Book of Abstracts: **[WG] Post-Socialist, Post-Authoritarian**

Empowering citizenship: media practitioners on moderation of populist xenophobia in Belarus

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My paper addresses the state media's treatment of racist extremisms in the hitherto under-researched republic of Belarus, formerly the western periphery of the Soviet-Russian imperial state. Under president Lukashenko, the post-imperial nation now named Belarus has been dubbed 'Europe's last dictatorship'. It exhibits differences from, and significant similarities to, Russia, the former imperial centre. On one hand, Putin's neo-totalitarian control over the Russian media has recently been referred to as 'Belarusisation'. On the other hand, the nation-building project of Belarus's current authoritarian regime is grounded in a return to Soviet ideals abandoned by Russia. At the same time, sharing 'the imperial mentality', Belarusian xenophobia, like that of Russian nationalist extremists, targets primarily Central Asian and North Caucasian migrants. These contradictions are matched within unofficial Belarusian revivalism in which anti-Russian-ness coexists alongside Slavic pride and European liberalism competes with critiques of western 'political correctness'. Such unstable conditions foster xenophobic trends of unusual complexity. I propose to explore xenophobia on different levels (from everyday narratives to state media discourse) thus offering a new perspective on post-Soviet selfhood and the legacies of Soviet multiculturalism. Drawing on official media texts, semi-structured interviews with media figures and institutional documents, the research will identify the specific features of Belarusian xenophobia, locating it at the intersection of post-Soviet media-led nation-building and everyday identification practices. The project will explicate the production of selfhood via an exploration of the process by which the 'language of hate' circulates from unofficial (popular) to official (state) levels and back, often via semi-official sources at the peripheries of state-approved discourse, such as local newspapers. It will examine how, in the context of the lack of freedom of speech in Belarus, the media's inability to grant a voice to the multiple players within the social spectrum works against the government's attempts to manage consensus, distorting the portrayal of inter-ethnic cohesion issues, and, in turn, exacerbating grassroots extremism. Finally, comparison with available Russian sources will help determine what the specificities of Belarusian xenophobia's relationship with the official media reveal about societal developments in post-Soviet states undergoing re-centralisation.

Trusted media, untrusted journalists: paradoxes of post-communist press

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The July 2009 edition of Transparency International's (TI) Global Coruption Barometer brought forward a appalling information: for the first time mass media was in the top of the most corrupted Romanian institutions. In this case more surprising than the unexpected image of the press degradation is the correlation between this poll and the Public Opinion Barometer (a semestrial poll continuously held from 1991). The Public Opinion Barometer poll was yearly showing that the mass media is one of the few institutions trusted by Romanians (Ortodox Churh was the most trusted institution, usually followed by the Army and the Media). How can people trust an institution they define as corrupted? In the 20 years since the fall of communism, the professional field

of journalism has become more and more sliced by press' barons on the one hand and the majority of common journalists on the other. The euphoric attitude and the solidarity that marked the very beginnings of a free press slowly faded away. They were replaced by the fight to achieve and maintain control over the resources offered by mass media: economic status, political power and social prestige. In fact, one group has monopolized the economic resources, the access to centres of political decision-making and the channels of distribution of the professionally legitimating discourse. This study examines the mechanisms used by a group of journalists to achieve economic and professional control. It analyses the issue of mass-media corruption as a process of conversion of social capital into economic one.

Patriotic Media and the European Public Sphere: A Comparative Analysis of the News Coverage of the Patria Affair in Slovenia and Finland

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This paper looks into the news media coverage of the Patria affair in major national print and electronic news media in Finland and Slovenia. The Patria affair, which is still unsettled, involved the largest military purchase of armored vehicles in post-Yugoslav Slovenia, and it broke out after Finnish authorities began to investigate allegations of corruption. The scandal reached the peak when the documentary "The truth about the Patria" originally broadcast on Finnish public TV MOT/YLE on 1 September 2008, was aired on Slovenian public TVS. The central issue is that in the program the Slovenian prime minister was accused of bribery. The almost simultaneous broadcast of the program in the two EU Member states involved in the affair allows us to inspect the formation of the cross-border and cross-national audiences and, consequently, the potentials for the construction of a European public sphere. Moreover, in Slovenia, the public's interpretation of the "truth" of the affair was split between the Finnish and Slovenian public television versions of story. This warrants an inquiry into the transformation of national audiences and of the role of the media in serving public interest in transnational context and enhancement of the European public sphere. At the same time, the contextualisation of the meaning of the affair by the national political and ideological struggles, as well as by the differences in media practices between the two countries, also demands a critical analysis of continuities and discontinuities in public cultures between post-socialist, i.e, new and "old" democracies in the EU. In the paper, this question is illuminated against the theoretical background of the critical sociological reformulation of patriotism and citizenship in Europe; and in light of current debates on the Europeanization of the European public sphere.

Elite continuity in Latin American democratization

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There is a strong tradition of analysing change in Latin American in terms of the orthodoxies of the political science tradition of "transitology." This school of thought is currently under attack for its inability to account for the complexities of contemporary realities, for example in many of the successor states to the Soviet Union. It is however, very well-established in studies of Central and South America, which was one of the main areas where it was originally developed and extended. In previous papers, an alternative account of the kinds of changes that have been taking place, both to society more generally and to the media, in a number of cases (Poland, Russia, China, South Africa) of rapid political and economic change have been analysed. Despite the differences in history, background, regime type, and current outcome, analysis suggests that there are some important common threads. The most important of these is that in each case the dramatic changes in political and economic life have been accompanied by substantial continuity on the part of significant sections of the elite (or ruling class). In fact, there is a spectrum from China, in which the old Communist Party bureaucracy retains its political power and has provided much of the personnel for the new private owners of capital, and where the

degree of continuity is high, through to South Africa, where the political elite has been entirely transformed after the fall of the racist state, and where there has been significant renewal also of the economic elite. This paper extends that analysis with an examination of the "early" transition to democracy in Brazil and the "late" transition in Mexico. In both cases, it is demonstrated, that elite continuity is again strongly present, both generally in society and specifically in the case of the mass media. In terms of the balance between continuity and renewal, these two cases bear closer similarities to the Chinese case than to the South African one. This suggests that the degree of social continuity is not dependent upon regime type but rather is a function of the degree to which the shift from dictatorship to democracy also represents a response to deep-rooted popular discontent, and the extent to which the political shift makes any attempt at achieving wider social goals. Overall, this paper represents a further extension, and refinement, of the "elite continuity and renewal" thesis concerning political changes in the last quarter century.

Performing and resisting the state: the case of the televised 'music' gala in Zimbabwe
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Popular culture has often been celebrated as a space where ordinary people can exert their agency. However, this approach has paid insufficient attention to the way in which the state and political parties have attempted to co-opt popular culture in order to suit their own ends. Engaging with Foucault's theory of power, this paper treats power and resistance as mutually constituted in complex and dialogical ways. The paper focuses on the contested space of the 'music gala' which emerged as a new genre on the state-owned broadcaster Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) in the early 2000s as part of government's cultural nationalist project of the Third Chimurenga. This project mediated a narrow national imaginary that served to legitimise continued reign of the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) over Zimbabwe. The music galas were broadcast live on radio and television and complemented the formal commemoration of national days. In a context in which the urban electorate overwhelmingly supported the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the gala was introduced in an attempt to interpellate young, urban Zimbabweans as loyal supporters of the ruling party. In order to win the hearts of youthful, urban voters, the galas became a platform not only of government-sponsored musicians part of the Third Chimurenga music album series but efforts were also made to incorporate performers part of the 'urban grooves' genre and musicians critical of the ZANU-PF government. The paper discusses the complex and ambivalent ways in which the music gala manifested itself as a platform of both co-optation and resistance.

La Voz de Galicia: Generational identification in the Spanish political Transition to democracy
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La Voz de Galicia is the more influential and most read newspaper of this Spanish region, with around a hundred thousand copies sold each day and approximately 600 thousand readers, what becomes the sixth newspaper in Spain. This power is rooted in the performance of La Voz over the last years of the dictatorship and the political Transition itself, when it became one of the most critical newspapers of the regime, bringing in its pages many voices of leftist opposition and relating the student and working mobilizations in Galicia. Over the following decades the newspaper became more conservative and, indeed, in the regional elections of 2009 La Voz de Galicia clearly supported the candidate of the Partido Popular (Conservative), who eventually was elected president. However, readers who are now between forty and sixty Transitional bear the image of La Voz as a progressive newspaper, in opposition to the local press in each city, more conservative and controlled by local, familiar and despotic elites. This image, united to the habit of three decades of buying the same newspaper caused an identification of these readers with La Voz that will be difficult to break, although readers and newspaper have opposite ideologies. This age group is the one that currently occupies the leading positions in all

areas, and also that further purchase daily news paper. This paper deepens in the base of this identification and in the perspectives of its future evolution, as well as in the own perspectives of future of the newspaper, that though maintains the fidelity of the older readers of forty years that grasped in the Political Transition, is not capable of attracting younger buyers.

'I am a grass mud horse': Anti-vulgar Movement, Censorship, and Online Activism of the Chinese Netizens

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While Iinternet and cyberspace has incredibly expanded since its inception in China, this has not meant a parallel development of the internet as the venue for a public sphere. Rather, the parallel enhancement of, online censorship has been synchronously enhanced to contain theincreasingly bold online or offline civic challenges to the Party-State's monopoly over the political sphere. Base on the case study of the development of the officially launched so-called 'anti-vulgar movement', which aims to revive political control over internet and ideology in the name of online moral decontamination, and the Chinese netizens' resistance represented by the ironic invention of "grass mud horse" (a very offensive expression involving one's mother) since early 2009, this paper traces the contour of the dynamics of censorship and anti-censorship, offers an insight into how the censorship power of political control, the potentially emancipatory power of internet as an information technology, and the power of increasing public political consciousness of defending civil rights, attack, negotiate, compromise and interact with each other. It describes and analyses the tactics that both the government and the netizens use to mobilize and organize various resources, and the relationship between government, online opinion leaders and the public in a market authoritarian regime. It concludes that the destiny of Chinese online activism and emerging cyber public sphere does not only depend on a single factor, whatever it is the government, netizens, global movements, commercial interests, or technological progress, but on the interactional topology of all of them.

USAGE OF PRESS AS A HEGEMONIC STRUGGLE FIELD "Turning Soldier Elites into Enemies"

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This study discusses ideological effects on media content. Mill (1956) asserts in his work called "Power Elites" that close benefits of commercial, economic and military elites compose a peak above the social structure. According to Hallin (1986), while journalists serve as defender and sanctifier in the sphere of consensus; expose, blame and exclude those who are out of political conciliation in the sphere of deviance. Antagonism between soldier and power in Turkey takes place in the sphere of deviance via the news. The relationship between army and society is multi-dimensional politically and historically as well. In the discourse which have taken place in national press in recent years; hegemonic military and civil elites are observed to be driven out to the existing routine. While the power of Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) in Turkey is untouchable and inarguable, it is taken out of conciliation area and driven into sphere of deviance with news discourse. Opponent journalism is carried out in this field. To open the process of interchanging the hegemonic into discussion via the news in the press makes the observation of ideological routing of press inevitable. The starting point of this study is the construction of news presentations via a discourse set and articulation of this construction to identities. Enemy discourse created in the sphere of deviance is based on the binary structures that contain contrast; such as guilty/innocent, good/bad, rational/irrational, modern/traditional etc. These descriptions are named as floating descriptions. The meanings of these are not fixed. These are articulated before, during and after the confliction. Moreover the identity of the enemy is constructed with an antagonistic approach. With the way of equivalence the deficiencies of the object are described. This process is not only otherizing the enemy in a radical way but also making it perceived as a threat to our own identity. In this study, transformation of military power which is hegemonic to enemy and its conveyance from sphere of consensus to sphere of deviance is observed. The observation of news about TSK will be carried out upon the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe. In this frame, the expression of

binary presentation about military people, reflection of neo-liberal policies on news set, democratization, globalization and new world setting, discourse upon the coup will be presented. The study is generally taken into regard in the sense of observation of new about TSK and the articulation of various meanings to news. In private sense; "The Sledgehammer Coup d'etat Plan" published in national press Taraf Newspaper on Jan 20; 2010 is chosen as a sample. Because in the scope of this new TSK is placed in the deviance area being an important antagonist of democracy. The reason of this news being chosen as a sample is that it was searched on the 202 thousand times and is discussed in the various field of the press. While the evaluations in the newspaper news and columns direct the study it also provides practice for opponent/enemy transformation. News discourses which are observed with the macro and micro dimensions of critical discourse analyses is observed to be the proof for the binary transformation structure of the discourse of Laclau and Mouffe. Articulation practice is composed with the setting of crucial points that fixes the meaning of the discourse partially. Partial character of this fixation arises from the social deficiency. Defending the identities under threat causes a disruption by antagonism. However as Laclau and Mouffe have asserted, there is not a sole antagonism in society and other antagonisms must be discussed. With the help of other concepts such as economical policies, democracy, press and hegemony the discussion of news about TSK is made possible. This study puts the construction of hegemony, politics and economic structure together via discourses. It is observed that hegemonic ideology opens the position of parties on power into discussion by using media.

Elections media coverage in the Post-Soviet countries during 2008/2010 political period

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The third Russian President, Dmitry Medvedev, was elected in March 2008, and on the 7th of May that year he took the office succeeded Vladimir Putin, who started his prime-minister duties. It was the beginning of the new phase of the modern Russian politics called "dualism", or "double-power". Medvedev as the new president in all political directions continued to follow his predecessor's agenda. The expectations of political system reforms, which might allow to open a kind of wide political discussion and entering the Russian political landscape new participants, came to the illusion of abilities to modernize the regime. The local elections happened three times after Medvedev came to the power demonstrated just the declarative principles with absence of concrete steps to change the public activeness in the decision making process. The media and specially television as still the leading messages transmitting source couldn't become the more open position in discussion of actual problems of the Russian social and political conditions. And only just after the heavy scandal of the last local elections results with the major administrative support towards the government-supported parties, president announced the proposals to reform the election system on all levels allowing for minor parties to join the political stream. In this situation the Russian media had to turn in their political coverage the bordering countries, former Soviet Republics, especially Ukraine, where the whole decade long the situation of internal political crisis was observed. Coverage of the elections in the Post-Soviet countries gave the Russian media the opportunity to use all that productive experience of the political style journalism, which was well collected from different sources during the previous period of the Russian elections season, from Gorbachev's "perestroika" to the Yeltsin's years. Besides this practice some Russian journalists came to Ukraine to moderate political television programs, which formats were adopted in Russia before the middle of the XXI century first decade. And that could be called a round circulation of the political journalism experience on the territory of the former USSR. But generally it also might be admitted that main principles of media elections coverage became practical almost in all post-socialist countries with concrete national peculiarities and present political conditions.

Post-Authoritarian States and Television:Comparing Korea and Taiwan, A path-dependency approach

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Post-Authoritarian States and Television: Comparing Korea and Taiwan, A path-dependency approach Lihyun Lin In the authoritarian rule, Taiwan and South Korea (Korea) had similarities. In the cold-war era, both countries externally depended on the US and exerted authoritarian rule at home. Also, in the 1960s, both established official controlled commercial television systems. In the 1980s, both countries had democratic movements, including media reform movements. In the 1990s, both countries adjusted their media systems with the coming of new technologies. However, in the post-authoritarian politics, the two countries have taken different roads. In Korea, the national terrestrial television was transformed into public and is still dominant. By contrast, in Taiwan, the terrestrial television declined, private cable systems gained dominance. This paper adopts the "path-dependence" approach to compare the paths of the television systems of the two the post-authoritarian countries. According to this approach, the current development was not isolated from the historical arenas but was influenced by the historical legacies. At critical historical moments, actors made important choices. The choices would influence the following sequences of events; and certain historical paths were formed. In Korea there were one state television and two private television stations before 1980. After a coup, a military dictator came to power in 1980. In the name of "media public responsibilities," he forced the private televisions to merge with the state enterprise; hence a strong state television was established. After the ownership transformation, media reform movements in South Korea rose up and demanded that the state television stations fulfill public responsibilities. Thus, in the mindsets of the Korean people, the public terrestrial television should be in the central place of the media landscape. Hence, in introducing new television platforms (e.g., cable system in 1995, satellite television and later mobile television), Korea protected the privilege of the terrestrial television, imposed tight control on the new media and private interests. With the protection, the terrestrial television dominated the market and became the main program producers at home and abroad. In Taiwan, there were three official terrestrial television stations. The majority shares of the three television stations were each owned by the government, the military and the party, while the rest shares were owned by private interests. In 1980, the government proposed to establish a public television station; the proposal was turned down because of resistance of the private interests. In Taiwan, television was not conceived as a public entity; even the opposition movements in the 1980s advocated the end of the state control of the media. Because of the mindsets, in introducing new television platforms (e.g., cable system in 1995), the government adopted a hand-off policy, imposed loose restrictions on private interests in terms of ownerships, the number of channels and the amount of foreign programs. The terrestrial broadcasters declined, while the private cable system won dominance. In conclusion, the development of media in the post-authoritarian society was influenced by the authoritarian past. At the critical moment in 1980, the Korean government chose to form a strong national television in the name of public interests. This concept became an underlying principle in the media policy and resulted in the persistence of a strong terrestrial television system. On the contrary, at the same critical moment in 1980, Taiwan failed to establish a public television and allowed the television in the private hands. It is therefore suggested that the post-authoritarian societies should review their own past, in order to walk from the past.

The authorship is the message

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The author offers theoretical framework for communication analysis. The communication is regarded as a process of construction and/ or imitation of identity by symbolic means (media). The influence of social inequality, especially in a changing society, is considered as an important feature of social communication. The paper analyzes concepts of imitation in communication action instead of construction and describes quasi-types of personal and mass communication in post-Soviet symbolic space. The field basis for framework testing is the study of viewers' perceptions of some specific types of billboards addressed (considering the surface of

communication act) to person-to-person communication. Two specific types are compared. The first type includes billboards with personal congratulations on birthdays or jubilees, declarations of love, expressions of condolence or appreciation in public space. The second type includes series of billboard with the theme "This is my Olympics". They have been ordered by Sochi-2014 Organizing committee with the idea to make the Olympics closer to each Russian. The correspondence between the public and private, the mass and personal types of communication and correlated social media should be regarded as the counter changes. These changes are being revealed in processes of individualization, personalization of former mass media, so that, cumulatively, they can be designated as a post-mass communication. These changes results in transformation of the advertising and branding strategies (individuation in branding), aspiration for authenticity and genuineness in organizational communications and public relations and so on. Post-personal communication as an opposite pole is an attempt to dialogue, which seeks genuineness, truth, uniqueness, retention of transcendent exertion in each communicative situation, at the same time with self-sufficient importance of that situation for each participant. However as long as this attempt is deliberate and even reflexive, genuineness and uniqueness are being produced rather under the conditions of the increasing level of manipulative control and constructiveness as intentionality and designinglity, than in amateur way of doing. Social practices in Soviet and recent Russian society demonstrates high degree of hypocrisy both in individual and institutional patterns of behavior, so that it may be called "system hypocrisy". The problem is that the institutional claims force the actor to imitate following norms, rules, rituals, which are contradictory (according with the shared values and ideas) or/and don't correspond with the adopted personal and latent convictions. System hypocrisy is accepted as an element of the government or organizational strategy and results in "magic of plans" According to such specific public consciousness quasi-personal message on a billboard is much more important and convincing declarations of love or condolences, in comparison with the intimate and confidential expression. The perception of two types of billboards demonstrates that the authorship is the most important factor determining whether the message would be adopted as arousing trust, empathy or rejected as formal imitation. "Personal billboards" are considered as media of imitation of new symbolic barriers, which mark out new social inequalities. Olympic billboards are examples of imitation and hypocritical message.

Citizen journalism in Russia

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Citizen journalism in Russia The global economic crisis contributed to the transformation of media sphere in Russia and in the world at large mostly at the expense of traditional print media-some newspapers and magazines abandoned their paper editions and went over to on-line versions and practically all traditional media – print, radio, television refreshed or recreated and redesigned their on-line editions. The media became dualistic and convergent and in many cases traditional and on-line versions are competing. The on-line site in Russia has an especially important role in supporting and promoting citizen journalism. And the most successful is the site of the radio station the Echo of Moscow which opens access to a wide range of opinions and texts including citizens of practically all shades of political spectrum .Its address is echomsk.ru and it opens access to many differing voices and dialogues on various subjects of national and international life. The citizen journalism in Russia includes thousands of blogs and numerous sites including the site of the British Foreign Secretary ,hosted by the Echo of Moscow. The site broadens the plurality and pluralism of the Russian media overcoming the sterility of state controlled and and corporate owned media.

Blogging on Russia versus reporting on Russia. What Russia are we talking about?

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Foreign news reporting is in crisis, it is often heard. The increasingly mobile society made unnecessary the permanent overseas media bureaus staffed with foreign correspondents. The economic crisis, felt in the media sector, has added an extra cause to the end of the foreign correspondents, permanently based in countries and towns around the world, speaking the language and 'getting boned up on the history and everything else.' In their place came the 'parachute journalists', merely desktop journalists, flying in to cover crises and events in short peak periods of news but not necessarily with on-the-ground knowledge of the countries they cover in their stories. Attention of observers and researchers so far has gone foremost to the (declining) quality of foreign news reporting as a result of parachute journalism. The foreign news dealt with is mostly that in the mainstream media. Only in the margin is pointed at a new phenomenon: blogging foreign news. Hence, new media open new perspectives. Foreign reporting is not the exclusive terrain of foreign news reporters any more as bloggers join the picture. The so called warblogs, milblogs, or 'spot news blogs', springing up in times of war or crises (eg. Tsunami, 9/11) are well-known as additional news sources. But not all blogs concentrate on dramatic events. A new kind of foreign correspondents seems to emerge: the free lance journalists who are blogging on a more systematic basis and in routine times, using their blogs as an extra outlet for their stories, for which they find no place in newspapers and on television channels. But also using their blog (and twitter, facebook, flickr,..) to promote themselves and their work, as means to build a reputation as the good-old foreign correspondent new-style, well informed, knowing the language and reporting on the country and its people from inside out. In our paper we focus on blogging on Russia by Dutch-speaking bloggers and blogging journalists, in comparison with reporting on Russia in mainstream media. How is Dutch speaking Belgium informed about nowadays Russia by bloggers in comparison to mainstream journalists? A content analysis of three Dutch-speaking newspapers in Belgium (De Standaard, De Morgen, Het Laatste Nieuws) between 24 September 2008 and 31 January 2009 brings us to some conclusions on the topic of 'Russia' in the mainstream Dutch-speaking Belgian newspapers with regard to themes reported on, frequency of reporting, and the resulting overall picture of Russia in the news. The results will be confronted with the image of Russia in Dutch-speaking blogs on Russia (such as the blogs of Olaf Koens, Remco Reiding, Michel Krielaars). Do the blogs offer different themes? Do they report with the same frequency? Is their tone and style comparable to newspaper reporting? Do they frame the news in the same way as newspapers do? And what about the intermedia source cycle? Do newspapers and blogs refer to each other? Or can we speak of two different media worlds, standing next to another? Findings on Russia are embedded into the literature and research on blogging, participatory journalism, foreign news reporting and the mobile society.

Twenty years of media change in Russia: what does it tell us about the West?

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In the panel dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the change in post-soviet media and media law, I suggest the following paper focusing on how Western observers make sense of Russian media transition: After twenty years of post-communism, a sense of disillusionment prevails the thinking about both Russian media and democracy. Russia is described as stuck halfway between authoritarianism and democracy, or even worse, going backwards, sliding back into authoritarianism. The press is considered only partly free, or not free at all. The American organization Freedom House, for example, lowered the status of Russian media in 2003 after some years of 'partly free' to 'not free'. Since then, reports on the state of Russian media freedom have not been optimistic at all. The negative sounds of the mid-2000s contrast with the euphoric sense of the late 1980s and early 1990s wherein Russia's potential for freedom and democracy were stressed. What did happen in Russia during these twenty years? How did it affect Western thinking on Russian media and democracy over these years? And what lessons can be learned on the interrelatedness of media and democracy in general? We intend to give an

overview of media changes in Russia over the past twenty years paralleled with changes in Western observations and thinking about these changes, connected to the never ending discussion of the uniqueness of Russia. Though datelines – as used here – are useful to divide history, we realize that they do no justice to the continuity of history. We try to frame the receipt by the West of the succeeding periods of Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev. What does it tell us about Russia? But most of all, what does it tell us about the West? The paper strives to be essayistic in giving an overview of tendencies in Western literature dealing with Russian media changes in connection to democracy.

From a dictatorship of the Party to the dictatorship of the market, or...? Examining public TV practices in the Visegrád group

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During the 1990s foreign capital entered the post-socialist space: Russian and East-European political, economic and journalistic elites turned out to be influenced by neo-liberal mainstream that resulted the structural changes in mass-media sectors: reallocation of funds and other resources, re-distribution and re-classification of audiences, changes in a journalistic culture. Following the united Europe policy, a majority of the former socialist countries joined the European Union (the largest enlargement of the Union happened in year 2004 when 10 Central and East European countries became members of the EU); earlier the Czech republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia created an alliance known as the Visegrád group or V4. Today the Visegrád Group after Slovenia are the wealthiest post-communist countries in Europe, all of them have relatively developed free market economies and have had more or less steady economic growth since the regime's fall in 1989. In general, the mass-media development in East European countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union proceeded according to similar (to each other) scenario with the exception of nuances caused by national peculiarities and paying capacity. Television became the strongest media in the post-communist societies that brought (together with the state) new agents into the field such as, for example, new Russian commersants or western businessmen, buying or sponsoring newspapers and TV channels in order to affect political discussions and protect their assets. The paper concerns an issue of public TV developing in V 4 countries under the conditions of commercialization, taking into account the world financial crises that most strongly echoed in Central and East Europe, and also the role of so-called intelligentzia in constructing the public sphere in these states. The paper is based on media and sociological research conducted in Russia, Hungary and Slovakia, including statistical overviews.

Political Leadership Rebranding: New Communication Principles in Russian Politics

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Modern political leadership implements new approaches in the field of political communication through different media, including new ones (YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, blogging, SarcoTV or Obama's live videos on the official site ets.). Russia is included in the process of changes in political communication (some call it the "americanization of politics") but with some remarks connected to the peculiarities of national political culture. The modernization of country recently proclaimed by President Dmitriy Medvedev demands changes in communicating politics (including total e-government up to 2015), also the need of rebranding of image of Russian political power is clear to the political analysts and media experts and to politicians themselves. The research is focused on the communication strategies of Russian political leaders, including the heads of the state. The unusual situation (so called the "duumvirat" or "tandem") produces very interesting information policy. On one hand, the common tendencies such as permanent campaigning or "going public", on the other hand, very specific forms and strategies such as "hot lines" of the Prime Minister Putin. They are followed by

other politicians who are now more than ever open to the public. The paper is an attempt to explore the newest development in delivering political information to the citizens. Understanding policy is a key issue for raising political participation and the implementation of the most advanced techniques and technologies could significantly help it. Somehow there is a kind of "digital divide": old-fashioned information package mediated by television targets the traditional audience meanwhile younger and more technically advanced, more experienced in Internet usage (probably, even better educated) audience consumes new forms of packaging politics. To confirm the interest of public to new possibilities is that Medvedev's videoblog in Live Journal is a leader in all search results on politics in 2009 according to Russian Google polls. He was followed by 20 governors having started their blogs in 2009. The tendency is clear but it's also a challenge for 21st century politics.

Citizen participation, media and political change. On Harun Farocki and Andrej Ujica's Videograms of a revolution

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Twenty years after the popular revolt that overturned Nicolae Ceauçescu's socialist regime, the well-known images of political change in Romania briefly returned to TV screens around the world. These pictures possess a high communicative value though only in relation to a social, political and cultural context generally ignored by historicist perspectives, which have tended to focus on their importance as documents rather than on their discursive significance. However, the confluence between political power and patterns of visibility fostered by Ceauçescu, whose image dominated broadcasts on Romanian TV during his fifteen years in power, turns these images of popular insurrection mostly taken by amateurs not only into an inestimable historical source, but also into knots where a complex, subversive discourse is articulated by the citizens themselves, enacting and validating an on-going transformation where political and media reorganisation go hand in hand. This is a process whose most recent examples include images, now captured by mobile phones and broadcasted via twitter and youtube, which show demonstrations against Ahmedinejad's regime in Iran. As in Romania twenty years ago, the shaky pictures of demonstrators in Teheran oppose not only state control but also media institutionalisation. Departing from a socio-semiotic analysis of Harun Farocki and Andrej Ujica's Videograms of a revolution (1992) this paper proposes to study how the different audiovisual discourses which circulated in Romania during the five days of the revolt relate dialogically to each other, analysing connections and counterpoints. In this brief period of time, instability and power vacuum allowed the emergence of media codes generated by diffuse citizen demands, which ended up acting as a legitimising force in the new system. In our view, these amateur images and the role played by Romanian TV during the revolt underscored at the time the visibility needs of social movements which required new forms of organisation and communication in an attempt to assert their claims not only in the political sphere but also in direct relation to media discourse. Today, this visibility needs find expression through social networking sites on the Internet where audiovisual discourse remains central. It is from this departure point that this paper proposes a thorough reassessment of new citizen participation practices taking into account their role in processes of political mobilisation in a global context increasingly defined by the influence of media corporations.

Changes and Continuities in media system in the post-democratization – a Case study of Far Eastern democracies

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This study aims at investigating and comparing how the media systems of Japan and South Korea have been transformed since their respective democratization. It uses the media system framework for comparative analysis of the relation between the media and the political system, based on a survey of media institutions in two Far Eastern Asian democracies. In Japan, the fundamental change occurred after its defeat of World War two. During

the occupation by GHQ, pre war authoritative structure was broken and restructured according to Western models and value. In 1950, post-war three radio rules were enacted including the Broadcast Law. Under this law, NHK, originally founded as a national broadcasting monopoly, was transformed as public service broadcasting to be supported by public. Furthermore, Commercial broadcasting was also allowed. Since then, Japan has developed a full range of commercial media system to be called one of the most media-saturated societies in the world. The mass media including has been considered by Japanese public as the most influential group in the society and especially NHK has been the dominant, and most trusted, source of political information for the citizen. South Korea's experiences resemble the Japanese case, only behind the times. After liberation from the Japanese occupation, the republic of Korea established. Enduring fierce civil war and long political instability including long military government rule, South Korean people accomplished democratic reform only after the dictator was killed in 1979. Government control and commercialism have been criticized as deep-rooted evils of Korean broadcasting over all the periods of authoritarian rules by the Japanese and then the developmental dictatorship until 1980s. For example, in the 1980s, broadcasting stations was abolished by the coercive action by military government and since then the evening news was started with an item related to the president, Chun Doo Hwan. However, after the democratization process from the later half of the 1980s to the 1990s, a public broadcasting system was proposed and commercial broadcasters was allowed along with. At least in terms of media system and policy, two countries are close to the liberal model of the West's. However, there are many problems: Public service broadcasting is in a crisis, political pressure on the media persists, journalism performance is often weak, ownership concentration is increasing, media pluralism is at risk, minority access to the media remains scarce, nationalist and hate speech is spreading and so on. Particularly mentioning is the relations of politics. In two countries, it has been witnessed that the governments have exerted its power so strong not only allocating channels for broadcasting and determining who can actually broadcast but also regulating the content in a complex and complicated manner. In this presentation, I would like to dwell on why in the two Far Eastern democracies some authoritarian characteristics have persisted especially in broadcasting politics despite the fundamental institutional transformations. Special focus will be on the relation between the media and political system as well as the cultures in the region because it is a result of complex relation of the organization and processes of the media and their relationship with politics.

Assessing Eastern European Media Twenty Years after the Fall of Communism

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A turning point of the 1989 anti-communist revolutions in Eastern Europe was the overthrow of the totalitarian governments' control of the media. Upheavals in Poland, Hungary, East Germany, what was then Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and subsequent movements in the republics of the Soviet Union, led not only to the transfer of political power from the communist forces to more democratic political actors but also to dramatic changes in media structures, functioning, and access. However, few scholars have examined media issues in Eastern Europe in the transition out of communism and towards European integration, and even fewer scholars have looked at these issues through comparative lenses. This presentation aims at filling these gaps by comparing and contrasting the development of the media across Eastern European countries during the 20 years since the fall of communism, and examining the current state of the media in Eastern Europe. The presenters will focus on both the specificities of the media in each country approached (Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine, and Russia) and on the differences among the media of these countries. The presenters will draw from historical data, and they will commonly refer to the following topics: (1) profiles of media organizations, including the rise of the commercial media and attempts to preserve a public component of the media; (2) profiles of media professionals, including issues of gender, education, training, and income; (3) types of media reporting, including existing standards and common practices; (4) ethics of the media, including accusations of corruption and issues of accountability; and (5) trends in the media, including tensions between localism and globalization and challenges related to the accession to and integration into the European Union.

The Culture Of Journalism in the Post-Soviet Space: Characteristics and Future Trends

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Since the enormous changes which occurred in the then Union two decades ago, journalism in the subsequent post-Soviet space has been an area in which a great deal of diversity and uncertainty has be seen. To a certain extent, this situation is based on trends in journalism throughout the world, but it is also true that in post-Soviet countries, there are different forms of political, economic, cultural, technological and social development in which some processes still point to the common history, while others speak to an increasing process of distancing. Journalism in the post-Soviet space can be described as a European-Asian split and a totalitarian-democratic split in terms of differences in practice, but at the same time, this is a space which is still linked by the Russian speaking community – one that stretches across national borders and is made up of more than just ethnic Russians themselves. This is a community which consumes a wide variety of Russian language media, but of particular importance are those which are created in Russia itself. The situation is one in which people obtain different understandings about the practices of journalism. The influence of the Russian media and journalism as a factor in the future development of journalism in the post-Soviet space is also a timely matter in many post-Soviet republics because the Russian media industry can ensure broader and more attractive content than local industries can do. The rapid changes in societies create another problem which is common in post-Soviet journalism – a lack of competence in mediating among a wide diversity of information so as to ensure analysis and criticism, to create frameworks for public discussion, and to ensure the processing of information. These, accordingly, are not just risks for the future. Doubts about the autonomy and validity of journalism are already on the rise in post-Soviet societies.

Pluralist Media in Kenya: A critical view

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This paper sheds light on the practice of journalism and its relation to the structure of the media system in a transitional democracy. Kenyans have seen an expansion in broadcasting with new independent channels, and some growth in the press during the past decade. Is the new pluralistic media providing a source for reliable information and a forum for open political debate? For the purpose of this paper I have chosen to focus on how political reporting is perceived by the Kenyan media practitioners themselves. By thematically analysing 15 interviews conducted with various journalists in Nairobi, it is possible to uncover the difficulties they face and the weaknesses of the media system. After the eruption of violent political clashes following the last election in Kenya, a commission set out to investigate the causes behind it. The commission lead by Judge Phillip Waki produced a report, which puts some portion of the blame for the political violence on Kenyan media (Waki P., 2008). This stirred debate among Kenya's media practitioners and caused some self-criticism by journalists, which is echoed in the responses that were given in my research. However, the question of ethnic tension is only given marginal space in this dissertation, as part of the problem of a partisan media, which impacts the practice of journalism. The structure of the Kenyan media system appears to result in many media outlets turning in to direct political instruments in election campaigns, during which politicians use ethnicity to win votes. By interviewing journalists and editors the focus here is on how they perceive their own practice within the structure. Theories surrounding the political economy of the media, and libertarian media theory, are explored in the literary review and applied to the case study.

Local communication matters? - local information services and civic journalism in the creation of the civic society – the case of Poland

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Discussing various types of communication, the role of the local media in today's global system of information cannot be left unnoticed. It must be emphasized that the expansion of the local media depends on the economic development of given local areas. It is important to estimate whether a particular local community is able to sustain a medium by means of posting advertisements. It is also worth to check are there any companies or service providers who would advertise their products in order to benefit the local medium? The recent research show that the market of the local media has been developing according to the worldwide trends. Therefore, communication via the internet is also becoming a standard among the local media. Should there be no internet available, the poor financial situation of the local media would constitute an obstacle for local communication. Nowadays, the problem is alleviated by the fact that the internet is an inexpensive medium for the sender. The internet is indeed global, yet paradoxically it binds local processes. The development of the internet strengthens localness as many websites deal directly with local matters – companies, offices, political parties have their own sites. What is more, local web portals are invaluable source of knowledge about the region, which also shall be discussed in this article. All issues mentioned in the above paragraphs are being taken into consideration in this paper. The aim of the paper is to answer the following questions: if the Internet, interpreted usually as a global medium, can also play an important role of a local medium; can the Internet help in formation of a "local agora": a place of creation of opinions about the world, a place of creation of interpretation of local phenomena, a place of research for solution of problems, etc. The paper is going to present the analysis of web portals devoted to local and regional problems (with: news section, civil journalism, forums, advertisements section etc.). Together with creating contemporary local public sphere it can be asked the question about the existence of unexploited and untapped potential of the Internet at the local communication level. The paper will also analyse, the following concepts as: the category of "locality" in the context of communication mediated by the Internet; the concept of "network society" and related with it different types of social relationships (virtual community, proximity, locality, etc.) together with media that are used by these groups to communicate. The paper is based on the research being followed in Poland between the year 2006 and 2010. The author used - among others – the following methods: observational method, in-depth interview method (e.g. with media workers; local audience representatives; local businessmen), and textological methods. The theoretical part is based o the globalization, glocalization and global network theories with the reference to the: Castells; Bauman; Calabrese; Franklin; Giddens; Hafez; Kraidy; Robertson; Soja; Sreberny; Sparks; Weaver.

Different Strategies of Latvia's Russian-Language Newspapers: Between Ethnicity and Citizenship

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From the point of view of development of Latvian mass media system and taking into account the role of the Russian-language mass media of Latvia in the shaping of public opinion it is important to study laws of supply and demand in this market. The aim of the paper is to develop a conception about regularities and models in Latvia's Russian-language newspapers development and functioning in connection with general development factors and specific features of country's media system. The paper formulates different strategies of functioning of Latvia's Russian-language newspapers. That allows to conceptually reason about whether they include themselves in the common media system of Latvia or not and to get an overall results about social cohesion in Latvia and to forecast and manage the changes more successfully in both of them. The mentioned strategies are as follows: 1) Ethnic-centred and to authoritarian Russia oriented partisan political strategy (newspapers as a tool to reach narrow political and economical goals) which temporarily works successfully as a short term strategy but in the mid-term and long-term perspective leads to marginalization of Russian-language press und its publics; 2) Mainly journalistic professional and media business-guided strategy (self-dependent newspapers) with the

emphasis to establishing of common national identity of democratic Latvian nation of citizens and in the same time to representation of particular ethnic interests. The first strategy is implemented from the most nation-wide Russian-language newspapers published in the capital city Riga, the second one – mostly from local newspapers. For instance, in second largest Latvian city Daugavpils, where media consumption attests to the strengthening of local identity and a stable regional identity, not in Riga, where there is a considerably larger portion of non-citizens both on editorial staffs and on the publics. Taking into account the larger proportion of "old" Latvian citizens, it is important to note that, overall, Russian-language newspapers of Daugavpils are not characterized by such an aggressive style in the implementation of official Russian positions as the Russian-language papers in Riga, and basically accept Latvian state policy in the corresponding issues. What is more, in the case of Daugavpils, local Russian-language newspapers are chosen in favour of Russian-language papers from Riga. In May of 2008, as part of the study "Latvia's Russian-Language Mass Media Market and Audience" by the Communication Sciences Department at the Turiba Business School, 2,596 Latvian residents were surveyed, of whom 22.8% spoke only Russian, or Latvian and Russian, with family members at home. 12.3% of these families did not read newspapers, and 26% of these families read newspaper only rarely. In families that spoke only Latvian, these figures were 7.8% and 22.6%, respectively. These and other results of the survey and of the all study, including more than 15 in-depth and standardised interviews with owners, publishers and editors of biggest national and local Russian-language newspapers (years 2007 and 2010), are analysed from the point of view of both dynamic-transactional (communication science) and customer centric (marketing) approach and can be used as guidance for Latvian media policy and professionalizing of Latvia's mass media us well by potential investors that would like to invest in Russian-language media market of Latvia.