

NO END OF TRANSITION? UNDERSTANDING CHANGES IN MEDIA LANDSCAPE AND PUBLIC RHETORIC OF POST- COMMUNIST ERA.

Ljubljana, Slovenia: March 14-15, 2008
Organised by Slovene Communication Association

INDIVIDUAL ABSTRACTS

[Adina BAYA](#), West University of Timisoara, Romania

[The Concentration of Media Ownership in Post-Communist Romania: Supporting or Challenging Pluralism and Media Freedom?](#)

Debates about the concentration of media ownership and possible means of regulating it have been for some time now on the EU agenda. The Green Paper on media concentration and pluralism (EC 1992) and the two draft proposals for a Media Pluralism and then a Media Ownership Directive were subjects for debate throughout the 1990s. In addition, extensive literature has been written by scholars worldwide about the topic, different authors taking sides concerning the impact of concentration on democracy, conducting active discussions such as the ones on the online forum hosted by OpenDemocracy.com (OpenDemocracy ND). However, in the case of one of EU's newest member, Romania, the concentration of media ownership is a fairly new subject, as international reports have included it only after the year 2000 (see RWB 2004, EUMAP 2005, Freedom House 2006). For this reason, little research is available on who owns what, with what collateral interests and how this affects the media market in Romania. The purpose of the present paper is to fill this gap in research. More precisely, I will analyze where the consolidation trends are visible and what are their impacts on the Romanian media market. Some of the related questions I explore are the following: (1) On what markets is consolidation of ownership noticeable? (2) Should society care if owners of major media have obvious political and economic interests? (3) Is ensuring fair competition – from an economic perspective – enough to support and maintain a diverse environment? (4) Or is the media market a case too complicated for competition law alone to provide adequate regulation? My study begins with a short post-communist history of the market, leading to a comprehensive review of the main media groups that have consolidated in the past few years and show signs of continuing consolidation at the current moment. Sections 2 and 3 address question (1), namely which markets exhibit signs of consolidation. Particular attention is paid to the links between the major owners and political or economic interest groups – thus tackling question (2) – and how this connects with the debate between the positive and negative effects of concentration.

Subsequently, I survey how the market is regulated in Romania and, while addressing question (3), I analyze whether fair competition is enough to support media diversity. Furthermore, I frame the whole debate by analyzing several arguments advanced in the scholarly literature regarding what makes the media market more difficult to regulate than other markets, as well as what are the positive and negative effects of concentration (Sections 4 and 5). Finally, I discuss how this debate applies to the Romanian case and analyze possible answers to the overarching question of the thesis: Does the concentration of ownership support or challenge media freedom and pluralism in Romania? (Section 6)

Smaranda BOROS, Petru CURSEU, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

The Glass Tomb: Managerial Gender Stereotypes in Obituaries in Communist and Post-Communist Romania

The core idea of equality, ubiquitous in the communist propaganda, was also reflected in the lesser occurrence of managerial gender stereotypes. In a time when Western societies were preoccupied with the glass cliff phenomenon, the Romanian communist society did not seem to have this problem. The communist ideology was definitely a relevant factor that influenced the dynamics of stereotypes in Romania. Yet, the study of the dynamics of the stereotype content raise a number of problems, due to the lack of empirical data from the communist period. One method to counteract this shortcoming is the analysis of the obituaries (for persons in management positions) published in large journals and was introduced by Rodler et al. (2001). The present study sets off as a replication of Rodler, Kirchler and Holzl's (2001) research, which investigated the changes in the perception of women-managers between 1974 and 1998. Using the same content analysis grid, our study inquires upon these perceptions in the Romanian society between 1975 and 2003, analyzing the obituaries of women managers from two national journals (Scântea – Adevărul și România Liberă). The analyzed dimensions were: leadership success, stability of attributes, and person-orientation versus task-orientation. A longitudinal analysis of stereotype content, as well as a comparison between the communist and post-communist period were performed. The results are interpreted according to Rodler et al.'s (2001) parameters used in the study on German population.

Dev BOSE, Clemson University, USA

On the Cusp of Revolution: Failed Political Reform and the Fragmented Individual in Debord and Virilio

How do surveillance, revolution, and transitional capitalism intersect with one another? The answer: through the image-based society of the spectacle and the surveillance-based gateless city. The purpose of this paper is to answer some questions brought forth by Guy Debord in *The Society of the Spectacle* and Paul Virilio in *Lost Dimension*, two texts that concern the return of the fragmentary individual the shift occurring between space, time, speed, and light as fundamental concepts. The common thread unifying Debord and Virilio—and what will be discussed most frequently in this paper—is their emphasis on the controlling of the individual in order to create subjectivity. I argue that, for both of these writers, subjectivity is the product that comes out of the systematic cycle of surveillance. In order to apply the theoretical concepts discussed, I analyze subjectivity and surveillance in terms of Glasnost. There must be a point of stasis that occurs when discussing two philosophers who converge at a great many points. The turning away from the revolutionary overthrow of the system is an important focal point in this paper; that is, while Debord believes that revolution might be possible through getting into the system and overturning it from within (his idea of *detournement*), Virilio feels that it is impossible to gauge any idea of revolution at all—the system has already been closed as a result of the light shift and lack of spatiality. To study this paradigmatic break, the paper turns to the issue of Soviet/Cuba relations during Glasnost, arguing that revolutionary changes in political policy were not as effective as one would have hoped for. Mervyn J. Bain's "The Glasnost Effect on Soviet/Cuban Relations" is used to show how Glasnost may have hindered reform as a result of a failed relationship between Moscow and Havana.

Inta BRIKSE, University of Latvia, Latvia

The Transformation of the Communist Public Communications System to the Public Sphere in Latvia

There were three aspects of the Soviet Union's communications systems transformation which had an effect on the emergence of a new public sphere in Latvia: (1) need for social contacts that would help in shaping a social space in which arguments against the existing status quo could be presented; (2) need to overcome dissociation from areas of social debate; (3) desire of individuals, groups and communities to express their views publicly. The main contradictions in the process of transformation had to do with the necessity to switch the rituals under which Soviet communications processes and their content were organised. Public

communications in the Soviet mass media were distinctly vertical, concentric, cyclical and undulant. There were typically four phases in the process: (1) a signal emerged to launch new processes of communications (a challenge from a party leader, decisions by Communist Party congresses etc.); (2) dissemination in the all-Soviet media and the TASS news agency of supportive views and reports of supportive events such as demonstrations and gatherings. These would then be further disseminated by Communist party organisations in the various Soviet republics (congresses would be announced, plenary sessions would be called together, and the mass media would be involved); (3) a simulation of a reciprocal link (media texts would discursively demonstrate great expectations such as preparing for a congress, eagerly awaiting anniversaries etc.); (4) extensive reportage about the event itself so as to demonstrate how important it was in public life. Liberalisation of public communications as a result of *perestroika* un *glasnostj* allowed individuals and groups to play a much freer role in the mass media, as well as at demonstrations and other events. There were four elements in the emergence of the public sphere in Latvia: (1) a wide range of communications actors; (2) links between the content of public communications and the individual agendas of individuals; (3) public participation as a phenomenon which promoted the intensity of communications, the appearance of new actors and the expansion in content; (4) emergence of a double role for the media, both as actors and communications channels.

Natalie GRAVENOR, EYZ Media/Klipzona Project Group Berlin, Germany

Rock Music in Film, Television, Music Clips and Media Censorship in Hungary, GDR and post-1990 Germany

Banned! Censored! Confiscated! This is what we often associate with art and culture from the so-called "East Bloc" and this also applies to music clips and other forms of audiovisual presentation of popular music. Completed films and/or scripts usually had to pass through some forms of state control (broadcasting supervisory boards, cultural institutions etc.) that evaluated the works' political and moral appropriateness before they could be shown on TV music programs or in cinemas, youth clubs etc. Whatever didn't conform to the system - "morally objectionable", counterrevolutionary, without class consciousness or often merely critical - was not shown. Or pulled out of circulation after the fact, as was the case in some countries when certain artists were banned or became "non-persons" after emigrating or being expelled. After the dissolution of communism – although free media were introduced at least nominally – certain music clips came under fire by state run and now private (editors of music TV stations and music shows on commercial TV) control mechanisms. Many clip makers were/are tempted to test the limits of what is acceptable and sometimes purposefully transgress those limits. When pop songs

iviolate political, sexual or religious taboos, this is already cause for alarm. All the more so when already provocative lyrics are visualized or otherwise innocuous songs are coupled with taboo breaking visuals. Hungary and the GDR and post-1990 Germany are the focus countries. This allows a comparison between a more open Socialist society and a repressive one and serves to counter a somewhat monolithic preconception of Socialism in Central and Eastern Europe while examining different forms of censorship. The examination doesn't end with the momentous events of 1989/90 but continues to the present day to highlight current debates about freedom of expression versus political correctness, as most recently exemplified by the controversy over racist and homophobic rap songs. Or to discuss the conception by several musicians, that the state/political censorship was been replaced by a censorship through the globalised, Anglo-Americanised music industry and market forces.

Karol JAKUBOWICZ, Council of the Independent Media Commission of Kosovo

Finding the Right Place on the (Media Systems) Map: PSB as a Litmus Test of Post-Communist Democratization

Colin Sparks has suggested that media change can be treated as a litmus test of the more general process of transformation since “certain features of the structures of society are more clearly illuminated through this optic [of media change – K.J.] than through others.” In this view, media transformation is an indicator of more general political change: if “the shift from communism to the new order in the region is really one of a shift between fundamentally different systems, then one would expect that to be registered particularly clearly in the mass media” - and vice versa, of course. This view is certainly supported by the general observation that media systems display “systemic parallelism”, i.e. reflect the systemic features of the society within which they operate. However, Bustamante has pointed out that in Spain the formal democratization of State television showed a curious delay in relation to other institutions in the country, with TVE, nominally a public service broadcaster, remaining the centre and basic arena of political struggle. The “heavy legacy of Franco’s television model” continued to exert its influence long after the demise of Franco’s system of government, despite repeated (but perhaps only half-hearted) attempts to introduce institutional arrangements guaranteeing greater independence for TVE. Critical analysis of the Hallin and Mancini's typology of media systems suggests that the state is too large as a unit of analysis; an intra-state perspective is also needed, in that different sectors of the media system may function according to different economic/market principles, political dynamics, and professional journalistic norms. If so, then perhaps the optic of media change may be a misleading indicator of political change. The main systemic feature that determines prospects for the development and proper operation of PSB is consolidation of democracy. Where

consolidation of democracy is incomplete, only a hybrid political system can emerge, so PSB stations will also be hybrid constructs. By the same token, one could say that democratic transformation is far from over as long as a favourable enabling environment for PSB has not emerged. The paper correlates Huntington's three waves of democratization with three main motives for the development of PSB in various countries and historical contexts (paternalistic, democratic-emancipatory and systemic), as well as with three models of "media and political system" identified by Hallin and Mancini. This provides background for a comparative analysis of the development of PSB in Mediterranean countries and in Central and Eastern European countries. In both cases transition to democracy failed for many years to create conditions for proper PSB operation and independence.

Alenka JELEN, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Exploring the Relationships Between Political Sources and Journalists in the Post-Communist Era: The Case of (Re)Framing the President's Image

In the same way as news media frame messages for their audiences by selecting and emphasising certain aspects of perceived reality, political sources frame messages for the (political) media news. Many observers of political communication have discussed framing, but few have explicitly examined the impact of political sources on media coverage, and even fewer have devoted their attention to troubled relationships between political sources and media workers in post-communist countries. These countries with a specific political and media tradition have throughout two-decades long political and economic transition among others witnessed a rapid development of public relations profession and market model of journalism; the development that Western countries have undergone in almost a century. Thus, current, mostly US-based research indicating that official sources – and their public relations professionals – (increasingly) build, set and frame considerable portions of the agenda for the media, could also be, albeit carefully, applied to relationships between political sources and media workers in Slovenia. The paper focuses on the case of the "symbol of the Slovenian transition", former Slovenian President Drnovšek, who led Slovenia through transition period as the Prime Minister and the President, respectively. In 2006, Drnovšek surprised the media and the public with more than a few actions "reframing" him from a conventional, reasonable, calm, pragmatic, and withdrawn politician to a "new age" leader with critical attitude towards governmental policy. Semi-structured interviews with presidential sources and television journalists were conducted to examine their relationships and process of influences in times of (re)framing media image of the President. The results indicate that presidential sources greatly influenced media coverage, not merely through formal information subsidies, but, more importantly, through interpersonal communication. Relatively small political

and media community in Slovenia remain largely inter-dependant and dominated by informal, personal relationships between politicians and media workers, sharing common educational background, interests, social status and life-style. Their relationships can rather than “love-hate relationships” be described as “sweetheart relationships” based on trust, caring, and mutual understanding.

Dejan JONTES, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Journalistic Prizes as Narratives of Self-Legitimation

As some authors (e.g. Zelizer) have argued, narratives, tales, and collective rhetoric have held journalists together not only as a profession but also as an interpretive community. What is more, as journalism has not evolved in association with the formalized bodies of knowledge as other professional groups have, much of the professional authority of journalists has come to rest not in what they know but in how they represent their knowledge. The shared discourse of journalistic prizes is thus one of the mechanisms through which journalists shape their own self-image, and through an analysis of such discourses the “building blocks” of journalistic occupational ideology can be recognized. For this reason, the paper pays special attention to the ideal-typical values that are said to be part of journalism’s ideology, such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics. The paper thus focuses on the rhetoric of Slovene journalistic prizes with the goal of recognizing the cornerstones of a shared occupational ideology which functions as a self-legitimization of the position of journalists in society. The discourse of journalistic prizes between 1990 and 2006 will be systematically analyzed, and as there have been two competing awards for outstanding journalistic achievements since the early 1990s, the tensions within the journalistic community as regards what constitutes “good” and “professional” journalism will be analyzed. Also, comparisons will be made with the journalistic awards from the socialist period.

Andreas MANDLER, Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany, Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, Rome / Italy

Agricultural Topics in Central Asian Media: The Case of Tajikistan

“The crop yield in many countries of Asia has declined, (...) in arid Central and West Asia changes in climate and its variability continue to challenge the ability of countries to meet the growing demands for water.”(Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2007), Contribution of Working Group II) Tajikistan is among the poorest transition countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), its agriculture sector is a major pillar of the economy. About 64% of the

population depend on agriculture for their livelihoods, while 73% of the total population live in rural areas. Considering the economic and social means of the Tajik agricultural sector and taking into account the ongoing thread of its natural resource basis, agricultural topics, services and information is very little represented in Tajik mass media. Information dissemination is limited twofold, spatially (media is hardly present in rural areas) and due to political restrictions. Agricultural topics are under special observation by the government and allied groups, since agriculture crops count for 26% of general exports (overwhelmingly obtained by cotton) which is 22% of GDP (*gross domestic product*). Therefore agriculture is a highly sensitive political topic, because financial interests of national and local players are involved. My presentation will investigate how agricultural topics are present in current Tajik media. It will draw a comparison with former soviet agricultural knowledge and information systems (AKIS) and their outreach to rural people. As preliminary observations reveal, national rhetoric – as previous communist rhetoric – is the main mode, how the media display agricultural topics. The government's interest in keeping the *status quo* prevents the development of the agricultural sector. Free and in-depth reporting on the concerns of rural people is impeded by the state and its institutions.

Jan MIESSLER, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Czech Republic

The Birth of Democratic Discourse: Svobodné Slovo During the Velvet Revolution

The paper analyzes the emergence of “democratic discourse” in one of the official dailies during Czechoslovakia’s Velvet Revolution in 1989. It follows Fairclough’s approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and focuses both on the daily’s texts and on the contexts during the discourse shift. The paper claims that the “democratic discourse” was basically inverted form of “communist discourse” and that it was this inverted discourse which enabled the process of political democratization. Svobodné slovo, the main daily of Socialist Party – a rubber-stamp member of National Front, supporting the regime – was the first official media outlet to break-up the hegemony of previously tightly-controlled communist discourse and to criticize the crackdown on protesting students on 17th November. Later the daily joined actors of regime change and supported the transition to democracy. The paper focuses on the discourse shift on the daily’s front page during the first week of the Velvet Revolution. It also analyzes conditions for this discourse shift. On the level of texts the analysis focuses on articles about anti-regime protests. On the level of media organizations the paper examines mechanisms which the old regime could use to control the media discourses. Finally the paper tries to explain why these mechanisms failed in the most crucial moment and enabled the media discourses to mark the old regime’s collapse.

Tihana MIGIC, Paris-Lodron University of Salzburg, Austria

Croatia and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: Discourses on Croatian National Identity

The opinions of the international and Croatian community have drifted apart in the 'Gotovina case'. As the ICTY wanted to summon the presumed war criminal Ante Gotovina in 1998, the Croatian government under Franjo Tuđman refused any kind of collaboration. The operation *Oluja (Storm)*, for which Gotovina is regarded responsible, is still considered as a legitimate liberation by Croatians whereas the 'West' is condemning it. The territory of Croatia today does not correspond with the area Croatians inhabit and as a consequence Croatia is not a homogenous nation-state. This could be an explanatory approach why in Croatia one will predominantly encounter 'cultural nationalism'. At the moment nationalism is being fuelled in Croatia, especially when it comes to the question of war crimes. Currently the nationalists in Croatia are using the outrage of the Croatian population and politicians about the sentence of the main accused in the Vukovar process in front of the ICTY, which from their point of view was too mild. The media printed headlines such as 'Even in Serbia they would have gotten a stricter sentence'. In the discourses about the ICTY arguments like 'our nationalism and patriotism always had a defensive character' were brought up. In my work I am devoting myself to the image of the ICTY in the Croatian print media. Disputes about the Croatian national identity play a very significant role in my categories for the analysis of recent discourses.

Johanna MÖLLER, Jacobs University Bremen, Germany

Has the Public Sphere in Poland Become More Europeanized?

In March 2008 Poland will have been among the member states of the European Union for nearly four years. Beyond processes of European integration this Central-European state has to cope with its post-communist consolidation. Thus, in Poland, as in many other fresh EU-member states, a twofold evolution process takes places. On the one hand Poland is hesitantly coming to terms with its specific communist past and the respective political transition processes. On the other hand Poland is obliged to realize integration into political institutions both in a vertical (EU) as well as in a horizontal dimension (through the increase of inter-governmental networking). In my presentation I will investigate whether these developments are reflected in the structure of the Polish public sphere. The main focus will be on the (potential) Europeanization of the public sphere in Poland from within. In a second

step I will point out crucial aspects with respect to and in comparison with processes taking place at the same time in public spheres of some “old” members of the European Union – such as Austria, Denmark, France, Germany and Great Britain. In these countries a process of “segmented Europeanization” has been observed. Each country on its own has become more observant of EU institutions and politics, but on the horizontal dimension there has been no increase in the exchange of speakers and opinions between the public spheres of the different member states (Sifft et al. 2007). Is this outcome valid for Poland as well? How does the Polish public sphere differ from the others given its specific twofold evolution? The presentation will draw from the results of a large-scale quantitative newspaper analysis, realized in the project ‘The Transnationalization of Public Spheres in Europe’ that is part of the Collaborative Research Center 597 at Jacobs University Bremen (for hitherto outcomes see Wessler et al. 2008). For the Polish case we analyse discursive articles from ‘Gazeta Wyborcza’ as well as from ‘Super Express’ from 1989 to 2008. In light of the guiding questions of my presentation the large-scale analysis of ‘Gazeta Wyborcza’ as a former Solidarność-newspaper is of special interest. Based on the empirical data, I shall also address several sub-questions, such as e.g.: How has the degree of transnational references to speakers from other European countries changed in Poland? Is there a shift in the perception of collective identities as expressed in public discourse?

Maruša PUŠNIK, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Contested Pasts: Dynamic Media Reconstructions of the Past in Post-Socialist Societies

In the paper the author analyzes media representations and appropriations of the Slovenian past that were brought about by the disintegration of the socialist system in Yugoslavia in 1991. The paper concentrates on documentary film as a medium for representing and visualizing the past and on its role in the (re)construction of history, on the ways memories are shaped through recent filming of history in post-socialist Slovenia. Media images and narratives have power to set an agenda for public debates and to control the knowledge that circulates in the society and can in this regard also influence the historiography itself. Such mediated debates and representations of the past have fostered at least four main reinterpretations of the Slovenian past. The paper argues that the redefinition of the Second World War, the antifascist on one hand and the Nazi collaborating forces on the other, the reworking of the Slovenian relations to Yugoslavia and of the socialist period in general, then the glorification of contemporary Slovenian history and the ten-day war for Slovenia’s independence in 1991, and the reinvention of Slovenia’s ancient history, the ancient origins of Slovenians produce new meanings of the past which are concordant with the new regime of truth that has been established in Slovenia since it attained its independence. Such revisionist Slovenian historiography that is fostered

by documentaries and other media texts reproduce the hegemonic political and national discursive order and construct a coinciding cultural memory when, on one hand, they offer specific stories that repress and eliminate the Yugoslav, socialist period while, on the other, they invent and glorify Slovenia's ancient and recent past and its national distinctiveness.

Lara RYAZANOVA-CLARKE, The University of Edinburgh, UK

Putin's Nation: Construction of Post-Soviet Identity in Direct Line with the President

The paper analyses mechanisms of discursive construction of the official version of post-Soviet Russian identity. It is based on the three hour simultaneous television and radio broadcast of President Putin's question and answer session with the general public, which took place on 18th October 2007. This broadcast, one of six during Putin's presidency, is both similar to and different from the earlier forums. Officially, it was the last *Direct Line* with Putin speaking in the capacity of the Russian president and had a summary sense with regard to his vision of Russia as a nation. Also, just over a month before the December Duma elections, this *Direct Line* was permeated with the overtones of political campaigning and negotiation of the President's own identity. He appears in different language guises: a unifying figure, a leader on top of every detail of the Russian political, economic and social agendas, the Russian Army Commander in Chief, the rescuer of the Caucasus, the winner of the Winter Olympic bid and a tough but fair distributor of the public money. The paper analyses argumentation and rhetorical strategies used in this discursive marathon for the purpose of identity construction and linguistic devices servicing these strategies. For example, Putin re-visits the Bolshevik paradigm within the construction of the common past and evokes the Soviet empire rhetoric when he constructs the Russian territory. This ambiguous rhetorical choice is complemented by the use of post-Soviet 'liberal language' to define the boundaries with 'the other' or the new 'bureaucratease' to defend the status quo. Despite Putin's main input into the narrative of identity, the latter emerges as a joint discursive construct. The paper explores the part that the TV presenters and the thoroughly selected members of the public play in this compliant co-narration.

Alicja SOMMERFELD, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland

Crime of Defamation in Post-Communist Poland: Contemporary Form of Censorship?

As in a pluralistic society media are actors that are granted a significant function of authority controllers, the omnipotence of “the fourth estate” is assumed without further consideration. However, due to the commercialization of media their ethical duty to conscientious truth transmitting is often disregarded. As we learn from “Lost Honor of Katherine Blum” of Heinrich Boell irresponsibility of press might lead to disastrous consequences and irreversible damages to peoples lives. Disseminating scandalous facts about public or private persons, frequently improperly proven or obviously false information is damaging to their reputation and as such is forbidden by either criminal or civil law. After the introductory part I want to mention the social consequences of defamation for the misinformed public opinion and a wronged person. I will elaborate also on legal foundation of criminalization of defamation as a protection of personal dignity in context of freedom of speech. I will depict probable clashes between the principles and investigate possible variations of legal remedies against defamation. I will make allowances for legal regulations in different European countries (Germany, Great Britain) and jurisdiction of Strasburg Court. Furthermore in this part that will be a core of the paper I will focus on relevant Polish legislation and analyze its compatibility with European Convention on Human Rights. I will evaluate as well the sanctions that should be taken into consideration in case of press defamation and answer a crucial question, whether and if so under what conditions should a journalist be held criminally responsible and even deprived of liberty for his or her article. Additionally, I will enrich the paper with the references to famous Polish and European defamation cases and I will make an attempt to response if nowadays the courts did not take over the role of (Major Office of Control of Press, Publications and Exhibitions (Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk) – institute responsible for preventive censorship in Peoples’ Republic of Poland (later Ministry of Information and Propaganda), gagging free and anti-conformist media.

Colin SPARKS, University of Westminster, UK

Post-Communist Transitions in Comparative Perspective

This talk discusses the transformation of the media system in three countries moving away from the classical “communist” model: Poland, Russia and China. Despite very significant differences, all three of these societies displayed similar starting points in terms of economics, politics and media. The dominant political science tradition has discussed post-communism as part of a more general theory of

“transitology”, seeing the processes involved in these cases as examples of a world-wide transition from dictatorial regimes towards western-style democracy. Recently, that view has been called into question by the very limited degree to which these democratic revolutions have reached completion. An alternative is to see the shift away from communism as an example of “elite continuity,” in which the former bureaucratic ruling class attempts to restructure itself as the owners of private capital. Using categories derived from Hallin and Mancini’s work on comparing media systems, the paper tests the two theoretical views in these three cases. It is demonstrated that transitology gives very little insight into the prevailing situations, and that the theory of elite continuity accounts much better for major features of the media systems. The implications of these findings for our understanding of media in societies undergoing rapid social change, and for the more general concerns of social theory are considered.

Slavko SPLICHAL, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Mass Media in CEE Countries and the Dynamics of Global and Local Shifts of Power

Media systems in the former communist CEE countries have largely been developed by shallow imitation of hybrid private—public (commercial—public service) models of media regulation borrowed from the West. Western models were transplanted into an environment that lacked the necessary political and management culture, in which civil society was (and still is) weak and has inadequate resources and little dedication to public service values. The reformers failed to examine more indigenous ways of using Western experiences and applying them to the specific situations in Central-Eastern Europe, which would contribute to a radical departure from the previous non-democratic activities under the communist regimes. The developments in the CEE countries led to the establishment of a kind of “political capitalism” in society and created a system of “commercial paternalism” in the media: neither generally in society nor in the sphere of mass media a clear differentiation exists between the state and the market place, and between political parties and civil society. As the line between the political, economic, and public spheres is blurred, a radical departure from non-democratic practices of former regimes is not feasible. The role of civil society and public opinion is still effectively marginalized, and the access to the media is either limited to political élites—in some countries even only to those of the ruling coalitions—or commercially based. In some countries, the Catholic Church took over the role of the dominant partner of the state once reserved for the communist party and became even a powerful economic force owning the media among other businesses. Widening citizen access to the Internet may reduce negative consequences of the high level of media monopolization but as long as an appropriate general will, democratic political culture and mutual trust are not

developed there is little chance that a new regulatory framework for the media to serve democracy will be established. Democratic developments are further restrained by new forms of global governance in which responsibility from political institutions at the national level is transferred to those operating at the transnational level, or to the market.

Andrej ŠKERLEP, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Rhetoric of Conflict And Rhetoric of Reconciliation in Post-Communist Slovenia

The paper elaborates on two instances of presidential rhetoric engaged in historical narrative in order to build consensus on divisive events in Slovene history. The first is a speech by Milan Kučan in Kočevski rog in July 1990, at the time the first elected President of the Republic of Slovenia; the second one is by prime minister Janez Jansa in April 2005. Both speeches have in common an attempt to discursively reconcile two conflicting political traditions originating from two sides, partisans and home guard (*domobranci*), in Slovene civil war at the time of WWII. These two opposing sides define Slovene historical imaginary and are causing strong ideological divisions even today. Partisans were heroic left wing resistance fighters on the side of victorious western alliance, but were after WWII instrumental in communist takeover and were, at least indirectly by association, involved in massive executions of the collaborationists without due legal process; politically right wing oriented home guard, also aligned with Catholic Church, was during the war collaborating with Italian Fascists and German Nazis in fighting the partisans, and after the war its members were victims of mass executions and communist repression and were, according to their own rhetoric, in the end proven historically right by collapse of communism. In the analysis the method of rhetorical criticism is used, specifically Ernest Bormann theory of convergence on fantasy theme: underlying 'fantasy theme' of the speech is rhetorical vision that is the point of convergence between members of the audience/ community / nation. To put it differently – the two presidents are engaged in constructing the myth of historical origin of independent Slovenia. The greatest achievement of Kučan's speech in 1990, a year before the independence was won, an epitaph for executed members of home guard and their families, was his rhetoric of reconciliation, his rhetorical balancing act between communist hardliners on the one hand and radical anti-communists on the other; to appease these two opposing sides his rhetoric was only implied, indirect, poetic, opaque; as he spoke before predominately Catholic audience his speech was marked by Biblical tone, paradoxically combined by some Marxist maxims. Jansa's speech 15 years later, an attempt at national reconciliation from right wing perspective, is more clearly and rationally articulated in his approval and condemnation of events in Slovene national history; in final analysis, Janša's speech is trying to construct the idea of Slovenes as heroic nation of resistance fighters and dissidents. The gist of the argument of the

paper is this: although both speeches refer to historical facts, the way they select and combine them is fantasy that the audience /community /nation can identify with; but although imaginary, the effects of these imaginary identifications have very real ramifications in political public sphere.

Václav ŠTĚTKA, Masaryk University, Czech Republic

Globalization, Audience “Resistance” and Cultural Nostalgia: Current Trends on the Czech Popular Media Scene

This paper examines the presence and strength of globalization trends in the popular media landscape in the Czech Republic, and assesses their impact on changes in media content, on viewing habits of Czech television and film audiences and on the sphere of cultural representations in general. In the first part, the author provides a brief insight into the structural-economic domain of media globalization in the Czech Republic, focusing on the ownership links between the major Czech mass media and transnational media conglomerates which have in the last two decades successfully penetrated the Central European media markets. However, despite the Czech media being now structurally internationalized, their most popular contents remain largely domestically produced and nation-oriented, as the author documents on statistics concerning Czech television and film audience behavior. After an initial inflow of US-American (and later also Latin American) production, which corresponded with a period of recession of the domestic TV and film industry, the Czech Republic has witnessed a boom of domestic soap operas dominating the prime time on all the national TV channels, as well as a rebirth of the Czech film industry, regularly producing films which are able to out-gross the Hollywood blockbusters. The recent expansion of factual entertainment on Czech TV screens (reality game- or talentshows like *Big Brother*, *Pop Idol*, *Survivor* etc.) which the author further overviews does not necessarily disprove his hypothesis about the “national resistance” of the majority Czech audience at the beginning of the 21st century, as these programs are all locally-produced versions of global formats, adapted to the national cultural context, featuring local actors/celebrities and using (and thereby reproducing) nation-bound themes, narratives and cultural representations. This certainly does not mean that they only reproduce established cultural norms and patterns of national identity construction, as the author explains on an example of the 2005 *Czech Search for Superstar* (local version of *Pop Idol*) show whose winner, 28-year old carpenter of a Roma descent, challenged the dominant form of Czech national self-understanding, based on a rather exclusionist, ethno-cultural definition of the nation. In the last part of the paper, the author focuses on another phenomenon which is closely related to this trend of “national resistance” in the domain of popular culture vis-à-vis the omnipresent globalization forces and flows, and that is the recent revival of cultural

production from the pre-1989 era. Most notable on TV screens (through the re-runs of films and series uncritically or even positively portraying life in the communist Czechoslovakia as well as by presenting actors and artists associated with the communist regime) but manifest across the entire media scene (mainly in the tabloid press), this cultural nostalgia, erasing historical discontinuities and aligning the past harmonically with the present, has been marking a distinct feature of the current Czech popular media. According to the author, it can be interpreted not only as a very peculiar answer to the claims about global homogenization of media landscapes and audience's tastes but also as a proof that the transition which the country has gone through in the last two decades has not nearly been as dramatic in the sphere of popular culture (as represented by the mainstream media) as it has been in the spheres of economy and politics; and therefore it remains a question if applying the common label "post-communist" is actually relevant when overlooking today's Czech popular media scene.

Ilija TOMANIĆ TRIVUNDŽA, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

What Third World? Changing Photographic Representation of International News in Slovene Elite Press (1980-2006)

The paper addresses the changes in visual news reporting of international events in Slovene leading daily newspaper Delo. The comparative analysis of press photographs from 1980 and 2006 reveals the shift toward negative representation of developing countries which is congruent with the repositioning of Slovene foreign policy after its succession from Yugoslavia in 1991.

Yugoslavia was one of the founding members and voiceful exponents of the Non-Aligned movement and before the break up of the country, Yugoslav press agency TANJUG facilitated an important share of information exchange between Non-Aligned countries through its support of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP) and Yugoslav media had their staff or contracted foreign correspondents covering the regions of the developing world. After Slovenia gained independence, nation's foreign policy gained exclusively Western focus and it's primarily goal became integration into EU and other Western-centric organisations (e.g. NATO). News media responded accordingly and developing world virtually disappeared from the news map of elite press (and national television). However what is striking is than this sudden marginalisation of the news worthiness of developing world was complimented by a radical shift in its visual coverage.

In short, news from the regions in question either lack visual coverage, or in cases when photographs do accompany the articles, they focus on depicting negative news (violence, natural disasters etc.); when politicians from the region are depicted, they are not visual equals of their Western counterparts; photographs from developing countries are often used not for their news value but as mere illustrations.

The changed mode of visual representation is addressed through the interrelated questions of information dependency, representations of national identity through news and co-orientation of elite media with state's official foreign policy. Although international news agencies are shown to significantly delimit and frame the agenda of international news and their visual representation in particular, the study emphasises that the decisive factor in shaping Delo's photographic representation of international news is not information dependency but "indigenous" gatekeeping and editorial decisions shaped by collective identities (professional and national) of imagined community Delo serves to inform.

Maja TURNŠEK, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Do the Mass Media Notice the Transitions? Reports on the Treaty of Lisbon

Post-communist states have found themselves in a process of a never-ending transition. Transition from communism to liberal democracies and capitalist societies has come for them in an era of growing globalisation. It could be argued that this transition was and still is in a large degree part of the wider process of globalisation. Globalisation – increased global interconnectedness - has brought about two side-processes: depolitisation and denationalisation which bring grave consequences for citizens' public participation. Depolitisation is a process in which more and more decisions with global consequences are taken not by political actors but by strong national and international economic or private actors. Denationalisation on the other hand is transmission of regulatory powers from the (nation)state to political authorities beyond national legitimacy either to supra-state or to sub-state regulative bodies (Splichal, 2007). Both processes are increasing the so-called global democratic deficit. The paradox of global political interconnectedness is, as Dahl (1999: 22) notes, the fact that *"a smaller democratic unit provides an ordinary citizen with greater opportunities to participate in governing as a larger unit. But the smaller the unit the more likely that some matters of importance to the citizen are beyond the capacity of the government to deal with effectively"*. In other words, the more globalised the world is, the less chance does an individual have to influence the decisions or public transactions that she is affected by. One of important reasons for global democratic deficit to emerge is according to Scholte (2001) lack of public awareness on the processes of globalisation. Since the first step in public participation and public opinion formation is awareness of a problem (Splichal, 1997: 4) or according to Dewey (1954) of transactions that have consequences for those not directly involved, mass media have an important role in providing understandable and reliable information on the functioning of global governance actors. Slovenia is a relatively small state that has gone from being part of a larger political unit of SFRY to its' own state and in year 2004 to being a member of European Union. European Union is a prime example of both above described processes, depolitisation and

denationalisation. Starting as an organisation for economic regulation, it has become an important political organisation in that has been often criticised on account of its' democratic deficit. The decisions in EU are reached by experts, not accountable to elected representatives, with only little transparency and publicity (Eriksen & Fossum, 2001, Krašovec, 2006). At the time of writing this abstract, Slovenia is running the EU Council Presidency. It has been one of the first members to ratify the Constitution for Europe and the Treaty of Lisbon. The question of the quantity and the quality of mass media reporting on European Union and important documents such as the Treaty of Lisbon are extremely important in the light of providing understanding and awareness among citizens. According to some critics the journalists namely lack sufficient knowledge on the sheer complexity of globalisation processes, many times unquestionately follow the neoliberalist approaches to globalisation (Scholte, 2001: 357) and have failed to adequately report on international and foreign affairs which seems even to be diminishing (Tomlinson, 1999: 171). Although the self-proclaimed knowledge of citizens in Slovenia on EU is relatively high comparing to other countries (64% of the Slovene sample responded they are sure they understand how the EU works, according to Eurobarometer, June 2007), there are no real data on their factual knowledge on EU's operating procedures. The main aim of this paper is to present results of a preliminary content analysis of two most popular daily newspapers in Slovenia: Delo and Dnevnik focusing on reports on Treaty of Lisbon in order to analyze to what degree have these two newspapers reported on the Treaty and whether and in what ways have they provided commentaries on and in-depth analysis of the document.

Boris VEZJAK, Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, Slovenia

Political Desire for the Media and Rhetorics of Its Takeover

The paper deals with some problems of the media situation and political desire for the media in Slovenia since 2004. We quote techniques used to take over the media in Slovenia, particularly discursive, argumentative and rhetorical techniques. In the government's opinion, the media are politically and ideologically left-wing, for which reason it began to give financial support to those media loyal to it. This was supposed to be a sign of media democracy following the criteria of balance and plurality. We offer a sketch of political views of the situation and the circumstances that have sponsored the decision for a political takeover of the media, quoting some of the typical arguments that have served politicians and the public as a legitimation for them.

Ksenija H. VIDMAR, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Gender, Whiteness and Media Racism in Post-Socialist Slovenia

The paper addresses the politics of gender, citizenship and belonging in post-socialist Slovenia. The discussion is based on the analysis of media racism. In both, its covert and overt forms, media racism has been a largely un-addressed question of the transition culture. Moreover, the spread of discrimination and exclusionary politics towards ethnic and other minorities in the post-socialist countries has not only been presented as color-blinded but is often framed as a legitimate cause of the survival of the nations' dominant ethnic groups. This turn in imagining national and cultural identities in post-socialism may be interpreted with regards to socialist suppression of nationalism and racist discourses. The socialist state sanctioned public expressions of intolerance but also foreclosed the debate on multiple ethnic and cultural forms of belonging beyond the socialist one. Consequently, the post-1989 processes of re-drawing of national boundaries were not only borne on the drive towards ethnic homogenization but, inter alia, also created spaces of marginalization and exclusion of minorities and disadvantaged groups. The author argues that in both, socialist and post-socialist culture, images of women have been at the center stage of public construction of national identity and belonging. In the immediate post-World war II, multicultural and multiethnic representations of women provided visual evidence for the socialist project to be working across gender, culture and ethnicity. Soon thereafter, as the case of the unveiling of the Muslim women by the 1950 Law attests, the eclipse of women's multicultural appearance in public was used to prove the spread of modernization and women's emancipation across the very same cultural and ethnic divides. The analysis takes off from the antagonisms of gender and collective identity in socialist culture and investigates implications of gender in racist media discourse in post-socialism.

Angelika W. WYKA, Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Germany and European Journalism Observatory, Switzerland and Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University, Hungary

Media Privatization and Spread of Foreign Ownership in East Central Europe: A Comparative Study¹

Denationalization and privatization are amongst the fundamental prerequisites for the development of new (democratic) media systems. For nearly half a century after the Second World War, East Central European media systems were framed in a given political, institutional, economic and legal structure that was altered after the fall of

communism. It was believed that freedom of ownership is the guarantor of democracy and a free press (Splichal 2001: 43). As such, privatization of the media has meant less dependence upon government. While the political views of the first non-communist governments differed widely (chiefly in regards to the extent and speed of this privatization), most of those governments opted largely for rapid ownership changes in the press (Sparks with Reading 1998:142). Unimaginatively, all newspapers, and some local radio stations were already privatized in 1990 (the then Czechoslovak press was the first to respond to the changes marked by the aftermath of communism, most passing into private hands, a commercial company, an association, or a group of individuals. This pattern was repeated in Hungary and in Poland). A significant number of new privately owned and profit oriented radio and television stations also came into being. At this point it is reasonable to say that the case of privatization is quite different for broadcasting since the latest involves another set of regulations. This paper is a review of the history of media privatization in these three carefully selected East Central European countries.

¹This paper is based on a section of my doctoral dissertation entitled *The Role and Significance of the Media in the Process of Transition/Transformation in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic*.