winter Olympics [Video file]. (2014). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cF9HYS97hWw>

Stanford, E. (2014). The biggest controversies of the Sochi Olympics. Retrieved from <http://sports.yahoo.com/blogs/fourth-place-medal/the-biggest-controversies-at-the-sochi-olympics-161444322.html>

Vasilyeva, N. (2014, February 7). Russian TV viewers didn't see that Olympic ring fail at Sochi opening ceremony. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/02/07/russian-tv-olympic-rings-doctored_n_4747852.html

White, D. M. (1950). The "gate keeper": A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 27, 383–390.