

## **COST A30 East of West: Setting a New Central and Eastern European Media Research Agenda<sup>1</sup>**

**Endre Dányi, Ferenc Hammer and Miklós Sükösd**

### **Background**

Democratic consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1990s has developed simultaneously with the creation of a complex media market and a dual media system. The making of the new media landscape had to start almost from scratch. Central and Eastern European legislators passed the first generation of democratic media laws in the early 1990s to establish democratic and free broadcasting systems. However, as experience has shown, the actual performance of the media in the region in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century still often falls short of democratic expectations. Public broadcasting has been in permanent crisis in most countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Governments often exert direct political pressure on public or state media, and interfere with commercial media and the press. Even new generations of editors and journalists continue to have partisan bias with weak professional performance. Access to the media by ethnic and national minorities often remains unresolved.

The best scholarly discussion of the most crucial themes of this new media system in the region (new ownership patterns, new forms of media organizations, new media genres and journalistic practices, new ways of relationship between politics and the media, new media regulation processes and institutions, new modalities of media use, new technologies and their socio-cultural contexts, etc.) developed along the lines of Western European and American conceptualization in media research. However, this

<sup>1</sup> In 2005, Central European University was awarded a grant from the COST program of the European Science Foundation for the project "East of West: Setting a New Central and Eastern European Media Research Agenda." The project, chaired by Miklós Sükösd (Department of Political Science, and Center for Media and Communication Studies, CEU) and coordinated by the Center for Media and Communication Studies (CMCS), brings together about 50 leading European media and communication scholars from 21 countries for conferences and workshops between 2005-2009. The project proposal, submitted in October by Miklós Sükösd, Endre Dányi (CMCS), and Ferenc Hammer (Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary), was ranked first among some 40 other proposals. This marks the first time that a project proposed and coordinated by an institution from Central and Eastern Europe has won the support of the COST program (which was established in the 1970s). The main objective of the project is to develop a cutting edge, pan-European social science research agenda with a focus on newly emerging problems of Central and Eastern European media from a comparative perspective. This collaborative effort between Western, Central, and Eastern European researchers builds upon already existing international networks in order to enhance discussion of political communication and media policy in the new democracies of the region.

The document above includes excerpts from the original proposal. For more information on the COST framework, please visit <http://www.cost.esf.org>, for more on the project, see [http://www.cost.esf.org/index.php?id=233&action\\_number=A30](http://www.cost.esf.org/index.php?id=233&action_number=A30) and <http://www.cmcs.ceu.hu:8080/cmcs/a30cost/a30contact>

first phase of media research has reached its limits as it does not always reflect key issues and trends of Central and Eastern European media.

Indeed, from its inception, Central and Eastern European media studies had to struggle with a certain discrepancy between Western conceptualization and Eastern realities. Puzzling questions include: How to translate British public service media blues for Romania, Hungary, Croatia, or Serbia (having no significant experience with public service broadcasting)? How to transform Western concerns about the hegemony of entertainment media in Poland, the Czech Republic or Slovakia, where full-fledged entertainment television in fact still constitute “new media”? How to understand the Western concept of resisting audiences in some of these countries East of West where significant portions in the society became subject of nationalist and/or authoritarian media propaganda, or in some periods, even war mobilization by the media?

It would be a mistake to suggest that Central and Eastern European media systems are in “half way” to some final media reform, an end point of “the” Western institutional pattern. In our view, such final destination does not exist. Media freedom may also decrease in more mature democracies, and democratization of the media remains everywhere an open-ended, normatively oriented project. Some of the problems presently found in the Central and Eastern European region are shared by many democratic media systems, including those in countries with sustained, or significantly longer, democratic institutions and traditions. Other specific problems are rooted in the specific context of democratic transformation in the region. Some key problem areas in contemporary Central and Eastern European media can be summed up as follows:

- Public service broadcasting in crisis
- Persisting political pressure on the media
- Weak professional performance of journalists
- Weak investigative media
- Weak news competition
- Ownership concentration
- Problematic minority access to the media
- Nationalist and hate speech and speech
- Slow technological change.

The Action aims at developing a cutting edge, joint European social science research agenda with a clear focus on newly emerging problems of Central and Eastern European media in a comparative perspective. By involving leading scholars in the field as well as a new generation of young Central and Eastern European researchers, we organize annual academic conferences and innovative research collaboration, and initiate policy dialogue and joint publishing projects. Participants in this Action will hammer out a cutting edge joint European media research agenda and related theoretical conceptualisation at the frontiers of knowledge.

COST is the most appropriate mechanism for reaching the objectives of this initiative as this genuine collaborative effort among Western, and Central and Eastern European researchers builds on already existing international networks of researchers from all involved regions and well established patterns of knowledge transfer to new democracies in the region.

This Action builds on the result of and relates to the following EU research programmes:

- Sixth Framework Programme – New forms of citizenship and cultural identities (systematic review and recognition of results, and cooperation with researchers involved in this programme will ensure that the most current research activities on European public sphere and new forms of citizenship are related to the ‘East of West’ Action. This is of great importance for not only the newly joined countries, but also other candidates, such as, Croatia, Romania, Bulgaria.)
- COST A16 – Policy and regulatory responses to the use of electronic communication technologies by transnational communities in Europe. (the inclusion of some of the researchers who had been involved in Action A16 will ensure that former research activities on media policy and regulation in Europe are covered in the ‘East of West’ Action. The Working Group dealing with these issues can benefit from the material produced by the participants of A16)
- COST A20 – The Impact of the Internet on the Mass Media in Europe (the inclusion of some of the researchers who had been involved in Action A20 will ensure that former research activities on the social and political implications of new communication technologies are covered in the ‘East of West’ Action. )

The ‘East of West’ Action aims at building on the results of the aforementioned research activities and connecting separate networks of researchers.

## Objectives and Benefits

The main objective of the Action is to increase the knowledge concerning media production, media reception and use, and the political implications of the transformation of the media landscape in the Eastern and Central European context. The Action also aims at developing empirically based new conceptualisation that is relevant for the analysis of the specific problems of the media in the region. That objective has been grounded on the following specific four goals that are related to key themes of media transformation in the region:

First, the analyses of *production* related issues will produce comparative knowledge about experiences of making and not-making of dual media systems. This inquiry involves analysis of performance of public service and commercial broadcasting, with major foci on organization, regulation, market performance, media professionals and programming.

Second, the investigation concerning media *users and consumers* provides an innovative understanding of agency in the transforming media landscape. Through achieving this goal, the Action seeks to redefine what media use, media consumption, media needs, media impact, media use-as-performance, or media rituals mean and how they have been carried out in the semi-periphery of rich Western media cultures.

Third, the Action will produce a *comparative conceptual framework* for evaluating the political performance of the transforming media landscape in East and Central Europe. The Action wishes to achieve this goal on two conceptual levels, which are the following: (A) Media performance in political communication, policy making and

governance; (B) Media performance in the contexts of citizenship, the public sphere and democracy.

The fourth goal encompasses and *summarizes* all the three previous secondary Action objectives: It is to collaboratively re-examine the usefulness of Western European and American communication research, media studies and normative theoretical traditions to study the media and society in Eastern and Central Europe.

The Action's major intention is to coordinate comparative research in social sciences and humanities by creating synergy among similar research efforts that had been conducted at the national level in several European countries, and by developing a joint comparative framework. The initiative offers benefits in two principal application areas, in education and the policy making process:

- The Action offers a much-needed direct input to the transformation of media-related *education programs*. On the one hand, the Action offers benefits for communication, media and journalism studies, social sciences and humanities programs in higher education institutions, especially in terms of developing new curricula and teaching materials both in Western and Eastern Europe. On the other hand, less direct, but equally important application of the Action is a contribution to the emerging media education in secondary schools.
- The Action also contributes to *the policy making process* regarding audiovisual media in the fields of creating and/or reshaping regulatory instruments, self-regulation, and structured analysis of media related political controversies.
- As far as the scientific benefits are concerned, the Action will establish an international network of research communities, policy-makers and junior (PhD) researchers. The Action will also provide excellent opportunities for researchers to discuss new social scientific methods in the field, evaluate their strengths and limitations.

### **Scientific programme**

The scientific programme of the Action aims to achieve its goals through a web of cooperation among research activities of local research teams, cross-country Action Working Groups and four annual thematic conferences. The structure of the activities of the Working Groups and at the annual conferences serve the Action objective and the four sets of Action goals in a way that each Working Group develops a research cooperation agenda as well as develops contributions to the four conferences. These will cover the following research topics:

#### **Production Sub-Programme**

The research network based on the four working groups' collaboration will produce national case studies and comparative studies covering the following sub-themes:

- (i) finished and unfinished transformations from state controlled electronic media to dual media systems,
- (ii) patterns of application of EU audiovisual regulatory instruments on the national level,
- (iii) public service philosophies and practices throughout the region,

- (iv) impacts of commercial competition to public service broadcasting programming,
- (v) public service roles performed by commercial broadcasters,
- (vi) tabloid, reality and entertainment genres' takeover in programming,
- (vii) the symbiosis of commercial television with tabloid press and the online media,
- (viii) independent electronic media production,
- (ix) opportunities and constraints offered by broadcasting technology;
- (x) transformation of the journalist profession, changing concepts of "news", "standards", "fairness", and "investigative reporting".

#### **Use/Consumption Sub-Programme**

This research segment of the Action will offer perhaps the most unexpected results compared to Western European experiences of media reception, media use or media consumption. In Eastern Europe, the greater part of contemporary media audiences had been socialized as media message targets under authoritarian regimes in the past. This research area contains various forms of methodologies (including empirical research projects, anthropological fieldwork, and cultural analysis). This sub-programme will cover the following sub-themes:

- (i) changing empirical media use patterns in the society, based on quantitative evidence,
- (ii) socio-demographic audience groups vs. media use, social capital and social status,
- (iii) drives, needs and wants in media use,
- (iv) local readings of global texts,
- (v) consumption and media use,
- (vi) consuming state propaganda,
- (vii) cultural wars around "media impacts",
- (viii) media use subcultures and the "power of the ordinary": everyday rituals of media use,
- (ix) non-professional media production: home videos, tourist clips, family archives,
- (x) resisting audiences: civil society and media criticism, "deviant readers" and non-audiences.

#### **Political Context Sub-Programme**

As outlined in Section B, this Action segment covers sub-themes on the following two conceptual levels:

- (A) Media performance in political communication, policy making and governance:
  - (i) Campaign techniques during and after the democratic transition,
  - (ii) Entertainment media and politics,
  - (iii) Symbiosis of pre-modern, modern, and post-modern political communication,
  - (iv) Mediatisation of policies and governance;
  - (v) Convergences in political and business marketing.

(B) Media performance in the contexts of citizenship, the public sphere and democracy:

- (i) Authoritarian political traditions and the problem of public sphere,
- (ii) Public sphericules and cultural enclaves,
- (iii) Nationalism and European identity,
- (iv) Cultural citizenship and identity politics,
- (v) Social exclusion and the media (e.g., the representation of poverty and the Roma minority in the media).

### **Research Paradigm Revision Sub-Programme**

The fourth research segment serves three purposes. It reflects on the three-year research experience from the particular viewpoint of the fruitfulness of theoretical and empirical research traditions developed (obviously for “local” use) in Western media cultures and scholarship. Based on this assessment, the network will identify genuine methodological and conceptual innovations reflecting particularities of Eastern and Central European media cultures. Finally, the network will prepare an outline for a sustained research effort in social sciences and humanities in the form of follow-up projects.

The scientific work will be organised by the assistance of four working groups:

- WG1: Research methodology, ethics, and social science research policy
- WG2: Democratic theory
- WG3: Policy and regulation
- WG4: Textual analysis<sup>2</sup>

The network will be established for 4 years. Each year all working groups deal with specific aspects of media and communications in Central and Eastern Europe. Working groups are lively teams of scholars who actively participate in perpetual online (email-lists) and offline (one MC and WG meeting a year, respectively) discussions – see Figure 1. Their role is crucial in the Action as their activities constitute the basis of material that is to be published.

The entire Action network (members of WGs, members of the MC, special keynote speakers) come together every year for a conference, where experts can present and debate the results of the systematic analyses of key themes. The aim of the last annual conference is the formulation of a comprehensive research agenda based on all the scientific work carried out within the Action beforehand.

<sup>2</sup> At the first Management Committee meeting of the Action on June 24, 2005 in Brussels, the WG titles were slightly changed, and WG coordinators were elected:

1. Research methods and ethics (WG coordinator: Nicholas Jankowski)
2. Democratic theory and democratic performance of the media (WG coordinator: James Curran, replaced by Karol Jakubowicz in November, 2005)
3. Media regulation and policy (WG coordinator: Christina Holtz-Bacha)
4. Textual analysis and media use (WG coordinator: Ferenc Hammer)

## Participants

List of experts who have been consulted during the drafting of the proposal and expressed interest in participating in the Action:  
(20 countries, 40 experts):

### Austria

Monroe E. Price Stanhope Centre for Communications Policy Research at Oxford University; Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University; and Annenberg School for Communications

### Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tarik Jusic Media Centar Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

### Bulgaria

Maria Bakardjieva Faculty of Communication and Culture, University of Calgary, Canada  
Alina Dobрева Institute of Communications Studies, Houldsworth Building, University of Leeds, UK  
Ivan Nikoltchev Stability Pact Programme, Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights, Media Division, Strasbourg, France

### Croatia

Nada Zgrabljic Rotar HRT – Hrvatski radio; University of Zagreb

### Czech Republic

Jan Jirak Charles University, Prague, Department of Mass Communication, Centre for Media Studies  
Milan Smid Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Journalism, Prague

### Estonia

Margit Sarv Tallinn, Estonia

### Finland

Terhi Rantanen Department of Media and Communications, London School of Economics and Political Science

### Germany

Dusan Rejlic German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP); EU External Affairs Research Unit; Berlin  
Christina Holtz-Bacha Lehrstuhl für Kommunikationswissenschaft, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

### Hungary

Peter Bajomi-Lazar Institute of Communication and Educational Management, King Sigismund College, Budapest  
Lajos Csaszi Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Peter Csigo Center for New Media Research, Institute for Political Sciences of Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Endre Danyi	Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University
Tibor Dessewffy	Faculty of Social Sciences, Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences, Budapest
Anna Gacs	Communications Program, Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences,
Peter Gyorgy	Communications Program, Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences
Ferenc Hammer	Communications Program, Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences
Gyorgy Petocz	Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University
Anett Rago	Communications Program, Eotvos Lorand University of Sciences
Miklos Sukosd	Department of Political Science; Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University
<b>Italy</b>	
Gianpietro Mazzoleni	University of Milan, Italy; EuroMedia Research Group
<b>Latvia</b>	
Leonid Raihman	Consultant, Open Society Institute
<b>Lithuania</b>	
Arturas Tereskinas	Lithuania
<b>Netherlands</b>	
Nicholas Jankowski	University of Nijmegen
<b>Poland</b>	
Karol Jakubowicz	Strategy and Analysis Department, National Broadcasting Council of Poland
Beata Klimkiewicz	Institute of Journalism and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University, Krakow
Beata Ociepka	Institute of International Studies, Section of International Communication, University of Wroclaw
<b>Romania</b>	
Brindusa Armanca	ZIUA Press Group, ZIUA&Alpha TV
Peter Gross	Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication, The University of Oklahoma
Alina Mungiu-Pippidi	Romanian Academic Society
<b>Serbia and Montenegro</b>	
Snjezana Milivojevic	Institute of Social Sciences, Serbia and Montenegro
<b>Slovakia</b>	
Andrej Skolkay	Bratislava
<b>Slovenia</b>	
Sandra Basic Hrvatin	Ljubljana
<b>Sweden</b>	
Peter Dahlgren	Lund University



**United Kingdom**

James Curran	Department of Media and Communications, Goldsmiths College, University of London
John Keane	Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster
Colin Sparks	Communication and Media Research Institute, University of Westminster

**Selected list of participants' related publications**

- Bajomi-Lazar, Peter. 2003. "Status of journalism in Hungary." In J. von Dohnanyi and C. Moller. (eds.) *The Impact of Media Concentration on Professional Journalism*. Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office of the Representative on Freedom of the Media, 135–139.
- Bajomi-Lazar, Peter and Zuzana Simek. 2003. "The Status of the Media in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary." In: Johnston, Donald (ed.) *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications*. San Diego, USA: Academic Press, 381–390.
- Bajomi-Lazar, Peter and Istvan Hegedus (eds.) 2001 *Media & Politics. Conference Papers on the Interplay of Media and Politics*, Budapest: Uj Mandatum Publishing House.
- Bajomi-Lazar, Peter. 2003. "The Role of the Local and Regional Media in Hungary." In: Adamowski, J. & Jablonowski, M. (eds.) *The Role of Local and Regional Media in the Democratization of the Eastern and Central European Societies*. Warsaw, 144–150.
- Bakardjieva Maria, *Internet Society: The Internet in Everyday Life*. To be published by Sage, 2005.
- Bakardjieva, Maria, (2004). "Virtual Sociability: A View from Everyday Life." In Barney, Darin and Feenberg, Andrew (eds.), *Community in the Digital Age: Philosophy and Practice*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Bakardjieva, Maria, (2003). "Virtual Togetherness: An Everyday Life Perspective," *Media, Culture & Society* 25(3), pp. 291-313.
- Bakardjieva, Maria and Andrew Feenberg, (2002) "Community Technology and Democratic Rationalization," *The Information Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3.
- Bakardjieva, Maria and Richard Smith, (2001). "The Internet in Everyday Life: Computer Networking from the Standpoint of the Domestic User" *New Media and Society*, Vol. 3 (1): 67-83
- Bakardjieva, Maria, (1995). "The New Media Landscape in Bulgaria" *Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 20-1: 67-79.

- Bakardjieva, Maria, (1992). "Home Satellite TV Reception in Bulgaria" *European Journal of Communication* Vol. 7: 477-489. London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Terhi Rantanen. 1998. *The globalization of news*. London: SAGE.
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Terhi Rantanen. 1998 "News Agencies in Europe" in A. Briggs and P. Copley (eds.) *Introduction to the Media*. London: Addison, Wesley, Longman, 52-64
- Collins, Richard, James Curran, Nick Garnham (eds.) 1986. *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*, Sage. Reprinted 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993 and 1996.
- Couldry, Nick and James Curran (eds.) 2003. *Contesting Media Power*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Csasz, Lajos. 2003. "Rethinking Moral Panics, Culture Wars and the Media." in *Communication Culture in Transition*. Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 81-86.
- Csigo, Peter. 2000. "Information Genres: The Construction of Public Affairs." In Nora Schleicher (ed.) *Communication Culture in Transition*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 99-118.
- Csigo, Peter, and Eva Kovacs. 2000. "The Hungarian-Romanian Basic Agreement: Positions and Issues in the Debate." In Endre Sik (ed.) *New Diasporas in Hungary, Russia and Ukraine: Legal Regulations and Current Politics*, Open Society Institute/Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute, 142-190.
- Curran, James. "What Democracy Requires of the Press." in Geneva Overholser and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (eds.) *The Press*, Oxford University Press (forthcoming in 2005).
- Curran, James and David Morley (eds.) *Media and Cultural Theory*, Routledge. To be published in April 2005.
- Curran, James, and Myung-Jin Park (eds.) 2000. *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, Routledge.
- Curran, James. 1991. "Rethinking the Media as a Public Sphere" in Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (eds.) *Communication and Citizenship*, Routledge, 27-57.
- Curran, James. 1990. "The New Revisionism in Mass Communication Research: A Reappraisal", *European Journal of Communication*, 5 (2-3): 135-164.
- Curran, James, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott (eds) 1977. *Mass Communication and Society*, Edward Arnold. Reprinted in 1979, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1987 and 1989. Reprinted three times by Sage, USA.
- Dahlgren, Peter (forthcoming) *Media and Civic Engagement*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2004. "Internet, public spheres and political communication: dispersion and deliberation." *Political Communication* (forthcoming).

- Dahlgren, Peter. 2004. "The public sphere: Linking the media and civic cultures", in Mihai Coman and Eric Rothebuhler (eds.) *Media Anthropology*. London: Sage.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2004. "Television, public spheres, and civic cultures." In Janet Wasko (ed.), *A Companion to Television*. London: Blackwell.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2004. "Theory, boundaries, and political communication: the uses of disparity". *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1): 7-19.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2003. "Reconfiguring civic culture in the new media milieu" in John Corner and Dick Pels (eds.) *Media and Political Style: Essays on Representation and Civic Culture*. London: Sage.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2002. "In search of the talkative public: media, deliberative democracy and civic culture." *Javnost/The Public* 9(3) 5-26.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2002. "Mass media: Introduction and schools of thought." in N. Smelser and P. Baltes, (eds.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2001. "The public sphere and the Net: structure, space and communication." in L. Bennett and R. Entman (eds.) *Mediated Politics in the Future of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2001. "The transformation of democracy?" in B. Axford and R. Huggins (eds.) *New Media and Politics*, London: Sage.
- Dahlgren, Peter. 2000. "The Internet and the democratization of civic culture." *Political Communication*, 17: 335-340.
- Danyi, Endre. (forthcoming) "WLCM 2 UROP: Interconnected public spheres in the age of mobile communication" in K. Nyíri (ed.) *The Global and the Local in Mobile Communication*. To be published by Passagen Verlag in 2005.
- Danyi, Endre, and Miklos Sukosd. 2003. "Who's in control? Viral politics and control crisis in mobile election campaigns." In K. Nyíri (ed.) *Mobile democracy: essays on society, self and politics*, Vienna: Passagen Verlag.
- Dessewffy, Tibor. 2001. "Mission Impossible? Chances for the Information Society in Hungary", in Liz Jeffrey (ed.) *Vital Links for a Knowledge Culture*, Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg.
- Dessewffy, Tibor. 1997. "Divided Dissidents in a Hungary of Paradoxes." *Transition*, February, 20-24
- Dessewffy, Tibor. 1997. "Strangerhood without Boundaries" in Susan R. Suleiman (ed.) *Exile and Creativity*, Duke University Press, 151-182.
- Dessewffy, Tibor. 1996. "Postcommunism and Post/Modernity." *South East European Monitor*, No.6, 19-41
- Dessewffy, Tibor, and Ferenc Hammer. 1994. "Transition in Hungary" in H. Klingemann and C. L. Taylor (eds.) *Eastern European Election Handbook Series*, Vol.1, Sigma, Berlin pp. 11-32

- Gross, Peter, and Center Wilson. 2002. *Entangled evolutions: media and democratization in Eastern Europe*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore; London.
- Gross, Peter. 1996. *Mass media in revolution and national development*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.
- Gurevitch, Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott (eds.) 1982. *Culture, Society and the Media*, Methuen. Reprinted in 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995 and 1998.
- Hammer, Ferenc. 2001. "Television and Social Justice. Problems of Representation of the Disadvantaged in Television News and Special Feature Programs." In Maria Vassiliou and Harry J. Psomiades (eds.) *Human Rights in the 21st Century. Proceedings of the 1st Annual Human Rights Education Programme for Southeastern Europe*. Athens-Komotini: Ant. N. Sakkoulas Publishers.
- Hammer, Ferenc. 2003. "Poverty Portrayals Performing Social Exclusion in Hungarian Factual Entertainment Television Programs. An audiovisual media regulation policy proposal." <http://www.policy.hu/discus/messages/102/197.html?1034811000>
- Hammer, Ferenc. 2002. "A Gasoline Scented Sindbad – The Truck Driver as a Popular Hero in Socialist Hungary." *Cultural Studies*. January 2002.
- Hammer, Ferenc. 1998. "Civil Societies – Globalizing and Differentiating Tendencies." *Kettering Review*, 1998/Fall
- Hammer, Ferenc. 1995. "The Saga Of The Gorenje Refrigerator." *The Civic Arts Review*, Winter, 1995
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina, Juliet Roper and Gianpietro Mazzoleni. 2004. *The politics of representation. Election campaigning and proportional representation*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2004. Political Communication Research Abroad: Europe. In L. L. Kaid, Lynda Lee (Ed.), *Handbook of Political Communication Research* (pp. 463-477). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2003. Political advertising during election campaigns. P. J. Maarek & G. Wolfsfeld, (Eds.), *Political communication in a new era* (pp. 95-116). London: Routledge.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2002. Professionalization of political communication: The case of the 1998 SPD campaign. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 1, 23-37.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2002. The end of old certainties: Changes in the triangle of media, political system, and electorate and their consequences. *Ethical Perspectives*, 9, 222-229.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina and Pippa Norris. 2001. "To entertain, inform, and educate": Still the role of public television? *Political Communication*, 18, 123-140.

- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 2000. Regulations of television at elections. In R. Rose (Eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Elections* (pp. 272-274). Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina. 1998. Media internal regulations – taking stock after 30 years. In W. Duchkowitsch, F. Hausjell, W. Hömberg, A. Kutsch & I. Neverla (Eds.): *Journalismus als Kultur. Analysen und Essays* (pp. 73-81). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. *Rude Awakening: Social And Media Change in Central and Eastern Europe*. To be published by N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc. in 2005
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 2004. "Ideas in Our Heads: Introduction of PSB as Part of Media System Change in Central and Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1): 53-75.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 2003. "Endgame? Contracts, Audits and the Future of Public Service Broadcasting." *Javnost/The Public*, X(3): 45-62.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1996. "Television and Elections in Post-1989 Poland: How Powerful is the Medium?" In P. Mancini, and D. Swanson (eds.) *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1996. "Civil Society and Public Service Broadcasting in Central and Eastern Europe." *Javnost/The Public*. III (2):51-70.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1995. "Media Within and Without the State: Press Freedom in Eastern Europe" *Journal of Communication*, 45(4): 125-139.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1994. "Equality for the Downtrodden, Freedom for the Free: Changing Perspectives on Mass Communication in Central and Eastern Europe." *Media, Culture and Society*, 16(2): 271-293.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1993. "Stuck in a Groove: Why the 60s Approach to Communication Democratization Will No Longer Do." in S. Splichal, J. Wasko (eds.), *Communication and Democracy*. Ablex Publishing Corp., Norwood, N.J., 33-54.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1993. "New Media Order in Central and Eastern Europe: Dreams and Reality." in A. Pragnell (ed.), *Opening up the Media. 1983-1993*, Dusseldorf: EIM.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1992. "Media and the Terminal Crisis of Communism: The Polish Case", in M. Raboy, and B. Dagenais (eds.) *Media, Crisis and Democracy. Essays on Mass Communication and the Disruption of the Social Order*, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi.
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1990. "Solidarity and Media Reform in Poland." *European Journal of Communication*, 5(2-3).
- Jakubowicz, Karol. 1989. "Political and Economic Dimensions of the Television Programme Exchange Between Poland and Western Europe." in J. Becker, and T. Szecsko (eds.) *Europe Speaks to Europe. International Information Flows Between Eastern and Western Europe*. Pergamon Press, London.

- Jakubowicz, Karol, and Stanislaw Jdrzejewski. 1988. "Polish Broadcasting: The Choices Ahead", *European Journal of Communication*, 3: 91-111
- Jankowski, Nicholas. (2002). "Creating Community with Media" in: S. Livingstone & L. Lievrouw (eds.), *Handbook of New Media*. London: Sage.
- Jankowski, Nicholas, and Ole Prehn. (eds.) 2002. *Community media in the information age: perspectives and prospects*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.
- Jankowski, Nicholas. 1998. "Community Media: Theory and Practice" editor of theme issue, *Javnost/The Public*, 5(2), 1998.
- Jankowski Nicholas, W., Denis McQuail, and Karsten Renckstorf. 1996. *Media use as social action: a European approach to audience studies, Acamedia research monographs ; 15*. London: John Libbey.
- Jankowski Nicholas, W., Ole Prehn, and James Stappers. 1992. *The people's voice : local radio and television in Europe, Acamedia research monograph ; 6*. London: Libbey.
- Jensen Klaus, Bruhn, and W. Jankowski Nicholas. 1991. *A Handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research*. London: Routledge.
- Jirak, Jan, and Barbara Kopplova. 1996. "Czech Print Media in Transition." In: M. Bruun (ed.) *Media and Democracy*. Oslo: University of Oslo Press.
- Jirak, Jan, Barbara Kopplova, and Frank Kaplan. 1993. "Major Trends in Czech Mass Media after November 1989." In: A. Hester, and K. White (eds.) *Creating a Free Press in Eastern Europe*. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia, 193-230
- Jusic, Tarik, and Melisa Dedovic (eds) 2002. *Education of Journalists in Southeast Europe: A Step Closer to Professionalism*. Media Plan Institute, Sarajevo, Media Online Selection, No 2.
- Jusic, Tarik, Boro Kontic, Mehmed Halilovic, Zinaida Babovic and Samra Luckin. (eds.) 2001. *The Challenge of Change: Media in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991-2001'*, Media Working Group for Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Jusic, Tarik. 2000. "Media Policies and Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts," in Nenad Dimitrijevic. (ed.) *Managing Multiethnic Local Communities in the Countries of the Former Yugoslavia*, LGI/OSI Budapest.
- Katus, J, and Karol Jakubowicz (eds.) 1994. *Public Information in Post-Communist Countries*. Warsaw: Interpress Publishers
- Keane, John. 2004. *Violence and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keane, John. 2003. *Global civil society?, Contemporary political theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keane, John. 1999. *Václav Havel: a political tragedy in six acts*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Keane, John, and Democracy University of Westminster Centre for the Study of. 1999. *On communicative abundance*: University of Westminster, Centre for the Study of Democracy.

- Keane, John. 1998. *Civil society : old images, new visions*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Keane, John. 1996. *Reflections on violence*. London: Verso.
- Keane, John. 1995. *Tom Paine : a political life*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Keane, John. 1991. *The Media and democracy*: Polity Press.
- Keane, John. 1988. *Democracy and civil society : on the predicaments of European socialism*. London: Verso.
- Keane, John. 1988. *Civil society and the State : new European perspectives*. London: Verso.
- Kelly, Mary, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, Denis McQuail, and Group Euromedia Research. 2004. *The media in Europe*. 3rd ed. ed. London: SAGE.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 2004. "Poland" in *Media Ownership and Its Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism*, Peace Institute, Ljubljana, 363 – 403.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 2002. "Minority Protection in Poland" in *Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Minority Protection, An Assessment of Selected Policies in Candidate States*, Open Society Institute, Budapest, 419 – 475.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 2002. "When the Media Make a Difference: Comparing Two European Race Crimes" in Claude Cahn (ed.) *Roma Rights: Race, Justice, and Strategies for Equality*, The International Debate Education Association, New York, Amsterdam, Brussels, 114 – 125.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 1997. "Between Homelessness and Rootedness: Ethnic Journalism in Poland" in S. Wilkanowicz (ed.) *Conflict or Collaboration: Ethnic Issues and the Media*, Fundacja Kultury Chrześcijańskiej Znak, Kraków.
- Klimkiewicz, Beata. 1997. "Minority Media in Poland" in S. Wilkanowicz (ed.) *Conflict or Collaboration: Ethnic Issues and the Media*, Fundacja Kultury Chrześcijańskiej Znak, Kraków, 1997.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, Julianne Stewart, and Bruce Horsfield. 2003. *The media and neo-populism: a contemporary comparative analysis, Praeger series in political communication*. Westport, Conn.; London: Praeger.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro. 2002. "Political Communication and Television," in P.J. Maarek and G. Wolfsfeld (eds.), *Political Communication in a New Era*, Routledge, London-New York, 32-40.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro. 2000. "The Italian Broadcasting System between Politics and the Market", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 5(2): 157-168.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro. 2000. "A Return to Civic and Political Engagement Prompted by Personalized Political Leadership?" *Political Communication*, 17(4): 325-328.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, and W. Schulz. 1999. "Mediatization of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?" *Political Communication*, 16(3): 247-261.
- Milivojevic, Snjezana. 2003. *Media Monitoring Manual*, London: Media Diversity Institute.

- Milivojevic, Snjezana. 2003. "Reconstructing democratic public in Serbia." in *Stagnation of democratic reforms in Serbia*, Beograd: AAEN
- Milivojevic, Snjezana. 1999. "Nationalization of Everyday Life", in Nebojsa Popov (ed.) *The Road to War in Serbia*, Budapest: CEU Press
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2004. "Beyond the New Borders." *Journal of Democracy*, January 2004
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2004. "Fatalistic Political Cultures Revisited." in Ronald Inglehart and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *Political Culture of Post-Communist Europe*, Oxford University Press.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2003. "The Eternal Candidate?" in Wim van Meurs (ed.) *Enlarging to the Balkans*, Munchen, Bertelsmann.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2002. "Facing the Desert of Tartars: Europe's Eastern Border Challenge," in Jan Zielonka (ed.), *Europe Unbound*, London, Routledge.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2002. "Post-Communist Parties. An Attempt to Explain Success," in John Ishiyama (ed.) *Post-Communist Parties in Eastern Europe*, NJ, St. Martin Press, 2002
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2000. 'State into Public: the Failed Reform of State TV in East Central Europe', Shorenstein Center on Press and Politics, Harvard University, Working paper 2000#6, <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol/publications/pdfs/alina.PDF>
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 1999. "From Procedural Democracy to European Integration," in Mary Kaldor and Ivan Vejvoda (eds.) *Democratization in East Central Europe*, London, Cassell, 1999
- Nikoltchev, Ivan. 1996. "Polarization and Diversification in the Bulgarian Press." *Journal of Post-Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, December 1996.
- Nissenbaum, Helen Fay, and Monroe Edwin Price. 2003. *Academy and the Internet, Digital formations; Vol. 12*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Ociepka, Beata. (forthcoming) *Populism and Media Democracy*.
- Ociepka, Beata. 2003. *Who is Television for? Public Broadcaster Model in Post – communist Central Europe*, Wrocław.
- Ociepka, Beata. 2002. *Public Relations in Theory and Practice*, Wrocław
- Ociepka, Beata, and Magdalena Ratajczak. 2000. *Media and Political Communication. Germany – Austria – Switzerland*, Wrocław
- Paletz, David, Karol. Jakubowicz, and Pavao. Novosel, (eds.) *Glasnost and After: Media and Change in East and Central Europe*. Cresskill: Hampton Press.
- Petkovic, Brankica. (ed.) 2004. *Media Ownership and its Impact on Media Independence and Pluralism*, Peace Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia
- Price, Monroe E. 2002. *Media and sovereignty*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press.



- Price, Monroe E., Andrei Richter, and K. Yu Peter. 2002. *Russian media law and policy in the Yeltsin decade. Communications law and policy in transition; v. 1*. New York; London: Kluwer Law International.
- Price, Monroe E., and Mark Thompson. 2002. *Forging peace: intervention, human rights and the management of media, International communications*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Price, Monroe E., Beata Rozumilowicz, and Stefaan Verhulst. 2002. *Media reform: democratizing the media, democratizing the state, Routledge research in cultural and media studies*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Price, Monroe E., Beata Rozumilowicz, and Stefaan Verhulst. 2001. *Media reform: democratizing the media, democratizing the state*. London: Routledge.
- Price, Monroe E. 1995. *Television, the public sphere and national identity*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Rantanen, Terhi. *The Media and Globalization* (to be published by Sage in 2005)
- Rantanen, Terhi, and Elena Vartanova. 2003. "Empire and Communications: Centrifugal and Centripetal Media in Contemporary Russia", in N. Couldry and J. Curran (eds.) *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*. Feldham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Rantanen, Terhi. 2002. *The Global and the National. Media and Communications in Post-Communist Russia*. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield
- Rantanen, Terhi. 2001. "The old and the new: Communications technology and globalization in Russia" *New media & Society* 3(2), 85-106.
- Rantanen, Terhi. 2000. "The old meets the new: News agencies in post-Communist Russia", in J. Ekecrantz and K. Olofsson (eds.) *Russian Reports. Studies in Post-Communist Transformation of Media and Journalism*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell, 247-267
- Rantanen, Terhi. 1999. "From Export to Import. Russian Television in the Age of Globalization", in Y. N. Zassoursky and E. Vartanova (eds.) *Media, Communications and the Open Society*. Moscow: Faculty of Journalism: IKAR Publisher, 173-183
- Rantanen, Terhi, and Elena Vartanova. 1995. "News Agencies in Post-Communist Russia: From State Monopoly to State Dominance" *European Journal of Communication*, 10(2): 207-220.
- Rejlic, Dusan. 2004. "Proliferation or pluralism? Mass media in post-communist societies." in Marina Caparini (ed.) *Media in Security and Governance The Role of the News Media in Security Oversight und Accountability*, Baden-Baden.
- Rejlic, Dusan. 2004. "The News Media and the Transformation of Ethnopolitical Conflicts." in: Alex Austin, Martina Fischer, and Norbert Ropers (eds.) *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict: The Berghof Handbook*. Wiesbaden.
- Sajo, Andras, and Monroe Price. 1996. *Rights of access to the media*. Kluwer Law International.

- Skolkay, Andrej. 2003. *Election Campaign 2002*. Bratislava.
- Skolkay, Andrej. 2000. "The Media and Political Communication in Slovakia in the late 1990s." In Nora Schleicher (ed.) *Communication Culture in Transition*. Budapest: Akademia Kiado, 155-186.
- Skolkay, Andrej. 1999. "The Media and Political Campaigns in the Election and Pre-Election Period." In Grigorij Meseznikov, Zora Butorova, Martin Butora, and Sharon Fisher (eds.). *The 1998 Parliamentary Elections and Democratic Rebirth in Slovakia*. Bratislava: IVO, 187-207.
- Skolkay, Andrej. 1996. "Journalists, Political Elites and the Post-Communist Public: The Case of Slovakia." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 12 (4)
- Skolkay, Andrej. 1996. "The Fight over Public Broadcasting in the First Year of Slovak Independence." *South East European Monitor*, 3(5): 23-31.
- Smid, Milan. 1994. "The Czech and Slovak Republics." in Jeremy Mitchell, and Jay G. Blumler (eds.) *Television and the Viewer Interest, Explorations in the Responsiveness of European Broadcasters*. London, John Libbey, 67-80.
- Smid, Milan, JirákJ, and Kaplan F.L. 1993. "The Broadcasting Law: First Step in Defining a Media Policy for the Czech Republic." In Al Hester and K. White (eds.) *Creating a Free Press in Eastern Europe*. Georgia, Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, 341-374.
- Smid, Milan, and Frank Kaplan. 1995. "Czech Republic – Broadcasting After 1989: Overhauling the System and its Structures." *The Public-Javnost*, 2(3): 33-45.
- Sparks, Colin S. and Anna Reading. 1997. *Communism, Capitalism and the Media in Eastern Europe*. London: Sage.
- Sparks, Colin S. 1997. "Post-Communist Media in Transition" in J. Corner, P. Schlesinger and R. Silverstone (eds.) *International Media Research: A Critical Survey*. London: Routledge. 96-122.
- Sparks, Colin S. 1995. "The Emerging Media Systems of Post-Communism." *Javnost/ The Public*, vol.II, no.3.7-18.
- Sparks, Colin S. and Anna Reading. 1994. "Understanding Media Change in East-Central Europe." in *Media, Culture and Society*, 16(2): 243-69.
- Sparks, Colin S. 1994. "Civil Society and Information Society as Guarantors of Progress." in A. Calabrese, C. Sparks and S. Splichal (Eds.) *Information Society and Civil Society*. Purdue University Press, 21-49.
- Sparks, Colin S. 1993. "Trends in the British media system" in I. Kovats (Ed.) *Media in Transition: An East-West Dialogue*. Eotvos Lorand University Press, 48-64.
- Sparks, Colin S. 1992. "The Press, the Market and Democracy" *Journal of Communication*, 42(1): 36-51.
- Sparks, Colin S. and Peter Dahlgren. (eds.) 1991. *Communication and Citizenship*, London: RKP: 1991.

- Sparks, Colin S. 1990. "Democratization of the Media From Two Perspectives: Political and Professional Orientation Among Journalism Students in 22 Countries" in Splichal, Hochheimer and Jakubowicz (eds.) *Democratization and the Media. An East-West Dialogue*. Communication and Culture Colloquia/University of Iowa. 149-172.
- Miklos Sukosd and Peter Bajomi-Lazar. (eds.) 2003 *Reinventing Media: Media Policy Reform in East Central Europe*, Budapest: CEU Press.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 2002. "Mass Media, Nationalism, and Minorities" in Brian Winston (ed.) *Reporting Diversity Curriculum Framework*. London: Media Diversity Institute.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 2001. "Democratization, Nationalism and Eco-Politics: The Slovak-Hungarian Conflict Over the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam System on the Danube" in Eileen Petzold-Bradley et al. (eds.) *Responding to Environmental Conflicts: Implications for Theory and Practice*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 225-238.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 2000. "Democratic Transformation and the Mass Media in Hungary: from Stalinism to Democratic Consolidation in Hungary." In Gunther, Richard & Moughan, Anthony (eds.) *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 122-164.
- Sukosd, Miklos, and Orhan Galjus (Guest editors). 1999. *Roma Rights*. Special issue on Romani media/Mainstream media. Budapest: European Roma Rights Center), No. 4.
- Sukosd, Miklos, and Cseh, Gabriella. 1998. "Hollywood's Hungarian Offensive. Tensions over Television." *Transitions*, 5(4): 42-47.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 1997/98. "Media and Democratic Transition in Hungary" *Oxford International Review*, VIII(3): 11-21.
- Sukosd, Miklos, and Andras Bozoki. 1993. "Civil Society and Populism in the East European Democratic Transitions" *Praxis International*, 13(3): 224-241.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 1992. "The Media War in Hungary" *East European Reporter*, 5(2): 69-72.
- Sukosd, Miklos. 1990. "From Propaganda to Oeffentlichkeit: Four Models of the Public Sphere Under State Socialism" *Praxis International*, X(1-2): 39-63.
- Weiten, Jan, Graham Murdoch and Peter Dahlgren. (2000) *Television Across Europe*. London: Sage.
- Zgrabljic Rotar, Nada 2005. *Medijska istraživanja i medijska disciplina od 1995. do 2005. (Media Research and Media Discipline from 1995 to 2005)* Doron: Zagreb.
- Zgrabljic Rotar, Nada 2005. *Medijska pismenost i civilno društvo (Media Literacy and Civil Society)*. MediaCentar Sarajevo: Sarajevo. <http://www.media.ba/mediacentar/compiled/p755.htm>

Zgrabljčić, Nada 2003. "Hrvatska medijska politika i javni mediji", (Croatian Media Policy and Public Broadcasting Services), *Medijska istraživanja/Media Research*, god. 9, br. 1, pp. 59-77 (<http://www.media-research.cro.net>)

Zgrabljčić, Nada 2000. "Hrvatski radio 2000 – U potrazi za novim identitetom" (Croatian Radio 2000 – In the Search for New Identity"), *Medijska istraživanja/Media Research* god. 6. br. 1, pp. 79-91 (<http://www.media-research.cro.net>)

## **COST A20 Research Group "Digital Radio Cultures in Europe"<sup>1</sup>**

The project of the COST A20 action "The Impact of the Internet on Mass Media in Europe" (<http://tomcat.tektix.com/cost/>) chaired by Colin Sparks from Westminster University, UK covers the area of the twenty-three member states: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. It opens international debate on the impact of internet on mass media. The main objective is to develop knowledge about the various changes that mass media industries are undergoing, and will in the future undergo, as a result of the development of the internet. The action has working groups on television, newspapers, radio and cross-media. The groups meet frequently, both individually in group seminars and in annual plenary conferences. COST A20 was launched in 2001 and was supposed to last for

three years. A successful application for a two-year extension of the action means that it will now last until the spring of 2006.

The coming together of telecommunications, computing and the media, usually termed "convergence", is one of the central issues of contemporary society. The range of questions involved in this process is enormous, covering as it does technical issues, business models, social changes, working practices, legal regulation, and a host of other things. The primary focus of this proposed network is upon the micro-economic impact of the Internet on the media. The vast majority of the mass media in Europe today are run as businesses. Even those whose primary source of revenue is from some sort of subsidy, for example the BBC, are obliged both to demonstrate that they operate, as far as possible, according to established business principles, and to take any opportunity that presents itself to develop their commercial activities. As

<sup>1</sup> For more information on the COST framework, please visit <http://www.cost.esf.org>. For more information on the DRACE group, please visit <http://www.drace.org>.

European integration develops, there is increasing concern about the competitive position of Europe with regard to other economic actors. One function of the Internet, particularly with regard to the media, is to open European markets to competition previously excluded on grounds of time and distance. It is important to analyze how far European media products are able to compete in this new environment. COST provides the best framework for this proposal primarily because of its open and flexible structure. The COST mechanism, uniquely, allows countries to add themselves to the network, provided that they find the subject valuable, and can identify suitable researchers in their own national context. This provides the ideal mechanism to ensure that the widest possible range of participants can be drawn into this project.

Digital Radio Cultures in Europe (DRACE) is an international research group that was established in Egham, London in June 2004. It is funded by the COST A20 action "The Impact of the Internet on the Mass Media in Europe", and will be active from June 2004 to June 2006. DRACE is hosting a number of member seminars in various European countries, to develop and coordinate the research done by the group. The objective of the Digital Radio Cultures group is to lead the way into research on changes in radio cultures inspired by the move from analogue to digital broadcasting platforms, in particular Internet platforms. During seminars the researchers have and will discuss and develop their research projects, meet media researchers from the local universities, and

listen to invited presentations from experts in the field. On the basis of COST A20 empirical issues the Digital Radio Cultures group have asked more searching questions: Does "new radio" harbor the potential for a more democratic and involving form of mass communication? Does the non-geographic, highly individualized interfaces of the Internet foster new processes of social identification, and new ways of understanding the world? Could qualities of sound as a means of communication be taken advantage of in a better way than what is now the case in digital broadcasting? The group should point out desirable and realistic strategies for future development in European broadcasting; aimed at media policy makers, public service broadcasters and private businesses.

The objective of the Digital Radio Cultures group is to be at the forefront of empirical research on changes in radio cultures inspired by the move from analogue to digital broadcasting platforms. The researchers investigate the production and reception of radio broadcasting in the participating countries in a comparative perspective. They are mainly concerned with the cultural aspect of radio, that is talk radio and mixed programming as it is formulated by producers, journalists and domestic listeners. Furthermore, they monitor the changes in interfaces and user activity incurred by digitalization, both for analogue AM and FM broadcasting, digital audio broadcasting (DAB), radio and radio-like services on the Internet (music jukeboxes), and other potentially important platforms. DRACE can in principle include radio and internet researchers

from all the twenty-three member states of the COST A20 action. However, the group has fourteen members due to budgetary limitations. The COST rules, furthermore, say that the group can only have two members from each member state, and that all membership issues must ultimately be decided by the national management committee delegate to COST A20.

The DRACE work group wants to point out desirable and realistic strategies for future developments in European broadcasting; aimed at media policy makers, public service broadcasters and private businesses. Empirical research is done in five areas:

*Democratic access and participation.* It is often claimed that the digital media provide an enhanced experience of interactivity (or participation or empowerment). This project discusses to what extent this is true in the European sphere in the 2000s. This project can be considered an umbrella project that relates to the democratic impact of digital technologies in the broadcast media. Its main concerns are investigated empirically, and given theoretical form. It is a normative project that aims at giving sound advice to radio professionals and policy makers. The research addresses important values that researches are influenced by. Equal access to and the opportunity for participation in radio are fundamental whatever technical form the medium takes. The researchers will explain why access and participation is important and why they are focusing on it in terms of the civic society and democracy. There is equally core elements of content based research which can describe how, in

reality, digital radio and audio is affecting access (using McQuail's definition for example) and participation (drawing on Habermasian concepts).

*Online radio cultures.* This article analyses the new dimension of graphics, text and visuality that web radio has created. The researchers propose that a veritable cultural field is developing in its wake, something that is truly new in radio history. A webpage allows for a certain cultural experience, it has a certain "cultural horizon". The project studies the online presence of radio stations, and new forms of content, production goals and cultural spaces that the Internet allows for. What happens to the cultural sphere of radio as online services become more important? What happens to the management of music, the relationship with the parent medium, and the journalistic ethos? These are the questions the project aims to answer.

*The technological landscape of radio.* The project maps all widespread technologies for delivering audio services, and analyzes their varying functionality. This involves FM/AM transmission, DAB and satellite radio, web radio of many kinds, audio streaming to mobile phones, etc. The researchers are trying to find out what forms of sound mediation are technologically possible, and what solutions have been chosen in the countries participating in the investigation. What is the technical environment in which web radio is located? The research presents a minutious categorization of current technologies in the audio/internet marketplace.

*Can DAB meet the future needs of radio?* The DAB (for Digital Audio Broadcasting) system began in the mid-1980s as a European research project with the aim of providing a digital successor to analogue FM radio. It was intended to offer high quality sound and to make more efficient use of the radio spectrum and thus offer far more stations and also text and multimedia content. Ten years after its inception, digital radio is only slowly emerging in the new media landscape. While digital television is advancing in many European countries, digital radio's presence is rare, with some countries promoting the system and others adopting a wait-and-see approach. This DRACE project aims to research the different modes of development of DAB across Europe and to identify what factors might explain such differences. The project has members from four European countries: United Kingdom, Denmark, Finland and Ireland, each illustrating a different approach to DAB system.

*Radio experiences and opinions.* "Experience" is a very broad concept. It covers every imaginable way of relating to radio, from having loud music in the background while washing the car to filling out a radio crossword on a piece of paper with the utmost concentration. The researchers of this project are studying the experience of participating in the broadcast public by asking people about a host of aspects of their everyday use of broad-

cast services, with a particular focus on their evaluation of interactive programs. As part of this they try to describe the experience of not participating, since this approach is quite dominant in the general public. This study is well under way in Norway and Portugal, and its preliminary results were presented at the Zagreb and Dublin seminar. The Zagreb Seminar was held on October 28-29, 2005. It took place at the Palace Hotel, in Zagreb. The focus was on coordinating the article projects within each subgroup, and presenting them in plenary sessions with the rest of DRACE being constructive critics. Besides presenting project results, the first day of the seminar was marked by guest lectures and discussions. Dr. Sc. Zrinjka Peruško from the Institute for International Relations (IMO) spoke about "Media Trends and Policy in Croatia" and Tonko Obuljen from Transmitters and Links Ltd. spoke of "Digital Audio Broadcasting – development and situation in Croatia with overview on European situation". Also, on the second day of the seminar a visit was organized to the Croatian Radio (HRT), before the plenary session where a summary of project plans and the future of DRACE were discussed. Details of the past and future DRACE meetings as well as the membership of the project can be seen at the following web site: <http://www.drace.org>.

Durđa Vrljević

## Television Across Europe, the EUMAP Report (2005): Cutting the ‘Red Lines’

*In the eastern half of Europe, “public service” TV is abandoning its true mission by trying to compete against the commercial product, a new report warns.*

Not long after his inauguration as president of Romania late last year, Traian Basescu ordered the state’s telecommunications intelligence unit to cut the “red line” linking the offices of the president and the head of Romanian public television, SRTV. The phone line had been open since communist times.

Seen as a gesture symbolizing Basescu’s commitment to a strong break with the past, the scrapping of the red line also epitomizes the beginning of a new era for SRTV, which has never experienced the taste of independence. A mouthpiece of the communist authorities until 1989, in the past decade SRTV was turned into a propaganda channel of the post-communist governments. It has served all kinds of political parties and coteries, which have never tried to reform it because they knew they might need it one day. It has eaten hefty public funds and state subsidies while filling its schedule with chintzy reality shows to attract advertising cash. In other words, it became a hybrid station, a monster with several heads serving all kinds of interests except the public interest. But now SRTV is slated to become a real public-service broadcaster through reforms in its programming, funding, makeup of its governing bodies and,

more widely and philosophically, the role it should play in a democratic society.

Romania is not an isolated case. Public-service television has to be re-invented in most of post-communist Europe to become a real alternative to dominant commercial television before the emergence of digitalization in the coming years. In brief, that is the story of television today across Europe, concludes a recent monitoring report of the European Union Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP), to be released on 11 October.

Aimed at assessing how television fulfils its role as a “pillar of democracy” in 20 European countries, the study, *Television Across Europe*, finds that in spite of a plethora of television channels in Europe – around 4,000 – the medium displays little diversity and pluralism, it airs an overwhelming quantity of lowbrow content, and it suffers from serious economic and political pressures. Commercial television is entangled in non-transparent ownership and has seen a series of frantic mergers, consolidation of ownership, and a consequent bad effect on diversity and variety of programming. Seeing its monopoly shaken by the entrance of private operators, public television has undergone a profound identity crisis. However, “the argument for public service broadcasting remains compelling,” the EUMAP report states.



### **A Diverse Regulatory Environment**

Many media observers predicted several years ago that the Internet would kill television. It didn't happen. Television is still the dominant information and entertainment medium in Europe, with the most influence in shaping public opinion. Today, people watch television more than three hours a day, and viewing time has grown continuously over the past decade. Terrestrial, free-to-air television remains the most popular way of accessing programs, particularly in post-communist countries where satellite remains a scarce commodity compared to Western Europe. In countries like Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovenia, cable television has expanded, reaching over 50 percent of households, while elsewhere, as in Croatia, Macedonia, and the Czech Republic, it remains at low levels.

The states of Central and Eastern Europe have all adopted the Western-type dual broadcast system encompassing both public service and commercial television. Each country has its own regulatory body that awards broadcast licenses and monitors broadcasters' compliance with national legislation.

The EUMAP report finds that the past decade saw major improvements in broadcast legislation so that laws and regulations now ensure a certain degree of independence for broadcasters and regulators. The report also notes that there is no single model of broadcasting regulation: "the performance of broadcasting regulatory authorities reflects national specificities, including cultural codes, the history of

broadcasting, and the peculiarities of local political culture."

In general, governments have shown their willingness to build autonomous broadcast regulators. Many transition countries have put regulatory bodies in place and established a legislative environment for their work, but they often lack independence because the law are not properly implemented. In Serbia, for example, legal procedure for the nomination of the first post-authoritarian broadcasting regulator was ignored by the government and parliament. In Latvia, contrary to the trend across Europe, the state is trying to reimpose its grip on regulation by dissolving the Latvian Broadcasting Council and transferring the council's powers to the government acting through the Culture Ministry.

### **Public Service Down the Tubes**

Public television across Europe has also undergone positive reforms. However, in post-communist countries, noncommercial television continues to suffer from political pressures and interference, lack sufficient funding, and face low professional and public awareness on the role that it should play.

In transition countries, public service television emerged from the old state broadcasters. It enjoyed a monopoly of viewers in the early 1990s, but with the entrance of private stations in these markets in the mid-1990s, public stations saw massive drops in audience share. Most recently in Croatia, with the entrance of German giant RTL Group on the market, the audience share of Croatian public

television plummeted by more than 20 percentage points within a year. The average audience for public stations in transition countries is now hovering around 20 percent.

The disappearance of viewers triggered a profound crisis among public service broadcasters. In most transition countries, the mounting competition from commercial stations goaded public stations to imitate them with increasingly commercial formats. This marred the legitimacy of public television's claim to a privileged position and the right to benefit from, besides advertising, cash from state coffers or license fees collected from taxpayers.

#### **Private Hoaxes**

While the crisis of public television reached new peaks in the late 1990s, private players, already in control of large chunks of the television markets in more prosperous countries, expanded at a fast pace in transition countries as well. Foreign investors increased their presence in the area, with the American Central European Media Enterprises (CME) leading the wave. CME operates stations in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania, Ukraine, and Croatia. Another pan-regional player, with investments in Hungary and Croatia, is RTL Group, part of the media conglomerate Bertelsmann. The Swedish Modern Times Group (MTG) operates stations in the Baltics directly or through other firms and recently acquired a share of Prima TV in the Czech Republic.

Rapid expansion of private stations prompted lawmakers to adopt legislation designed to prevent one operator

from taking a dominant market share. Despite these efforts, the EUMAP report shows the concentration of ownership has continued, fostered by legal loopholes or flawed implementation of anti-concentration legislation. Media investors have begun to hide traces of their ownership or set up sophisticated corporate structures with the aim of escaping ownership ceilings. "The concentration of television ownership in a few hands is potentially dangerous, in that it means a concentration of influence that can be used for political, personal, ideological or commercial gains," according to the report.

In Romania, for example, broadcasting looks to be thriving with a large amount of foreign investment. But a closer look shows that the owners of the largest nationwide television stations are based in offshore countries where real owners hide behind boards of trustees. In a separate case, French media conglomerate Lagardere, which owns a majority stake in the nationwide radio network Europa FM in Romania, had to divest from another station it runs in the country, Radio XXI, in order to comply with national requirements on ownership concentration. Lagardere transferred its stake to the company Hullenberg Holland Holding, which in 2004 was revealed to be owned by Adam Blecha, the vice-president of Lagardere Group in the Czech Republic. Ironically, Blecha bought into Hullenberg through a company called Hoax.

#### **What's next on TV**

Murky ownership structures and concentration of ownership in television have negative effects on editorial

coverage and programming in general. Newscasts become sensational, investigative journalism is marginalized as it can hurt the interests of the owners, and niche programs on minority interests or cultural topics are pushed to late-night slots or eliminated because of low ratings. With public service television joining this game, programming has become extremely uniform.

EUMAP's two-year study focuses on Central and Eastern European countries, including the former Yugoslavia and Turkey, and includes reports on the broadcast industries in four Western European countries. The trend to bland, easily marketable programming is illustrated by examples from many countries, such as Slovakia, where the main channel of STV public television spends hefty public cash to buy the rights to air its own *Pop Idol*-inspired show and during the day broadcasts the 100-something episode Venezuelan saga of *Wild Anastasia*, and Slovenia, where public television spends taxpayers' money to air *The Weakest Link*. When viewers are offered these kinds of programs, "the widespread professional and public

indifference to the role of public service broadcasting in [transition countries] should come as no surprise," the report reads. "It reflects both the sheer novelty of the concept of public service broadcasting, and the widespread failure of the emergent, or nominal, public service broadcasters to broadcast programming that impresses the public as sufficiently distinct from commercial television to be worth supporting."

With the advent of digitalization, which is likely to boost the number of channels and competition from commercial television to new peaks, the report says that the public service broadcasting "stands on the brink of far-reaching change" and it calls for its defense because public television is "a bulwark against commercial trends" that if left unchecked, "would be likely to drive standards further down, reducing the less lucrative strands towards invisibility." Digitalization is advancing rapidly in Western Europe. However, in transition countries it's a slow process.

Marius Dragomir

## Hrvatsko izvješće "Televizija u Europi": Zakonodavstvo, javne politike i neovisnost

Hrvatski izvještaj "Televizija u Europi: zakonodavstvo, javne politike i neovisnost", nastao je u okviru projekta EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP) Instituta Otvoreno društvo (IOD), u suradnji sa Network Media Program (NMP) i Institutom za međunarodne odnose (IMO). U okviru

navedenog projekta, provedena je analiza televizije u dvadeset europskih zemalja,<sup>1</sup> temeljena na metodologiji

<sup>1</sup> Albanija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Bugarska, Češka, Estonija, Francuska, Hrvatska, Italija, Letonija, Litva, Mađarska, Njemačka, Poljska, Republika Makedonija, Rumunjska, Slovačka, Slovenija, Srbija, Turska i Velika Britanija.

kojom se nastojalo omogućiti komparacija dobivenih rezultata<sup>2</sup>. U pojedinačnim izvještajima daje se presjek stanja kao i preporuke kojima se nastoje odrediti daljnje smjernice za provođenje javnih politika vezane uz područje radiodifuzije, kako bi se osiguralo djelovanje radiotelevizijskih tvrtki u smjeru unapređenja demokracije.

Nastanak izvještaja o stanju nezavisnosti televizije i razvoju javnih politika, sa posebnim naglaskom na javnu televiziju, potaknut je činjenicom da televizija, kao indikator stupnja demokratičnosti nekog društva, doživljava niz promjena koje nastaju zbog promjena izazvanih novim tehnologijama (primjerice, digitalizacija opreme, proizvodnje i transmisije) kao i zbog sve jače uloge komercijalnih televizija. Problemi koji se pojavljuju kod komercijalnih televizija povezani su sa programskim sadržajem koji podliježe sve većoj komercijalizaciji, te sa strukturom vlasništva koju karakterizira sve veća koncentracija. Javne televizije, s druge strane, koje su pod pritiskom komercijalnih, programskim sadržajem nastoje nadjačati konkurenciju, što rezultira padom kvalitete programa. U post-socijalističkom kontekstu ovo je dodatno zakomplicirano političkim pritiscima na javne radiodifuzne tvrtke.

Svezak u prvom dijelu uključuje sažetak i osnovne zaključke cjelokupne analize usmjerene na funkcioniranje regulatornih tijela za radiodifuziju, te na djelovanje javnih i komercijalnih televizija. U kratkim crtama opisano je stanje televizijskog emitiranja u Euro-

pi, te osnovne karakteristike europske i međunarodne regulative u radiodifuziji. U ovom su dijelu navedene i preporuke za daljnje djelovanje na međunarodnoj i nacionalnoj razini, kako bi mediji vršili svoju demokratsku funkciju.

Drugi dio sveska sadrži izvještaj koji se odnosi na Hrvatsku, kojega je priredila dr. Zrinjka Peruško sa Odjela za kulturu i komunikacije Instituta za međunarodne odnose. U njemu se ukratko opisuje kontekst nastao društvenim promjenama početkom devedesetih kao i presjek zakonodavstva i strukture radiotelevizijskog sektora u Hrvatskoj. Slijede poglavlja o regulaciji i upravljanju javnom i komercijalnom radiotelevizijom, što se smješta u europski kontekst regulacije spomenutog sektora. Navedeni su osnovni trendovi koji se mogu prepoznati na globalnoj razini, kao što je utjecaj novih tehnologija i usluga na medijski krajolik.

Na kraju izvještaja navedene su preporuke koje se odnose na daljnji razvoj javnih politika i djelovanje regulatornih tijela, te preporuke koje dotiču prava zaposlenika u medijskoj industriji i etička pitanja vezana uz novinarsku profesiju. One se konkretno odnose na slijedeće: nužno je nastaviti sa reformama pokrenutim u proteklih nekoliko godina u kojima je u području televizije napravljeno niz pozitivnih promjena, kako bi se osigurala nezavisnost javne televizije kao i zaštita novinara od političkih pritisaka i komercijalizacije; važna je uloga profesionalnih organizacija i međunarodne zajednice u praćenju medijskog prostora, kako bi se osigurala neovisnost elektroničkih medija i regulator-

<sup>2</sup> Svi izvještaji dostupni na stranici <http://www.eumap.org>, na kojoj se nalaze i detalji vezani uz metodologiju.

nih tijela; Vijeće za elektroničke medije, kao glavno regulatorno tijelo za radijsko i televizijsko emitiranje, mora nastaviti započeto nadziranje rada elektroničkih medija, čime se osigurava poštivanje odredaba koncesijskih ugovora, kao i poštivanje zakona koji reguliraju područje elektroničkih medija, koji se između ostalog odnosi na javnost podataka o prihodima, o gledanosti te o vlasničkoj strukturi medija – podaci koji još uvijek nisu dovoljno transparentni u Hrvatskoj; državne institucije trebaju razvijati javne politike koje bi omogućile neovisnost uređivačkih politika i raznolikost sadržaja kako bi se doprinijelo kulturnoj raz-

nolikosti i kreativnosti u sferi medija. Osim toga, važno je razvijati i javne politike za nove medijske platforme, što se posebno odnosi na područje digitalizacije.

Izveštaj “Televizija u Europi: zakonodavstvo, javne politike i neovisnost”, odličan je presjek konkretnog stanja u području televizije u današnjoj Europi, sa posebnim fokusom na hrvatski elektronički medijski krajolik, a služi i kao naputak za one aktere koji svojim djelovanjem utječu na razvoj ovog, za demokratizaciju, važnog područja u društvu.

Helena Popović

## **Media and Digital Convergence: Policy and Developments in Europe and Croatia, Zagreb, 19 October 2005**

The Institute for International Relations (IMO), Zagreb in cooperation with the Council of Europe – Media Division, Strasbourg, organized a Round Table entitled ‘Media and Digital Convergence: Policy and Development Trends in Europe and Croatia’, that provoked a great deal of interest that was beyond the expectations of the organizers. The trend of a vanishing division between the information and the communication industries has been apparent for the past few decades. Through the advances of digitalization, the formerly separate sectors of telecommunications, media and computing are no longer clearly distinguishable, but rather form complementary parts of a whole on the global market. The multimedia mar-

ket, stimulated by just these convergence processes, has become the strategic field of activity for all three sectors – radio and television, telecommunications and the ICT industry. This convergence is not simply a one-dimensional technological question. It includes structural changes in the economic field, in which information services play an increasingly important part, and the successful convergence of the industries and the market are based on the logic of demand, not supply.

The digital convergence has serious implications for legislation and public policy measures, which need to secure, in the new environment of information society, a continued positive social role of the converged and digi-

talized media, and find a way to fulfill and protect the freedom of speech, the freedom and diversity of the media and media content, but also the privacy and inviolability of personal data. Digital convergence thus requires the convergence of public policies. On the regulatory level we face problems of a sectorial approach, which repeatedly regulates only a narrow field, lacking a broader understanding of how this field may relate to other fields. On the other hand, regulations need to be based upon numerous standards enforced on an international level (because only this makes them meaningful). In spite of their political declarations in support of the development of information society, most governments do not seem to have fully solved the emerging issues in the field of public policies which regulate the convergence of content, communication and information industries.

The round table was held on 19 October 2005 at the Great Hall of the Croatian Journalists' Association. The round table gathered fifty six participants – from those responsible for media policy in Croatia, representatives of media companies, editors and technical directors, as well as Croatian and international media and media policy professionals. With this Round Table the organizers aimed to stimulate a professional public debate about digital convergence trends, especially as regards the changes resulting in the field of broadcasting, and about the activities to be carried out at the public policy level in Croatia. In this light, twelve lecturers from Croatia and Europe gave inputs on key issues regarding the topic.

The round table discussion was opened by Dr. Zrinjka Peruško, Head of Department for Culture and Communication, Institute for International Relations, Ms. Lejla Dervišagić from Council of Europe – Media Division, and Ms. Željka Antunović, Member of Parliament, President of the Committee on Information, Computerization and the Media, Croatian Parliament. After a short introduction on the topic given by Dr. Peruško, Ms. Dervišagić pointed out the objectives of the Council of Europe in the field of digital convergence which served as an overall framework for the co-organization of the round table. The main interests of the Council of Europe are to ensure public access to digital technologies, and to proceed with the switchover from analog to digital technology. At the end of the opening session Ms. Antunović pointed out the role of the Committee as the only state body that has an obligation to cover this area as a whole, while other state institutions are responsible for its particular segments. Convergence blur the borders of sectors that were once divided, therefore a reorganization of the activities of state bodies, as well as an intervention in legislative regulations are needed. These new changes demands for a discussion on these issues.

The first thematic part of the round table was devoted to trends of digital convergence and democratic and social aspects of digital transmission. It was introduced with the presentation by Dr. Zrinjka Peruško 'Digital Convergence Trends: Issues and Developments'. She pointed out four global media trends: media concentration,

hyper commercialization, liberalization of media markets and technological convergence. Within the liberalization trend there occurs also a countertrend that highlights the importance in stimulating cultural diversity and pluralism of media for which UNESCO and Council of Europe are advocating. Media policy in Central and Eastern Europe are developed in three phases: the first one refers to the division from state (freedom of speech, structural independence of media), the second phase refers to arrangement of media markets (the introduction of foreign capital, beginning of specific regulation of media competition and antimonopoly regulation), while the third phase is directed to harmonization with EU regulation. The situation in Croatia can be described as a mix of the second and the third phases, that is, the issue of media freedom has been mainly solved while there is much to be done in the sector of digitalization. What has to be highlighted is that problems connected to digital convergence are not new only in Croatia; they are also evident on a global scale. There are numerous questions that are looking for an answer in digital surroundings such as: future regulation of radio frequency specter; wireless network; digital television; ensuring access and free flow; regulation of television and converged media content; ensuring diversity and plurality of program; question of vertical integration and prevention from concentration of ownership; role of public broadcasting and prevention of the digital divide; etc. Public policy has to put down the strategy of transition to digital broadcasting which,

among other, includes decisions on whether the state will provide citizens with incentives for digital switchover, whether it will initiate and support the development of media literacy among de-privileged populations, and whether it will aim at protecting human rights in a digital environment. As regards PSB, states should provide legal, financial and technical conditions that would enable them to withhold their full public service in this period. In addition, state measures should ensure conditions that will enable public service broadcasters to be present on diverse digital platform (cable, satellite, terrestrial transmission) that secures public access to all of these platforms.

The next presentation was given by Ms. Catherine Smadja from Digital and Commercial Broadcasting, Department for Culture, Media and Sport – UK, who spoke on ‘Democratic and Social Aspects of Digital Broadcasting’. She stressed the importance of the media in the creation of public spheres – the significance of right to freedom of speech and information, freedom to transfer and collect information and ideas of diverse character, as well as the importance of freedom from state control and censorship. In this context satellite contributes to the creation of news diversity, due to its possibility to ‘escape’ governing structure control. However, the question of whether an increase of the number of channels results in larger diversity of content or not, remains to be an open question.

The following section was devoted to national examples in the development of public policy instruments in the sector of digitalization. Ms. Sma-

dja presented the British experience of digital switchover in broadcasting. The process was started with no clear strategy on how to go about the digital switchover.

A detailed strategy plan of digitalization was put in place 2002, in which the conversion will be posited gradually by regions, with the intention to, eventually, have a full coverage. With this the problem arises as whether the subscribers will be willing and able to switch to digital technology and whether the state should provide help in this process. It became apparent that vulnerable groups have to be taken into account in the development of the strategy. The way that Great Britain approached the problem of switchover to digital transmission is not the only one – it is possible to get full coverage through the mixture of diverse platforms, but in that case it would oblige consumers to pay more. After detailed analysis of problems and challenges of the British model, Ms. Smadja stressed the political dimension of the process of digital convergence which brings about benefits for the creators of public policies, regulators and competition authorities, due to its contribution in the promotion of competition in the electronic communications area, to the stimulation of content industry as well as to the diversity and access to a wider range of population.

In the next presentation, Mr. Denis Peričić, President of the Council for Electronic Media, Croatia, stressed the importance of digital convergence, describing the process as a technological and social revolution. Convergence means integration of telecommunication, information and media aspects,

with a stress on interactivity. The role of the Council is to take over three key tasks in this process, and these are: licensing, arranging the systems of multiplexes, and execution of legal provisions on program obligations in program contents on all platforms, executed in accordance to the 'soft' approach, meaning an emphasis on co-regulation and self-regulation, promoted by the European Commission.

Dr. Dijana Šimić from Central State Bureau for e-Croatia emphasized that digital convergence is the key in the development of an information society, and therefore recognized as crucial in the overall development of a given society. Croatia has already signed several contracts for the regional development of broadband. There are two important aspects that Croatia has to work on: development of IT standards and promotion of IT market and technologies. Therefore, the development of infrastructure in the overall region is important for the future development of this field in Croatia.

The discussion on the development of public policies in the sector of digitalization in Croatia was continued with the presentation of Mr. Ivo Majerski from the Croatian Telecommunications Agency. He focused on practical issues connected to digital convergence, and he also presented activities of the Agency in this field. After a brief overview of professional terms used in this field of action, Mr. Majerski pointed out some of the problems that the Agency encounters in their line of work. He stressed that the plan for the switchover has been constructed in detail, the country has



been divided into special allotment zones, and 90% of the plan has been coordinated with the neighboring countries. Mr. Majerski pointed out that Croatia has a considerable know-how in this field which, with the right strategy, could be further developed in a significant way.

Additional data on the current situation in the field of digital conversion in Croatia was given by Mr. Tonko Obuljen from Transmitters and Communications Ltd., who stressed how their work in this field could be described as a 'continuous experimental work' which implies permanent difficulties in the development of the field due to the inability of the network to expand. The reasons for this are high prices of the transmitters, as well as deficient legislative in the field that hinders its further development. The importance of the switch-over to DVB-T derives from positive characteristics such as the economizing of energy, the resistance to interruptions and the possibilities of mobile work. In order to develop further, the legislation in Croatia has to be harmonized with the one currently being developed within the EU, and executed accordingly. It is crucial to develop an adequate general public policy in the field of electronic media as well as to establish conditions for a fair market competition. The state has to ensure that the users have free access to content of vital national interest (culture programs, information, and education programs) by which the role of the national television is crucial.

Short discussions followed the presentations in which it was noted that convergence has a much broader

reach, and that the discussion should not focus only on television, but also include optical fiber, cable television, broadband etc. It is not clear whether Croatia has already opted for DVB-T – if so – when that decision was made, and why the decision was not submitted to a public debate of experts. Participants stressed that the state should ensure a fair market competition that would ensure the easiest, cheapest, switchover for all citizens. Some participants noted that the discussion has been too much concentrated on the commercial aspects of the media and convergence, and that there was no discussion on the public good, while others stressed that the technological aspect of the media was emphasized too much.

Second part of the round table was dedicated to experiences of electronic media in the process of digitalization. Mr. Rolf Brandrud from Norwegian Television spoke on the experiences connected to digital transmission in Norway. He highlighted how the approach from Great Britain is less efficient in countries with smaller number of inhabitants, which means smaller media markets. In addition, one has to bear in mind the geographical characteristics of a country. These characteristics are important in choosing the approach for digital switchover, which is why the Norwegian example is of interest to Croatia, since these countries have similar population size and hence, similar size of media markets. In the process of digitalization, especially in choosing the approaches to which the households will be stimulated to buy set top boxes, Mr. Brandrud emphasized two possible ap-

proaches. The 'gentle' approach, in which the period of simulcast (parallel analog and digital transmission) is prolonged, seems to be inadequate because the costs of transmission are too high, and because it creates a gap between users of national analog televisions and users of foreign digital televisions. The other, 'tough' approach, in which analog transmission is turned off in a short period, is favorable as it frees a large number of digital signals with reduced economic costs; however, it is also politically unpopular as it put users in a position in which they have to purchase the equipment within a short period of time. At the end of his presentation, Mr. Brandrud stressed the privileged position of those countries that are late comers to the process of digitalization have, because it offers them a possibility to learn from good and bad experiences of countries that started with the process earlier.

Ms. Tena Perišin from Croatian Television (HTV) stressed the importance of a clear usage of terminology in the discussions on digitalization. After defining several key terms, she pointed out the existence of three levels of digitalization: digitalization of equipment (that has already been done in public service television); digitalization of production, which changes the process of program production in total and therefore demands additional education on new technologies; and digitalization of transmission, meaning digitalization on a broader national level. Ms. Perišin presented the project of digitalization of news programs implemented at the Croatian public service television HTV, which have had

major impact on the process of work in the field of production. In her conclusion, Ms. Perišin highlighted the key objectives of HTV: total digitalization of the production of news program, digitalization of the entire HTV program, and modernization of the systems of archives.

The implications of digitalization on radio broadcasting was problematized in the presentation given by Dr. Nada Zgrabljic Rotar, editor-in-chief of the 'Media Research' journal, who presented the research project 'Digital Radio Culture in Croatia and Europe – DRACE', a project conducted in a number of European countries, which forms part of a larger project EU COST A20 (European Cooperation in the Field of Scientific and Technical Research). The project concentrates on changes that appear in radio production as a consequence of numerous technological changes – such as the digital transmission switchover – as well as other changes that occur due to the impact that the Internet has in the sphere of radio broadcasting. Dr. Zgrabljic Rotar showed the results of an empirical research undertaken within this project including the analysis of web portals of radio stations in Croatia. This research showed the following: that the average radio web portal in Croatia has been set up in 2003, with the key motive to create a modern image of the radio station; a key criterion for the creation of such a website is to provide information, however, the sources of information are usually not mentioned, and web portals are not updated regularly; profiles of visitors do not exist; web portals do not contribute to the profits of

the radio stations; finally, only some web portals have archives with information. Dr. Zgrabljic Rotar concluded with a question: Are we witnessing the process of medialization of the Internet or the internetization of the radio? In order to answer this, there is a need for more research in this field.

The last presentation was given by Mr. Josip Ćurković, director of Radio DeeJay, the only Internet radio in Croatia, who spoke on the need for reorganization of the Croatian radio space, and on problems that local radio stations are encountering in the attempt to obtain a frequency.

In the discussion that followed Ms. Zrinjka Vrabec Mojzeš, Radio 101, stressed the example of Radio 101 and the experiences with their web portal – the interaction of the users of web portals is considerably lower compared to the numbers of radio listeners, which is connected to the fact that the number of Internet users in Croatia is still low, but also to the fact that these are different types of media – radio is used by people on the move, while the use of a web portal implies a static position. Dr. Zgrabljic Rotar added that the question appears of whether a new way of communication occurs with the usage of new technologies or whether it is a reproduction of the old ways only? Mr. Nenad Stazić, Member of Parliament, underlined that the issues presented at the round table indicates that the digitali-

zation process in Croatia occurs in an insulated way: it happens in distinct sectors and institutions but without an overall strategy. He also pointed out that a discussion on the influences of new technologies in the strengthening of democratization processes would have been useful, in the context of the strengthening of commercial media that do not offer new content, but only reproduces the same content on different channels. The increase of the number of programs as a consequence of digitalization has no sense if it does not increase the diversity of content. It is the role of the Government to define the legislative regulations in this area. Mr. Zlatko Papeš from Croatian Association for the Promotion of New Education and Knowledge stressed the importance of interactivity and network connection, as well as the importance of the new responsibilities of the providers and users of new media. At the end of the discussion Mr. Rolf Brandrud highlighted that Croatia has to ensure (with adequate legislature) the quotas for content of Croatian origin in public as well as private media. The participants agreed on the importance of opening the debate on this topic in Croatia, and on the need for a preparation of an adequate policy in this field.

Helena Popović  
Jaka Primorac

**Josip Baloban, ur.: *U potrazi za identitetom. Komparativna studija vrednota: Hrvatska i Europa, Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 2005.***

Ako ogolimo statističkog Levijata-  
na i običnim jezikom pokušamo ugru-  
bo (i grubo – u smislu bez sentimenata)  
opisati koje vrijednosti gaji prosječan  
Hrvat, ispalo bi da je: vjernik više  
na riječima nego na djelu, da se izja-  
šnjava kao katolik ali vjeruje u rein-  
karnaciju i anđele, da ne vjeruje insti-  
tucijama političkog sustava i nije za-  
dovoljan stupnjem demokracije u dr-  
žavi, počesto smatra kako je u redu  
utajiti porez ako imaš za to mogućnost  
kao i lagati za svoje interese, drži do  
braka i obitelji ali nije baš spreman na  
sve da ih očuva, solidarnost očekuje  
od države ali ne i sebe pa se neće baš  
polomiti da pomogne bližnjemu u ne-  
volji, misli da žena treba zarađivati i  
istodobno dirinči po kući, jest da kaže  
kako ima visoke moralne standarde ali  
ipak na razini ponašanja pokazuje da  
daje mito i korupciju, vara državu gdje  
stigne, brine o zaštiti okoliša samo u  
slučaju da se od njega ništa ne oče-  
kuje, na poslu mu je najvažnija plaća,  
egalitarizam mu je čvrsto ukorijenjen i  
dalje u svijesti, itd. Ispada ukratko da  
u javnosti i medijima stvaramo ipak  
nerealističku, tj. idealiziranu, sliku o  
sebi samima, dok su nam po drugoj  
strani na vratu i duši sva obilježja  
tranzicijskog društva, ma koliko šutjeli  
o tome.

Dakle, kakva je slika hrvatske dru-  
štvene zbilje u kontekstu europskog  
okruženja tema je socioloških radova

sabраниh pod naslovom *U potrazi za  
identitetom*, a što će mnogima pružiti  
ponekad i zapanjujuće podatke o vri-  
jednosnim stajalištima i ključnim vre-  
dnotama građana Hrvatske. Knjiga je  
nastala na osnovu velikog projekta eu-  
ropskog istraživanja vrednota (koje se  
u Europi provodi redovito od 1990.  
godine) u koje se Hrvatska prvi put  
uključila 1999/2000. pod vodstvom  
Katoličkog bogoslovnog fakulteta i s  
voditeljem prof. dr. Josipom Baloba-  
nom, koji je i priredio zbornik radova.

U osam poglavlja autori-istraživači  
(Pero Aračić, Josip Baloban, Stjepan  
Baloban, Željka Bišćan, Gordan Črpić,  
Goran Milas, Krunoslav Nikoderm,  
Ivan Rimac, Ivan Štengl, Siniša Zrin-  
ščak) pokušali su nalaze hrvatskoga  
istraživanja usporediti s europskim re-  
zultatima i staviti ih u taj širi kontekst.  
To je bilo moguće zato što su sva  
istraživanja provedena prema identi-  
čnom instrumentariju. Tako su se istra-  
žile sličnosti i razlike u područjima:  
religije i morala, društva i politike,  
braka i obiteljskog života, uloge spo-  
lova, rada i slobodnog vremena, sek-  
sualnosti i obrazovanja. No, k tome su  
autori uzeli u obzir i kombinirali zem-  
ljopisni kriterij, kriterij demokratiza-  
cije i tranzicijski kriterij, pa čak i kon-  
fesionalni – ovisno o potrebama teme.  
Prvo poglavlje “Civilno društvo u na-  
stajanju”, o slobodnom vremenu i do-  
brovoljnim organizacijama, već i sa-

mim naslovom sugerira kakvo je zatečeno stanje. Tako primjerice samo 12 posto ispitanika redovito provodi vrijeme u sportskim, kulturnim i drugim dobrovoljnim organizacijama dok se većina uglavnom druži s prijateljima i obitelji. Mreža civilnog društva je nerazvijena i postoji državni paternalizam u mnogim društvenim sferama. "Između identiteta i svakodnevnog života" dugo je poglavlje koje obrađuje temu religioznosti u hrvatskom društvu iz europske komparativne perspektive. Tu postoji poprilično velik paradoks, kako upozorava i sam prof. Baloban: "S jedne strane, za razliku od nekih europskih država, hrvatski građani izražavaju visok postotak konfesionalne pripadnosti. S druge strane, utjecaj vjere i crkvenosti na svakodnevno ponašanje ljudi nema većeg utjecaja." Komparativna analiza zadovoljstva demokracijom u europskim zemljama, naslovljena "U traženju agensa demokratskog razvoja" pokazuje oprečne rezultate na dvije razine: individualnoj i državnoj. Nezadovoljstvo vlašću i nepovjerenje u institucije mogu imati utemeljenje i u povijesnom naslijeđu. U naslovu i podnaslovu četvrtog poglavlja "Brak – institucija od koje se očekuje, a u koju se ne ulaže; Brak u napetosti između ideala i zbilje" već je izražen i zaključak istraživanja. Premda je brak vrednota koju je visokovrednovana u svim europskim društvima ipak pokazuje sva obilježja krize i potkopanih temelja. Ali bi na očuvanju obitelji, upozoravaju istraživači, više trebala poraditi država, o čemu govori peto poglavlje "Obitelj u transformaciji". Mnogo zanimljivih i začudnih podataka o našim navadama i ponašanju krije dio o "So-

lidarnosti i socijalnoj (ne)osjetljivošću". Sve u svemu mi smo navikli da se o potrebitima brine netko drugi, a zapravo nemamo povjerenja u institucionalnu solidarnost niti smo spremni uključiti se u takvu vrstu pomoći. "Nove (i stare) uloge žena i muškarca u suvremenoj Europi" govore pak da socijalističko feminističko naslijeđe, koliko god naizgled stvaralo i danas s vremena na vrijeme stanovitu medijsku buku, nije ostavilo mnogo traga u turobnoj ženskoj svakodnevici – jer Hrvatska se ipak ubraja među tradicionalna (patrijarhalna) društva. Na kraju "Moral u tranzicijskoj Hrvatskoj" otkriva koliki je rasap između ideala i zbilje te koliko su snažni neki povijesni moralni obrasci. Brojne pak tablice u dodatku knjige s pregledima postotaka i aritmetičkih sredina za odgovore u gotovo svim područjima bit će za uporne dodatno bogato vrelo spoznaja o mnogim dimenzijama naše stvarnosti.

*U potrazi za identitetom* knjiga je koju će zasigurno prigrliti ponajprije sociolozi, politolozi, istraživači religije i drugih društvenih fenomena jer obiluje egzaktnim i usporedivim podacima. Po drugoj strani pak prava je šteta, uzevši u obzir uloženi trud i vrijeme te zanimljivost građe, što su svi autori ostali upravo zapanjujuće kruto u svome "znanstvenom reviru" (osobito na razini jezika i stila koji je, zamalo prema uobičajenoj predrasudi, suhoparan, štur pa čak mjestimice i dosadan) te je tako knjiga odveć hermetična a da bi bila upućena na širu zainteresiranu javnost (npr. od medijskih poslenika do marketinških stručnjaka). U anglosaksonskom svijetu znanstvene publicistike od takve bi se

građe načinilo čitko štivo za široku obrazovanu publiku – te bi tako rezultati istraživanja imali i neki drugi život osim onog skućenog u sterilnoj znanstvenoj zajednici. Međutim, na posljetku ne valja biti ni odveć kritičan

jer se mora uzeti u obzir kontekst sredine: za početak napokon u nas netko uopće i objavljuje takve knjige!

Jadranka Pintarić