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**Comparing Post-socialist Media Systems**

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**Carmen Ciller**

**Research Group TECMERIN, Carlos III University of Madrid**

## **Modernity and emergence of global culture**

The introduction of a neoliberal economy and a globalized culture in the 1980s will produce very profound transformations in the social and cultural structures in Europe, both in the most democratically advanced countries, and in those that have left decades of totalitarian governments behind. From cinema and television, active agents in this process of social and cultural change emanate forms of communication and stories about emerging contradictions within the post-cold war Europe: representations of the fractures that occur between the global and the local, between north and south, or between the traditional expectations of the nation-state and the interests imposed by a transnational economic reality, which articulates social and cultural patterns and dissolves the foundations on which it is intended to build the utopia of the European common space.

The talk focuses on a reflection of the crisis, or de-legitimization, of the original feeling of the European “reason for being”, of belonging to a democratic culture that is understood as the culmination of a collective modernization project, destined to overcome the confrontations they lead to the experience of totalitarianism and the tragedy of World War II.  More specifically, it is about exploring how the construction of narratives about particularly conflictive aspects of the past can be understood and explained from a perspective that allows mutual understanding and reconciliation between Europeans.

**Carmen Ciller** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Journalism and Audiovisual Communication at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. She has published articles on film and television production in the framework of the European audiovisual policy. She has participated in the Group of Specialists in Media Diversity in the Council of Europe, from which emanates her article ‘The evolution of the concept of public service and the Transition in Spanish television’ (2009). In recent years, she has initiated a line of research on the representation of women in the cinema of the Spanish Transition: ‘Cecilia Roth en España.1976–1985’/‘Cecilia Roth in Spain.1976–1895’ (2011, with Manuel Palacio). Between 2004 and 2006, she was on the Board of the Spanish Association of Film Historians.

**Steffen Lepa**

**TU Berlin, Germany**

## **Varieties of unfreedom: An empirically-based global media systems typology**

According to many scholars in political communication, media system typologies form valuable tools for interpreting results of comparative media studies. They can be employed to provide a suitable contextual variable for explaining individual media use and effects within a multi-level framework, e.g., in order to operationalize structuration theory. However, existing typologies of media systems have been criticized in the past; it has been pointed out that typologies are not grounded in empirical data, that they are only applicable specific historical contexts, that they often mixing up proximal with distal characteristics of media systems and are thereby risking explanatory power, and finally, that the most prominent typologies, as well as their numerous published revisions, updates, and extensions, still tend to focus on very few and often mostly Western and/or European countries. This is typically due to the problem of acquiring enough comparable indicators for a larger number of countries beyond Europe, as well as due to the problems of traditional cluster analytical approaches when it comes to dealing with missing data.

Our contribution presents a new draft for an empirically-grounded global media system typology which draws on 24 mixed indicators that were by large publicly available for all 193 UN states, and are spread across four different theoretical dimensions: ownership and power distribution across different types of mass media, developmental status of internet communication infrastructure, legal foundations of mass media and internet communication, and de-facto implementation of media freedom. In this short presentation, the analysis results will be shown and discussed, with a special focus on the outcomes regarding former-socialist CEE states: our work is able to finally address the prominent critique of a strong “Western bias” that has limited prior media system research. Although the results still have certain drawbacks to them, we hope that already our present empirical findings will inspire new critical research projects regarding genesis and political consequences of the various different “unfree” system types that we were able to uncover by our analysis.

**Dr. phil. Steffen Lepa** M.A. M.A., born 1978, postdoc researcher at Audio Communication Group, Technische Universität Berlin, Germany. After finishing his M.A. studies in media, psychology, computer science and communication at TU/HBK Braunschweig and HMTH Hannover, he received his PhD in 2009 from the Faculty of Educational and Social Sciences at Oldenburg University, Germany. He holds teaching appointments for digital media change, social research methodology, audience research and audio branding at different German universities. From 2012-2014 he was principal investigator of the research project “Survey Music and Media. Empirical Basic Data and Theoretical Modeling of the Mediatization of Everyday Music Reception in Germany”, founded by the German Research Foundation priority program 1505 „Mediatized Worlds“. From 2016-2018, he had a leading investigator role in the EU Horizon 2020 research & development project “Artist-to-Business-to-Consumer Audio Branding System – ABC DJ“. From 2018-2019, he was a visiting guest professor at the Department of Journalism and Communication Research (IJK) at Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media, Germany. Current key research areas are mediatization research, digital media change, media reception (with a special focus on sound and music), audio branding, music information retrieval and empirical research methods (QUAL, QUAN and computational methods).

**Sophie Bruns**, M.A., born 1992, PhD student and research associate at the Institute for Journalism and Communication Research (IJK) at Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media (HMTM). After finishing her M.A. studies in communication research in 2016, she has been working as a research associate at IJK. From 2016-2018 she worked in an interdisciplinary research project “Biofabrication for NIFE”, founded by the Volkswagen Stiftung and the State of Lower Saxony. Teaching activities include classes on news audience research, digital marketing, and social research methodology. Her dissertation focuses on the role of social identities on news perception and effects. Current research interests are in media reception and effects research (with a focus on news perception and influences of social psychology) and quantitative research methods.

**Helmut Scherer** (born 1955) studied journalism, philosophy and German language and literature at Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. After his master's degree, he initially worked at the Institute for Public Opinion Research in Allensbach, from where he moved to the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. At this university, Scherer completed his doctorate and habilitation. From 1996-1999, he was professor of communication sciene at the University of Augsburg. Since 1999, Scherer has been professor of communication and media studies at the Institute for Journalism and Communication Research (IJK) at the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media (HMTM). His research focuses include reception research, media effects research, political communication, the public sphere and public opinion.

**Paolo Mancini**

**Department of Political Science, University of Perugia**

## **“Comparing Media Systems” and the Digital Age**

New media place unexpected challenges to policy decisions. Indeed, the development of new media can be conceived as a “critical juncture”, that dramatically affects the pre-existing media environment and society at large, without offering any certainty about the future.

The topic will highlight how the new media challenge the idea itself of media system, mostly when it is observed in connection to the political systems. Indeed, the idea of “system” is mainly based on “institutions”, such as the State, professional organizations, news outlet institutions, political institutions, etc.

The fact of the matter is that the Internet, and all the opportunities that it offers to news production and circulation (social media, citizens’ journalism, blogs, etc.), imply d**e-institutionalization.**That is, no formal organizations (if not those of the providers), no rules for professionals, no geographical borders within which to apply formal rules as to other aspects of the media (property, etc.).

In the era of new media, politics too becomes more **non-elitist and more unconventional**. Think of the emergence of new parties in large part of western democracies (5SM in Italy, new rights in Germany, new parties in Spain) and therefore of the difficulties to build a rooted framework of connections with the news media (on which the idea of political parallelism was based).

A **new media ecology** seems to emerge that appears to be much more de-institutionalized than in the era of legacy media. De-institutionalization goes together with volatility (essentially political volatility) rendering policy initiative even more difficult and complex.

**Paolo Mancini** is a Professor at the Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche, Università di Perugia. His research focuses mostly on political communication through a comparative perspective. He is the author of many books, both in English and Italian. The book he wrote with Dan Hallin, “Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics”, won several prizes and was translated in many languages. Mancini is a Fellow of International Communication Association, and in 2019 was awarded the Murray Edelman Career Achievement Award from the Political Communication division of the American Political Science Association (APSA). In the same year Mancini received the title of "Honorary doctor" from Midsweden University, Sundsvall.

**Snježana Milivojević**

**Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade**

## **International Assistance in Transforming Media Systems in SEE**

The lecture addresses the role of international media assistance during post-socialist transition in Southeastern Europe. International media assistance is historically a very recent form of international intervention in development and social transformation processes. Media aid makes a small portion of general aid in all parts of the world and it does not exceed 0,5% of it. It is usually episodic and connected to crisis areas or events. Media assistance in Southeastern Europe was also triggered by the crisis and war in ex-Yugoslavia and was more a reaction to it than a very developed policy response.

The focus on Southeastern Europe will follow dynamics of media assistance in both transitional and post-conflict society. It will do so on the background of general international media aid literature in order to compare it with the previous waves of democracies, relate it to media freedom indicators and research on post-socialist transition.

The analysis will proceed in two stages. Firstly, it will overview the major aid paradigms and assistance strategies in SEE, and secondly, it will map out the overall trajectory of aid during its two major phases in the region (1990s and post 2000s). Broadly speaking, major forms of assistance included three areas: media environment, direct support to media and journalism and professional training. Due to diversity of social conditions and critical reception, and with changing direction and different priorities accross time, these resulted in diverse media figurations across the region.

The lecture attempts to describe and systematize (mostly inconclusive) evaluation results of the international media assistance in SEE during the past 30 years. It will critical disscus international aid as a vehicle of normative influence and institution building of post-socialist media systems in the light of recent democratic and media freedom decline accross the region.

**Snjezana Milivojevic,** Professor of public opinion and media studies at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Sciences. She coordinates Culture and the Media PhD program, MA in Communication studies and is the founding chair of the Center for Media Research. Her main academic interest is in political communication, media policy and regulation, cultural and gender studies, and media and public memory.

**Zrinjka Peruško**

**Centre for Media and Communication Research, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb**

# **How Media systems change: path dependency and critical junctures in comparative analysis of post-socialist media systems**

Among the emerging post-socialist democracies, we see diverse developments and outcomes regarding media independence and autonomy. What shaped these diverse developments? Why did some countries consolidate democracy and independent media, while others have hybrid or authoritarian regimes and media systems? A different theoretical framework and research design that attempts to answer this question is presented in our paper, together with an empirical analysis of a sub-set of post-socialist countries. Causal configurations that impact present day media systems are influenced by the longue durée, and these influences go back to the period of modernization, as well as to the period of socialism. The theoretical approach is grounded in historical institutionalism where the two historical temporal frameworks are examined for contextual conditions which set the stage for the next set of institutional and cultural conditions in media system transformations after the collapse of communism. In a set-theoretical research approach, the analysis employs conditions from three temporal frameworks and three fields of power (the political field, the socio-economic field, and the cultural-symbolic field), with a number of dimensions familiar from the mainstream media systems theory of Hallin and Mancini with necessary expansions. Using fsQCA the paper will present causal configurations of conditions and receipts leading to different outcomes of media system transformations in Southeast Europe in the times of digital modernity.

**Zrinjka Peruško** is full Professor of media sociology and mass communication at the Department of Media and Communication, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, where she is the founding Chair of the Centre for Media and Communication Research. She is professor in the European Regional Master's Program in Democracy and Human Rights in South East Europe (Sarajevo), was visiting professor at the Department of Journalism and Audiovisual Media, Faculty of Humanities, Communication and Documentation, University Carlos III Madrid, and Fulbright visiting professor at Indiana University, Bloomington. A comparative communication scholar, she is engaged in the analysis of media systems, media cultures and audience dynamics, and mediatization related transformations of journalism, audiences, and media systems, often with a historical perspective and with a focus on the CEE. Her latest book *Comparing Post-socialist Media Systems: the Case of Southeast Europe* (with Dina Vozan and Antonija Čuvalo, Routledge 2021) investigates media systems transformations in post-socialist contexts from a historical institutionalist perspective comparative perspective, and offers answers to the question “Why media systems are the way they are”.

**Helmut Scherer**

**Institute for Journalism and Communication Research**

**Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media**

## **What Is a Media System and Some Other Naive Questions About Media Systems Research**

In the research literature on comparative media system analysis, one deficit is striking. Although there are some proposals to classify media systems, the term media system is never really defined. However, such a definition is indispensable for an empirically valid identification of different media systems. On the one hand, it defines the objects to be classified, and on the other hand, it makes it possible to define measurable criteria that can be used to adequately describe the different cases. Without such a definition, the indicators of the media system analysis become more or less arbitrary. As a result, we have many very heterogeneous approaches. In other words, the approaches of comparative media system analysis are difficult to compare among themselves. An attempt to define a theoretically meaningful and empirically substantial term of media system will be made. On this basis, the various media system indicators available in the research literature will be critically discussed. Furthermore, it will be discussed how typologies can be developed based on measurable indicators in an intersubjectively comprehensible way.

**Helmut Scherer** (born 1955) studied journalism, philosophy, German language, and literature at Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz. After his master’s degree, he initially worked at the Institute for Public Opinion Research in Allensbach, from where he moved to the University of Erlangen-Nuremberg. At this university, Scherer completed his doctorate and habilitation. From 1996-1999, he was professor of communication sciene at the University of Augsburg. Since 1999, Scherer has been professor of communication and media studies at the Institute for Journalism and Communication Research (IJK) at the Hanover University of Music, Drama and Media (HMTM). His research focuses include reception research, media effects research, political communication, the public sphere and public opinion.

**Miklos Sukosd**

**Department of Communication, University of Copenhagen**

## **Orban's propaganda state vs. democratic media: *longue durée* historical approaches to media system change in Hungary**

The paper utilizes a historical perspective in exploring the recent trend of autocratization and Russification of the Hungarian media system since 2010 under the Orban regime. Hungary's contemporary media system is characterized by a bi-sectoral structure. On the one hand, a strictly government controlled media sector (a propaganda state) enjoys a hegemony. On the other hand, a smaller sector of remaining democratic, independent media struggles for survival. How marginalized these independent media become remains an issue of heavy economic, political, social and professional struggles and contestation.

Why and how could Hungary’s pluralist, democratic media landscape between 1990-2010 (characterized by trends of Westernization, Europeanization, and professionalization) change into a propaganda state (characterized by de-Westernization, autocratization and Russification) in such a short period since 2010?

I argue that using a *longue durée* approach to media history (following the French Annales School of historical research) could add a meaningful perspective for our better understanding. Strong traditions of political censorship, structural media control and propaganda (the robust survival of a feudal type of representation); the relatively small size of educated publics (a limited social/popular impact of Enlightenment ideas); and comparatively small media markets characterized most periods of Hungarian media history in 19th and 20th centuries. (The common denominator behind all these trends is a long-term survival of feudal mental and social structures in the semi-periphery of the world system.) These long-term, deeply embedded political, cultural, social and economic *structures* (in Braudel's sense) constrain the horizon of possible actions and influence media systems as institutional outcomes over a *longue durée*period.

**Miklos Sukosd** is a media researcher, sociologist and political scientist, associate professor at the Department of Communication at the University of Copenhagen. Previously he served as associate professor at the Journalism and Media Studies Centre at the University of Hong Kong. He had also worked as academic director of the Center for Media and Communication Studies at CEU (Central European University), where he taught as associate professor of political science. His research interests include media in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and China; and environmental communication. He has published over 20 books and many book chapters and journal articles. His recent books include Valcke P., M. Sukosd, R. Picard (eds.). *Media Pluralism and Diversity: Concepts, Risks and Global Trends.* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Jakubowicz K. and M. Sukosd (eds.). *Media, Nationalism and European Identities.* (CEU Press, 2011); Dobek-Ostrowska B., M. Glowacki, K. Jakubowicz and M. Sukosd (eds.). *Comparative Media Systems: European and Global Perspectives.* (CEU Press, 2010); Jakubowicz K. and M. Sukosd (eds.). *Finding the Right Place on the Map: Central and Eastern European Media Change in Global Perspective.* (Intellect Books, 2008).

**Lenka Vochocova**

**Department of Media Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University (Prague)**

## **Online civic expression related to immigration in the Czech Republic: Intersection of various intolerant belief systems, populism and Euroscepticism**

The immigration from predominantly Muslim countries to Europe in the last decade represented a strong issue attracting public attention and served as a polarizing topic, used not only by populist political actors to gain votes. Thanks to a rapid development of online media and social network sites in the last decades, we can supplement the traditional focus of political communication on the media and political representations of immigration with a focus on how the general public, the citizens as media users, contribute to the political debate on the issue. The presentation will focus on civic online discourses related to the European immigration crisis, and to the prevalence and intersection of many intolerant belief systems (such as xenophobia, sexism or anti-liberalism, including attacks against civic society pillars, such as the NGOs) in relation to the issue. It will also be shown how Euroscepticism intersects with populism, illiberalism, and other intolerant belief systems in the online expression of Czechs related to immigration. The case of the Czech Republic serves as an example of a national context in which xenophobia and Euroscepticism are prominent features of the public opinion and discussion.

**PhDr. Lenka Vochocová, Ph.D.** is a lecturer and researcher at the Department of Media Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University (Prague), where she graduated in journalism and media studies. Her research interests cover the fields of political economy of communication, gender media studies and public sphere theories. She currently studies political participation in the social media environment and various forms of e-expression and online political civic debates. In her most recent research projects she focuses on online representations of the youth climate activism. She has been a member of the Gender expert chamber of the Czech Republic since 2015 and a Vice-chair of the ECREA CEE Network since 2016. She was a principal investigator of a research project (Czech Science Foundation) focusing on civic online participation related to the European immigration crisis and a member of an international research team on Populist Political Communication in Europe (COST Action).

**Dina Vozab & Antonija Čuvalo**

**Centre for Media and Communication Research, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb**

## **Methodological workshop: fsQCA - Qualitative comparative analysis of media systems using fuzzy sets**

A hands-on workshop will be organized where participants will learn the set theory behind the fsQCA and try out the analysis using a free software available for download, and on the basis of data on media systems in SEE.

**Dina Vozab** is assistant professor at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb. She graduated sociology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social sciences at the University of Zagreb. She earned her PhD in political science at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb with the topic “Media audiences and democracy in Croatia: social stratification as a predictor of media use and its role for political participation”. She is teaching at the undergraduate course Introduction to Media Systems and graduate courses Theories of Mass Communication, Media Audience Research and Media, Democracy and Participation at the Department of Media and Communication. Her research interests are media and democracy, political communication, media systems, media in post-socialist Europe and media audiences.

**Antonija Čuvalo** is assistant professor at the Department of Media and Communication, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb and vice-chair of the Centre for media and communication research. She obtained her doctorate in sociology at the Department for Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. She participated in the working group « New Media Genres, Media Literacy, and Trust in the Media « of the COST ISO906 «Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies». Research interests include media practice, spacio-temporal and social structures of everyday life, media audiences, trust in media, mediatization, media generations, digital culture and everyday life. Her doctoral dissertation deals with young peoples› media use in everyday environments.

**Bissera Zankova**

**“Media 21” Foundation**

## **The Media System and Journalistic Culture in Bulgaria (Research carried out in the Light of the Three Models of Media – Politics relations of Hallin and Mancini)**

The Bulgarian media has played a positive role in the process of democratic transformations in the country, however in recent years the negative trends in the media field have increased. What are the reasons for such a deplorable development? What kind of media and media system should be established in Bulgaria? What type of journalism do Bulgarians want to see evolve? The interdisciplinary project, titled “The media system and journalistic culture in Bulgaria (research carried out in the light of the three models of media - politics relations of Hallin and Mancini)”, takes the ambitious task of finding the proper answers to these fundamental issues, combining approaches from media studies, political science, and sociology. In order to accomplish our complex goal, an interdisciplinary research team has been established, comprising of eminent media researchers and students under the aegis of “St. Cyril and St. Methodius” University of Veliko Tarnovo, which is the beneficiary of the project. “Media 21 Foundation” is also a partner in the undertaking and represents the third sector and the group of independent researchers. The project will last for three years and in August 2021 its first stage will come to an end.

The main objective of this work is to place the Bulgarian media model and the Bulgarian journalistic culture, being its integral part, on the geographical map of the comparative studies of the world media systems. From the outset, it is necessary to point out that such a type of research is almost unknown in the Bulgarian media science. The starting point will be the well-known “three models” theory of media - politics relations of Hallin and Mancini: Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, North/Central Europe or Democratic Corporatist Model and North Atlantic or Liberal Model. Using this methodology the specific features of the Bulgarian media will be identified and analysed.

The main hypothesis of this study is that the Bulgarian media model is a hybrid media model; it develops at the intersection of the Mediterranean and the Liberal model. The preliminary analysis of interviews and empirical studies allows expanding the hypothesis that the Bulgarian media system operates in a polyarchic system. Depending on data available a second hypothesis can be formulated: journalistic culture is much more submissive than civic one.

**Bissera Zankova** has studied law and has specialized in editing and publishing at Sofia University “St.Kliment Ohridsky”, Bulgaria. She holds a Master (1999) and a Doctor (2005) of Comparative Constitutional Law from the Central European University, Budapest. For many years, Ms. Zankova has been a Council of Europe expert in the field of freedom of expression and media, a member of CDMSI and its Bureau. She has taken part in the Council of Europe missions in various European countries. Currently she is independent researcher and consultant as president of “Media 21” Foundation registered in Bulgaria which pursues projects in freedom of expression, new media and journalism. For the period 2017 – 2020 “Media 21” Foundation is a partner with 14 European organizations in the COMPACT EC Horizon 2020 project on convergence and social media. Mrs. Zankova is particularly interested in media policy and media regulation.