

**6<sup>th</sup> Postgraduate Spring School on Comparative Media Systems:  
Media Policy and Regulation & Agents of Power Conference  
Inter University Center, Dubrovnik, 24-28 April 2017**

**ABSTRACTS**

**Karen Arriaza Ibarra**

Complutense University of Madrid

**Telefonica Studios: To the conquest of the audio-visual production in Spain and South America**

In the last years, it has been proven that, even though EU policies regarding the regulation of the European audiovisual market determine the increasingly commercial international context within which national cultural and broadcasting policies operate, it becomes every day harder to ‘limit’ those attempts of gigantic telco companies to compete in the audiovisual world.

In this respect, and since the latter 1990s, there has been a continuous European policy debate about the appropriate aims and methods of regulation given the ‘convergence’ of broadcasting, telecoms and ITs (Humphreys, 1999), while, at the same time, in the internationalized audiovisual environment international commercial media companies continue to enjoy this lack of regulation through the power of private media lobbies (Harcourt, 2005).

This is the case of Telefonica Studios, a company part of Telefonica’s conglomerate “Movistar Plus” – which takes Spain’s biggest TV and SVOD operation quota. So far, it has been already successful in Argentina, co-producing with El Deseo, Telefe (Argentina’s top broadcaster, property of Movistar until November 2016, when it was sold to Viacom for 345 million dollars), and it also produced Oscar-shortlisted “Wild Tales,” a Sony Pictures Classics U.S. hit, and “The Clan,” Pablo Trapero’s 2015 Venice best director winner.

Telefonica first came into the Argentinian market 26 years ago, when it was the first telecom provider of telephone lines in Spain and in Central and South America. Now, a Pay-TV market of nearly 170 million consumers (Llorente & Cuenca, 2013) that positions Telefonica as the huge potential operator of the future, in a market as important as the one comprising that one of the BRICS countries.

What is the real penetration of Telefonica in Europe and South America? What are the challenges it has to face, and to what extent? Which are their limits facing the audiovisual future?

Given its new development, Telefonica is an important agent of power transformation in the media system. In this paper I try to analyse and describe the strengths and weaknesses of one of the most important telecom and audiovisual companies in Europe today.

**Carmen Ciller**

University Carlos III Madrid

**The Spanish democratic spring (mid-eighties to mid-nineties). The foundations of a new era in media development and the agents that made it possible**

The presentation explores a time that begins with the Transition, a period where the bases of democratic Spain are established in what implies modernization of the country and the entry into European Union, as well as its consequences in the media sphere. In a political period of radical change, the adoption in 1977 of the Royal Decree-Law on Freedom of Expression is fundamental to understand all the changes that took place in the media landscape.

The arrival of democracy in Spain meant a reordering of the media system with the disappearance of the public sector of the press and the emergence of new agents who will become leaders like Prisa, the publisher of “El País”.

At the same time, the television system is facing a series of changes related to political decentralization with the approval of the Law of the Third Channel Television (1983), which implies the emergence of the new model of autonomic televisions based on the vindication of nation-states; and privatization with the approval of the Law of Private Television (1988), which leads to the emergence of three new private television channels such as Gestevisión Telecinco, Antena3 TV and Sogecable.

The changes also reach the radio panorama. With the decentralization impulse (1979) will take place the emergence of autonomic radios, free and community radios, and with the approval of new frequencies (1989) a definitive impulse is given to the privatization of the sound waves of the Spanish public space.

### **Antonija Čuvalo**

University of Zagreb

#### **Regulative and Editorial Transition: the Case of Post Yugoslavian Televisions**

The paper analyses transitions in the regulative framework and editorial policies of the national terrestrial televisions on the post-Yugoslav territory. The study is based on the content analysis of a) TV programs on the terrestrial PSB TV channels of six Yugoslav republics in year 1979. during socialist era and b) national terrestrial TV channels with the highest market shares in the six countries successors of former Yugoslavia in year 2016. The study aims to show that differences between TV editorial policies of individual republics pertain in post Yugoslav era though regulative framework changed with their independence.

### **Kristina Irion & Tarik Jusić**

Institute for Information Law ([IViR](#)), University of Amsterdam, Central European University in Budapest; & Center for Social Research Analitika, Sarajevo

#### **Between a Rock and a Hard Place: 20 Years of International Media Assistance in the Western Balkans in a Comparative Perspective**

This presentation sums up the results of the regional research project that explored the interlinkages between the international media assistance programs and the media democratization in the countries of the Western Balkans: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. The study’s goal was to enhance the understanding of extent to which media institutions can be changed and democratized in a sustainable way as a result of the efforts of different external agents – such as international development agencies, donor countries and multilateral organizations. The question this study tried to answer is if the institutional models from other context can be successfully transposed into countries with different democratic traditions and different ways how media system operated prior to such external interventions. Although progress in some areas is obvious, it is a rare case to find sustainable media institutions after such external interventions, as transposed models clash with harsh realities of the underdeveloped markets, illiberal regimes, high level of informality, and weak professionalization of journalism. Hence, this presentation will try to provide an answer to the question about what happens to imported institutional models when they are transposed into the Western Balkans transitional societies.

## **Steffen Leppa**

Technical University of Berlin

### **Analyzing the time-course of digital Mediatization from 2009-2016 in Europe: On the prevailing role of national media systems and national media regulation style**

Mediatization, conceived as a historical, long-term meta-process of more and more media becoming institutionalized, may happen with different dynamics in different cultures (Krotz, 2014). To analyze such differences regarding digital Mediatization, an exploratory modeling of ongoing changes in “National Media Environments” (Hasebrink, 2013; Hasebrink et al., 2015) across 31 European countries from 2009-2016 was performed. This was realized by a Latent Profile Analysis (Collins & Lanza, 2010) drawing on 33 publicly available country-aggregated time-series indicators (from World Press Trends Database, European Audiovisual Observatory, IFPI yearbooks, World Bank Database and Eurostat Database) concerning media use, technology diffusion and IT penetration of society. Results imply that Mediatization followed a common ‘upward’ trend in European countries during the last years, in the sense that most National Media Environments became increasingly more ‘digital’. Nevertheless, this trend is clearly partitioned in three homogenous country-clusters and was strongly dependent on national media systems and media regulation style. In my presentation at IUC.CMS 2017, I would like to discuss consequences of these findings with regards to future media policy and regulation in Europe.

Collins, L. M., & Lanza, S. T. (2010). *Latent Class and Latent Transition Analysis. With Applications in the Social, Behavioral, and Health Sciences*. Hoboken (NJ), USA: Wiley.

Hasebrink, U. (2013). Comparing Media Use and Reception. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of Comparative Communication Research* (pp. 382–399). London: Routledge.

Hasebrink, U., Jensen, K. B., Bulck, H. van den, Hölig, S., & Maesele, P. (2015). Changing Patterns of Media Use across Cultures: A Challenge for Longitudinal Research. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 435–457.

Krotz, F. (2014). Mediatization as a Mover in Modernity: Social and Cultural Change in the Context of Media Change. In K. Lundby (Ed.), *Mediatization of Communication* (pp. 131–161). Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

## **Paolo Mancini**

University of Perugia

### **A powerful agent of power: Silvio Berlusconi**

Many scholars discussed the possible “Italianization” of the media systems in Central and Eastern Europe. In many ways the idea of “Italianization” is linked to the personal figure of Silvio Berlusconi who undoubtedly was (and still is) the most important “agent of power” in the change of the Italian mass media system. This paper illustrates the figure of Silvio Berlusconi, his personal and entrepreneurial career and his move to the field of television. The paper will focus mostly on the cultural and political conditions that allowed Berlusconi to significantly affect the Italian mass media system. These conditions may be observed in many other democracies as well.

Particular attention will be devoted to the discussion of the network of relations and overlappings between the field of mass communication, politics and business that in many cases is the main driving force in the change of media landscape.

## **Snježana Milivojević**

University of Belgrade

### **Media Assistance Revisited: International Community as an Actor of Change**

This paper addresses the role of international media assistance and its major actors during post-socialist transition in South Eastern Europe.

International media assistance is historically a very recent form of international intervention in development 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 South Eastern Europe was also triggered by the crisis in ex-Yugoslavia and was more a reaction to it than a very developed policy response.

This paper will focus on South East Europe but will take Serbia as a case study to present the dynamic of international 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 with previous waves of democracies and relate it to media freedom (Norris and Zinnbauer 2002, Sprks 2007,)

The analysis will proceed in three stages. Firstly, it will map out the overall trajectory of aid during its two major phases in SEE( 1990s and post 2000s).

Secondly, it will overview the major international actors and classify their various strategies and aid paradigms. Finally, it will consider different forms of assistance. Broadly speaking major forms of assistance included three areas: media environment, direct support and training. There were changes in direction and different priorities among donors, but more than half of all the aid (26,5 mil out of 45 mil in euro) was in some form of direct support to media outlets. The other half was invested into building media environment and training and professional capacity building (13,1 and 5,4 mil euro respectively). ( CIMA 2016, Rhodes 2016.) Data indicates that there was more inclination towards legal and institutional approach among state and international organizations, and more professional training and production support with individual donors.

The analysis will conclude with an attempt to evaluate and systematize (mostly inconclusive) evaluation results of the international media assistance in SEE during past 25 years.

## **Hannu Nieminen**

University of Helsinki

### **Why analyse inequality and the media?**

The recognition of inequality and social and political polarisation as major threats to our liberal democracies has become part of the contemporary political mainstream. This is shown, for example, by the fact that these threats were among the top risks identified by the world economic and political leaders in their yearly Davos meeting in January 2017:

The combination of economic inequality and political polarisation tends to amplify global risks, fraying the social solidarity on which the legitimacy of our economic and political systems rests. New economic systems and policy paradigms are urgently needed to address the sources of popular disenchantment.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Global Risks Report 2017, 12th Edition. World Economic Forum 2017, p. 13: <http://wef.ch/risks2017>.

In many projections, these fears are combined with the threat emerging from the ‘post-truth political debate’ or from profound changes in the way in which news and information are produced distributed and shared,<sup>2</sup> referring to the debate over ‘fake news’ and disinformation:

The main threat is that citizens’ trust in media and politicians might further erode, creating a vicious cycle that threatens liberal democracy. States must better protect their hardware; but cyber defence will not be enough. Democratic institutions can also support media literacy, strengthen their communication efforts, and educate their citizens.[...] Preventing a “post-truth” world, in which “nothing is true and everything is possible”, is a task for society as a whole.<sup>3</sup>

While interconnections between inequality and the media were not the main focus of Davos or Munich, both reports recognised their historical contexts being defined by developments in Britain – Brexit in the summer of 2016 – and the US – the election of Donald Trump in the autumn of 2016. The logic is rather simple and straightforward: increasing economic inequality and social polarisation brings about resentment and distrust towards elites; this disenchantment among the lower income and less educated is politically exploited by populists both on the right and left of the political spectrum; part of the media – especially social media – is harnessed by populist anti-elitist propaganda that spreads disinformation and ‘fake news’; this political and social confusion is used by anti-Western forces, such as Russia, China and terrorists to undermine Western democracies and to promote their own purposes.

This rough analysis is supported by facts on recent developments in media and politics:

- In the UK, circulation of daily newspapers fell from 10.5 million to 6 million copies between 2000 and 2015.<sup>4</sup>
- In the US, social networking use rose from 7 to 64 percent of all adults from 2005 to 2015;<sup>5</sup> in 2016, 68 percent of all Americans used Facebook.<sup>6</sup>
- In the majority of European countries, right-wing parties have increased their popularity and continue to challenge the traditional power of the ‘old’ parties.<sup>7</sup>
- In a recent survey of 28 countries, it was found that more than 75 percent of respondents agreed that ‘the system is biased against regular people and favours the rich and powerful.’<sup>8</sup>
- According to the survey, media ‘is distrusted in more than 80 percent of the countries [...] to a level near government’.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Munich Security Report 2017: Post-Truth, Post-West-Post-Order? Munich Security Conference MSC 2017, p. 42: <http://www.securityconference.de/en/discussion/munich-security-report/>.

<sup>4</sup> List of newspapers in the United Kingdom by circulation, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_newspapers\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_Kingdom\\_by\\_circulation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_newspapers_in_the_United_Kingdom_by_circulation)

<sup>5</sup> Social Media Usage: 2005-2015. Pew Research Center 2015.

<http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/10/08/social-networking-usage-2005-2015/>;

<sup>6</sup> Social Media Update 2016. Pew Research Center 2016, <http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/11/11/social-media-update-2016/>.

<sup>7</sup> How Far Is Europe Swinging to the Right? The New York Times, 5 December 2016. [https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/05/22/world/europe/europe-right-wing-austria-hungary.html?_r=0); see Wodak, Ruth (2015) The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean. London: Sage.

<sup>8</sup> 2017 Edelman Trust Barometer: Executive Summary. <https://www.scribd.com/document/336621519/2017-Edelman-Trust-Barometer-Executive-Summary#>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

What these trends suggest is that there is a dramatic decline in trust in traditional news media and a simultaneous increase in trust in more horizontal sources of information – the internet, peer groups and the like.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, popular support for national policies against globalisation has increased; anti-European Union and anti-immigration sentiments have increased; and there is a steady decline in voter turnout in European Parliament elections (from 61.99 percent in 1979 to 42.61 percent in 2014).<sup>11</sup>

It seems obvious that there is a connection between inequality and the media. Although this connection is historically nothing new,<sup>12</sup> the assumption here is that the discourse over ‘fake news’ and the ‘post-truth society’ and the implications for the role of media requires greater scrutiny than it has recently received. To wish away the phenomena implied in this discourse as representing only Brexit- and Trump-related ultra-populist phenomena is to overlook the sources of the widespread distrust in the news media.

### **Karrle Nordestreng**

University of Helsinki

#### **Media Systems in Flux: The Challenge of the BRICS Countries**

The presentation is based on a research project entitled *Media Systems in Flux: The Challenge of the BRICS Countries*, funded by the Academy of Finland in 2012-2016 (<http://uta.fi/cmt/tutkimus/BRICS.html>). It has brought together media scholars from these five countries plus Finland, the UK and the USA with the following objectives: to compare media systems in the BRICS countries by noting both similarities and differences, to locate them in a historical and global context, to maintain a critical distance from the BRICS concept itself, to build theory transcending dominant Western traditions, to contextualize journalism within the broader information environment including entertainment, and to cover both traditional mass media and new internet-based media.

The national media system profiles compiled for these countries lead to discuss the ways of comparing media systems. The concept of media system will also be discussed.

### **Zrinjka Peruško**

University of Zagreb

#### **Introduction – the place of media regulation in media systems research**

In studying transformations of media in new European post-socialist democracies, the media systems approach has only recently been introduced and complemented the predominant media reform view, which is predominantly descriptive, ahistorical and normative and has no explanatory power. By applying the media systems view, media regulation and policy takes its proper place as one of the dimensions of media system analysis and influence, namely, the dimension of the state relationship to the media. This then enables comparisons and use of theoretical explanatory frameworks for understanding regulatory transformations of media systems and the actors and dynamics that influence them. This introduction to the course will map these ideas.

### **Krešimir Petković**

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<sup>10</sup> See Millennials and Political News: Social Media – the Local TV for the Next Generation? Pew Research Center, Journalism and Media 2015. <http://www.journalism.org/2015/06/01/millennials-political-news/>.

<sup>11</sup> European Parliament / Results of the 2014 European elections. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/turnout.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Nerone, John (2015) *The Media and Public Life: A History*. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 73, 111-112.

University of Zagreb

### **Critical Discourse Analysis in the Times of Ideological Polarizations and Manipulative Memes: Analyst as a Responsible Political Actor**

I will discuss the role of interpretive policy analyst as an actor in the manipulative mediated world of ideological communication, new technologies and communication practices. The paper will bring together critical discourse analysis and the problem of ideological categorization of political discourses influencing public policy. I will begin by referring to Olga Freidenberg's *Picture and Concept*, a forgotten gem of Soviet classical philology, in order to acquire a critical philosophical backing for my argumentation. I will then discuss the problem of ideological labels of Left and Right referring to the "neoclassical" sources in the political science (Almond's schools and sects) and cognitive linguistics (Lakoff), and testing them against the evolution of meaning of these labels on various examples of contemporary political manipulation. After this "deconstructive" attempt to make some sense of these labels, in the last part of the paper I both normatively and methodologically sketch the role of the analyst as a responsible actor using critical discourse analysis as a tool for policy analysis in the world of transforming media systems and evolving ideological divides.

### **Andrei Richter**

OSCE Office of the Representative on the Freedom of the Media

### **Transformation of media systems in the former USSR countries in the last 25 years**

The presentation provides an overview of how journalists and the media in the post-Soviet countries are regulated by law, and of how in the sociopolitical structure of a law-based state their work can be optimized to become a foundation for public accord and stability. All of these countries ban censorship in their constitutions and/or media legislation, although the absence of censors has been "compensated" for in other ways. The author sees the legal conditions for a free press in the development of mechanisms of journalists' access to information, in the creation of public broadcasting, in the access of political opposition to the public (or state) media, in the denationalization of mass media outlets, etc. Limitations under the pretext of informational sovereignty or the fight against terrorism and political extremism should not undermine ideological and political plurality in the media and society. These criteria allow for a comparison of the level of press freedom between all 15 post-Soviet states.

### **Igor Vobič**

University of Ljubljana

### **Exploring Communication Inequalities through the Case of SFRY**

By focusing on the case of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) the presentation addresses the impact of communication inequalities as a significant deterrent to generating, obtaining and using information, and participating in social transactions, on the processes of social differentiation and integration. However, by focusing on the rise of nationalisms ultimately leading to bloodshed and demise of SFRY, the project is also designed as a "thought experiment" to enhance our understanding of the contemporary tendencies towards differentiation, fragmentation and disintegration in Europe, such as Brexit and the rise of nationalistic movements in the EU and beyond, which are closely connected to de-legitimation of some of the key political and economic institutions in Western democracies. In this sense, the presentation argues the significance to explore how communication inequalities have influenced social disparities in a complex process in which social determinants have led to asymmetrical communication processes resulting in disparate communication and social outcomes. The study of the processes which led to the final collapse of Yugoslavia may also enable a better understanding of comparable processes taking place in the European Union and elsewhere, as it relates to the enduring threats of conflicts between cultures,

peoples and elites in complex societies. The presentation presents four main research dimensions identified by the research group from the Social Communication Research Centre (Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana) and the Institute of Contemporary History along which disparate communication capacities of individuals, groups and organisations influenced communication inequalities and their broader consequences in the former Yugoslavia: (1) Everyday media use and creation of collective imaginaries; (2) Autonomy and nationalism in journalism; (3) (In)equalities in news flows and the role of the Yugoslav Tanjug news agency in creating communication inequalities within Yugoslavia and overcoming them in the international distribution of news; (4) The role of social scientist in conceptualising inequalities, integration and differentiation along the ideas of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. The presentation concludes by displaying insights from a focused 3-month research stay at the University of Belgrade (January–April 2017), aimed at gathering archival materials, assembling media (self-)regulation documentation, and conducting interviews with former Tanjug journalists and editors.

### **Dina Vozab**

University of Zagreb

#### **Mapping community media regulation in Croatia - policies, actors and discourses**

The community media in Croatia have been rather unrecognized and neglected as an issue in Croatian public sphere until 2016 when its regulation and funding became a contentious topic. The position of this media sector is not widely accepted or understood, following the lack of academic empirical research (Vozab, Peruško, Čuvalo, forthcoming). This study aims to map current policies, actors and discourses which set the regulative framework of this media sector through qualitative analysis of media laws, acts, strategies, and parliamentary and stakeholders' debates about the community media in the recent period.

## **Doctoral students presentations**

### **Ana Hećimović**

PhD candidate, Faculty of Political Science of Zagreb University

#### **Gruppo affair and its influence on media system in Croatia**

This paper seeks to evaluate the extent of influence media owners and political actors had over the changes in media system during the democratic transformation in Croatia. For that purpose, a case study of a Gruppo affair was examined as a norm rather than exception for conducting ownership transformation operations in Croatian context. Gruppo affair came into light in 2000, after the change of the governance regime in Croatia, when several powerful media actors were investigated for allegedly creating monopoly in Croatian media market. The methodology is based on identifying opportunities for political favoritism and cronyism, and examining efficiency and effectiveness of key constraint mechanisms at the time. This is done through court files analysis and interviews. The paper discusses to what extent political principals exerted their power over the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government as to transfer the ownership to their cronies and therefore gain control over the media scenery in Croatia. Research finds that not only economic, but political incentive guided the process of concentrating media power in the hands of a few. Research suggests that monopolizing media market was not consequence of bad decisions, but rather intentional endeavor of the ruling party. Moreover, the research points out the affair's legacy, the still present doubts arising from the non-transparent media ownership.

**Jan Miessler**

PhD candidate

Hong Kong Baptist University

**Berlusconiization of the mainstream Czech press and the (moderate) rise of alternative and post-truth media**

Takeover of several foreign-owned mainstream media conglomerates by domestic tycoons with overt or implicit political interests – the so called “berlusconiization of the Czech press” – had both positive and negative consequences. On one hand, it reversed previous death spiral of Czech journalism caused by cutting costs and staff numbers in order to counter lower advertising and sales revenues. It also led to launching several new media projects by journalists who left the tycoon-owned media aiming at providing quality content. Another consequence was introduction of the issue of media ownership into the public debate which quite likely contributed to more critical reading of the media output. On the other hand, the new professional alternatives to the berlusconiized mainstream have not managed to replace it while at the same time, new and less scrupulous media outlets, some linked to domestic politicians or businessmen and some suspected of covert support from Russia, contributed to a transition towards a new era of “post-truth” and “alternative facts” spread via social networks. Their relative success can be linked to popular dissatisfaction with post-1989 elites including journalists from both mainstream and professional alternative media, increased populism of the “old” mainstream media themselves, support for some of the post-truth outlets by populist politicians including current president Milos Zeman, and general collapse of ability of the media mainstream to define the “truth”. The increased plurality of media outlets and relative weakening of the mainstream thus did not replace previous media elitism with greater inclusion of wider range of voices, but rather it led to further polarization of the public discourse between the elites and the populists

Ana Mayon

PhD Candidate, University Carlos III Madrid

**The rise and consolidation of Spanish film co-production in the 90s**

Since the 1990s, international co-production has been established as one of the most important strategies for the development of feature films in Spain, usually accounting a third of the annual production, and sometimes exceeding 50%. We are interested in explaining the rise of international co-productions from a historical perspective and, specifically, from the legislative changes and regulatory advances that took place in the Spanish cinematographic policies from the 1980s.

Among these changes we find the rise of co-production agreements from a double point of view. On the one hand, the consolidation of the bilateral co-production agreements ratified by the Spanish cinematographic institutions with some twenty European and Latin American countries. On the other hand, the creation of multilateral agreements such as the Ibero-American Cinematographic Integration Agreement (1989) or the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production (1992). A regulation that has usually been accompanied by the creation of financing programs for co-productions such as Eurimages (funded in 1988), Media Programs or Ibermedia in the case of Latin America (since 1998). We will also focus on analyzing how these international initiatives are directly linked to changes in Spanish legislation on film co-production.

Monika Valečić

MA graduate paper, University of Zagreb

Title