

THE GLOBAL NETWORK

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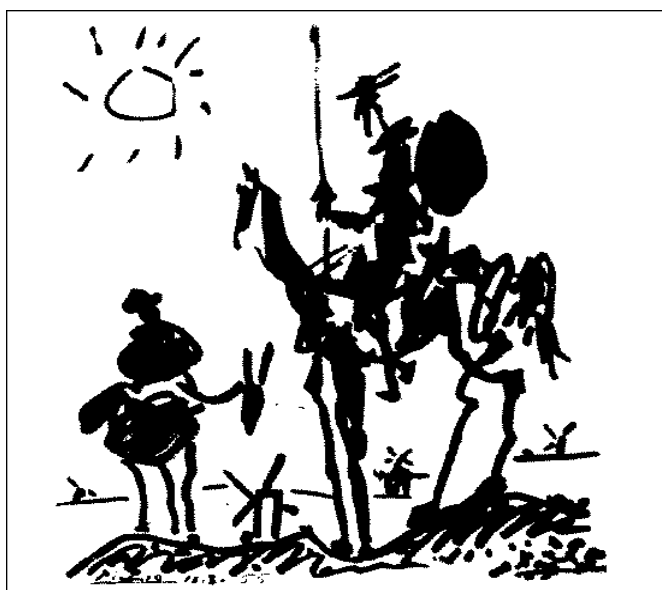
Le Reseau

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Communication and Society in Eastern Europe • Communication et Société en Europe de l'Est

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Broadcast Laws in Romania, Poland
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Facultatea de Jurnalism si Stiintele Comunicarii
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Global Communication in the Age of Cyberspace

BY TAPIO VARIS

Abstract

THE main thesis of this paper is to say that the structure of communication, universities, research and learning institutions will grow in a qualitative way. This means that there will not only be more information to deal with but new ways of dealing with it and serving the public, media, faculties, students and professionals. The process of globalism supported by the new technology is full of contradictions which are cultural in nature. The question is

not only the information technology but the human and social dimensions of assisting research, learning and instruction. Cultural diversities are real and they should not only be understood but also supported in order to make intercultural communication work. Culture is not any static concept but an interactive, changing process which will give meaning and sense of belongingness to people. Furthermore, my view is that although we try to bring some kind of an order to the increasing information flow

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and media environment, the world around us, including the arts, is not in any predetermined order but rather in a creative form of anarchy, chaos.



THE rapid development in information and communication technology, especially in computer and telecommunication systems, is creating profound changes in the structure of the world economic system. It is changing political and cultural institutions, education and research, as well as the nature of diplomacy. Two issues will dominate the future of communications for some time to come. First, the exponential increase in the quantity of information and communication in the emerging global information society; and second, knowledge is becoming the most important resource in a global information economy (Melody 1994). The key concepts are interconnectedness and network economy.

There are at least two technological trends in the late 1990's that affect world business, institutions and everyday life. One is the rapid exploitation of Internet by corporations and institutions, and the other is the deregulation of telecommu-

nications and the introduction of new telematic services.

The almost unavoidable globalisation is promoted by technology which in turn favours simplified answers to most complicated social, cultural and religious conflicts that are bound to emerge in this globalisation process. Already in the beginning of the 1960's a French sociologist Jacques Ellul spoke of the new media as „technological bluff.“ He thought that each new medium does bring something new in the organising, processing and utilisation of information but also makes something disappear. The new inventions, though, always have consequences that could not have been foreseen (Varis 1965). Culture is a changing, interactive process that deals with human values which are hard if not impossible to predict.

When studying the policy discourse of global television Michael Curting criticised the utopian discourse of the early 1960's that television would play an important role in promoting an „imagined community“ of citizens throughout the world. This notion of cultural and geographic integration was, according to Curting, some kind of official internationalism decided from above analogous to the official nation-

alism of Russification in the nineteenth-century Russia - and both turned out to be failures (Curting, 1993, p.131-132). Today, European Union speaks of cultural diversity instead of one European culture in trying to avoid these problems but the share of Eurosceptics in all EU countries is still large.

A Galician film historian Juan A. Hernandez Les observes that we have to make a difference between the use of the new audiovisual media and learning. More information does not mean more culture. More information is saturation, not reflection nor analysis. To read a book with a high voice or using radio and television loudspeakers is to recapture the mediaeval sense of knowledge and communication - particularly during an era when people do not know any more how to read. Telematic human beings, says Hernandez Les, are nonalphabetic who can no more name things, separate the significant from non-significant. The images dominate people in the major media like rhetoric dominates the spoken word (Hernandez Les 1996).

Professor Roman Gubern from the Autonomous University of Barcelona concludes that between the peace in Vietnam and Sarajevo our iconosphere -

the audiovisual space of television and video -has intensified in two decades in an unprecedented way: in order to believe we have to see things (Gubern 1996).

The period of transition that we are now living differs from the periods of change of older dominant media. Radio, television and cable were introduced within a period of reasonable length and when we moved to the active use of a new form of communication we could also have a rough estimation of the economic and social impacts of it and train new professionals for the media and support people for the institutions.

Now different forms of communication and technologies integrate and converge with a speed that hardly anyone has the time or ability to assess all of the consequences, real possibilities or problems.

We are probably living in an era of transition equal to the introduction of steam engines in 1760-1830 or electricity during 1880-1930. The period of transition and confusion was of a length between 50-70 years, a life of a generation. Now the information and communication technology, multinational enterprises, and the weakening of the welfare state and national state are creating a new

global system which is not yet an order but is often called information society.

The Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo has recently called this age as „the end of employment“. According to him the new technology has made manual work obsolete. He also asks if the Latin mind is better prepared to face the existing instability than the Anglo-Saxon, Northern mind which is more prepared to live in social stability, in „order“ (German „Ordnung“). The new electronic industries might, however, create new jobs like the automobile industry once and an example would be a company like Bill Gates' Microsoft, or Larry Ellison's Oracle. However, our thinking of education is based on work, than human beings learn when they shape and give form to exterior things (in German „Bildung“, in Latin „educare“, culture is based on „agri-cultura“, etc) (1996).

Sometimes we may forget how fundamental change was created by the introduction of the automobiles. Ilya Ehrenburg describes in his book „The Life of the Automobile“ (1929) how radical was the penetration of the new technology to thinking:

„Cars don't have a homeland. Like oil stocks or

like classic love, they can easily cross borders. Italian Fiats clamber up the cliffs of Norway. Ever-worried specialists in Renault taxis jolt around the bumpy streets of Moscow. Ford is ubiquitous, he's in Australia, he's also in Japan. American Chevrolet trucks carry Sumatran tobacco and Palestine oranges. A Spanish banker owns a German Mercedes. 10-H.P. Citroens in display windows in Piccadilly or Berlin cause dreamy passers-by to halt. The automobile has come to show even the slowest minds that the earth is truly round, that the heart is just a poetic relic, that a human being contains two standard gauges: one indicates miles, the other minutes...“ (Ehrenburg 1976, p. 129)

It was Jostein Gaarder who realised how the very simple basic truths of philosophy are changing as a consequence of the ongoing scientific and technological processes. We may claim that only technology integrates the world today, almost all other processes, political, cultural, economic, and religious, separate people. What

once was known as „Fordism“ following the ideas of Henry Ford could now be something like „Gatesism“ according to Bill Gates.

From the point of view of the human being one of the main questions could well be defining of own individual and social identity in the rapidly changing media and communication environment where time and space are claimed to have lost their traditional meanings - in McLuhan's words: „space has vanished and time ceased to exist.“ Although the truth may not be that simple, basic understanding of knowledge and objectivity has changed, morale, ethics and the sense of social justice increasingly confused, and the social security threatened.

In the beginning of this century and particularly in the 1920's the intellectuals debated the pessimistic cultural philosophy of Oswald Spengler as well as his prediction of the decadence of Western world. Spengler did construct extensive historical visions of the relations between culture, newspapers, democracy, money and religion. Spengler blames the worship of money as destructive to the spirit and culture. But it is the money, really global in nature, that is the only identifiable value of the information and communi-

cation age of today.

The French philosopher Regis Debray divides media culture in three eras after writing, printing and the audiovisual:

- Logosphere was the regime of the idol, with principle of its efficacy being the presence (transcendent). The continent of origin and city of transmission was Asia-Byzantium, between Antiquity and Christianity. The truth was theological in nature.

- Graphosphere was the regime of art, dominant since printing to the emergence of colour television. The principle was representation (illusory) and the centre was Europe-Florence (between Christianity and modernity). The truth had also aesthetic nature.

- Videosphere is the regime of the visual. The principle is simulation (numerical), the image is viewed. Its centre is America-New York (between modern and postmodern). The nature of the truth is economic; the centre of money is also the centre of world media.

The Spenglerian thoughts have puzzled me more than a quarter of the century and they came again to my mind when I heard leading Finnish Internet-philosophers ask why do

we not yet have a religious, truly world-wide spiritual movement in the Internet. Perhaps because the net and related digitalisation in itself have become a kind of a system of beliefs - with its own characteristics of liturgy and a way of life close to a religious behaviour.

An American communication researcher Frank Biocca believes that it is extremely interesting to study virtual technology now because the diffusion of the new technology is only in its early stage but we can expect a fundamental qualitative change like what happened when we moved from still photos to moving pictures or from radio to television.

Central conceptions of virtual technology include, for example, the feeling of presence created by computers in some virtual world or telepresence in a distant place and immersion. Immersion refers to the level of our senses being connected directly to computers which deliver stimuli directly to the brain.

In audiovisual communication, however, immersion could mean a return in form to mediaeval catholic education where individual life was submitted to the dogmas of the religious community, liturgy and contin-

uous repetition. As a Frenchman Pierre Babin says the largest immersion possible was to create belief.

It has been estimated that the information available would increase during a human life thousand times larger. Human lives are not, however, dominated only by increasing information - it is also dominated by beliefs in witchcraft and simplification. When things around us and the problems turn out to be superfluously complicated and absolute truths are replaced by relative truths, uncertainties and threats of future, there will be a great temptation to resist new knowledge by maintaining simplified and stereotyped beliefs and imagined security of the past.

By this I mean the possibility that the enthusiasts of the information society may in their lack of criticism face a global setback. Social and human communication always functions in a world of cultural values, ideals and beliefs created by human beings. Only they create moral principles and ethical ideals which can give answers to questions like what kind of knowledge do we need, what is important in life and in general what is good life?

Vattimo asks what could replace work as a base for the

construction of one's personality? In his view, we are in an analogical situation now to the one when there was the disappearance of confessional belief in truth as the measure of objectivity. Today the objectivity as measured by the opinions of experts and intersubjectivity has replaced objectivity.

In my view, the experts never can have a holistic view of things, or a generalist understanding of knowledge. They may be very advanced from a particular point of view but the totality of things and their interrelationships may be beyond the understanding and knowledge of everybody. The generalists of primitive societies, the priests, have their successors among the fundamentalist simplifiers of today's spiritual leaders who are fluent in the use of modern media.

WE WANT TO COMMUNICATE

ONE of the basic characteristics of human beings is the ability to communicate. We have always tried to share information, feelings and ideas with others; only the means and media have changed during different times. We call „media“ all the means and ways in which human beings communicate.

The messages have travelled in the echo of the drums or in the line of smoke. Already the ancient empires of Rome, Greece, Egypt and Babylon created their means of getting the messages through the whole empire. Consequently, international communication has no precise beginning. Neither do the electronic media although electronic Morse code experiments started as early as 1837.

In the everyday use of the word communication we usually refer to the transmission and mediation of information. It is essential, however, to observe that media are much more than only means of transferring information. The media extend human senses and the dominant media of different era determine much which sense is primarily used in the search of information and in the process of thought. Thus the process of thinking also depends on the media and the media characteristics to deliver stimuli to the brains. In different eras the dominant media have been very different in these characteristics and, in consequence, the way of thinking, constructing science and belief systems have been different.

Different countries and cultures can be studied with a special emphasis of the dominant

media culture there. In Finland, for example, the general level of literacy and the role of the printed word have been strong and the printed word has been respected perhaps even uncritically too much.

Roughly generalising we could divide media cultures in three groups. The first one could be called reading culture which could be exemplified with Finland, Germany, and Iceland. Also in Sweden and Norway book and newspaper reading are highly valued.

The second group of media cultures could be composed of oral traditions. Many Latin countries are rich in their oral traditions like Italy, Spain, France, Latin-America and the Arab region. Rhetoric skills are valued which can be observed in everyday situations of business, restaurants or sports coverage in the media. High level book and print publishing exist but they are not necessarily shared with the great public as much as in Scandinavia for example.

The third group is made of the countries of the new audiovisual media culture. The United States is leading in the new media culture and most media contents and styles from the United States have diffused

throughout the rest of the world.

It has been estimated that just now electronic communication doubles in a year. How do human beings behave when they have to make choices of an information amount thousands of times greater in a few years time? Some experts speak of the mutation of world communication, a new „teleinfo-galaxy.“

The multiple applications of telecommunications extend from private life to the governance of whole economic communities. They make possible services more individually than before, save of time and new forms of work. People themselves can learn to master ways of communication which before were privilege of media professionals only. At least they can get access to the sources of information if they can operate the new technology. Most likely, however, it is erroneous to think that an ignorant user would get very far by leafing through superficial information.

In the thinking of a French philosopher Régis Debray „communication“ is a modern but late answer to a much more difficult and permanent problem of mediation. Mediation has also been a central concept of Christian theology.

The Finnish translation of „mediation“ carries double meaning. First, it refers to mediating something from someone to somebody. But the second meaning would be something like „caring“, to take care of someone. The word „communicate“ refers to „communiqué“, communion between people which in Western thinking also implied Holy Union.

Debray calls the study of mediation with the word „mediology“. He is interested in the power of images, making people believe. In the Finnish debate I prefer to use the word „medialogy“ referring more to media culture and media education although I have the same interest in the relationship between technical structures and more higher forms of consciousness as Debray.

The new multimedia applications return media culture to the era prior to the domination of the print media, to the era of magic and mythology. There the communication elite was formed of primitive priests, shamans and soothsayers whose technology was oral in all of its forms. The cohesive order of the society was created by a regular, repetitive oral culture.

The postmodernism of our era has possibly created neo-tribal-

ism again. People in general, and particularly the young ones, get together every day in front of their own electronic media, own music, daily news, sports or games. It creates a feeling of togetherness which is based on similar audio repetition and the use of own magic signs and beliefs as in the primitive societies the rituals of the spiritual leaders.

FROM ATOMS TO BITS

THE central elements of this new information society are „bits“ and no more „atoms“ with which we have measured world trade, for example (Negroponte 1995). The change is made possible by digital technology which allows the introduction of multimedia. Television, video and other media integrate with computing and information sciences and all integrate with telecommunications creating a whole new field of telematic services and applications. This is combined with the unprecedented speeding upon the storage and processing capabilities of information. With the introduction of a broad-band fiber optics and networked economies we are moving from electronic to photonic processing systems and networked societies.

In the university life, this

means the creation of an entirely new type of a virtual university. Programs, units, professors and students can be interconnected according to the specific needs and new communities of learned scholars can be created. Most ambitious programs include an effort to create a Global University (Utsumi 1996). All university institutions are affected, including the library. There the question is frequently asked: how to use the scant resources - for buying new information hardware or traditional books? I do not think this is the right question. Both are needed which means a qualitative growth in the service functions of the library. The traditional universities everywhere have considerable difficulties in understanding the ongoing changes but the growth of polytechnics and other forms of higher learning challenges traditional institutions.

The world economic leaders, the representatives of the transnational corporations, have realised that a convergence between computers, electronics, telecommunications and media is already highly visible in the marketplace. Mr. Carlo De Benedetti, Chairman of Olivetti, wrote in the context of a recent meeting of the world's leading industrialised nations, the Group 7, that „in

the information society, consumption depends on knowledgeable consumers.“ he said that the foundation of the information society is widespread intelligence: intelligence in products, in business, in the public sector, and among consumers. Therefore, and also because digitalisation and the growing use of computers are creating new forms of illiteracy and poverty, governments are urged to take action to improve educational systems (De Benedetti 1995).

The media and information field and programmes of related education, however, are still much dominated by technical people only. As Nobel-economist Kenneth Boulding once said, the economists and technologists bring the „bits“ but it requires the social scientist and the humanist to bring the „wits“. In other words, the mere increase of information and new systems of information processes do not bring meaning or wisdom. Human and social analysis will always be needed to evaluate the relevance of the information according to human and cultural values.

In fact, there is a tendency to confuse globalism and universalism and forget the uniqueness of cultures. markets, traffic, money and information are

global but cultural values like human rights, democracy and freedom are not and could not be treated like selling a product or a service as often happens now.

In recent years, communication researchers and media scholars as well as also media philosophers have paid attention to the characteristics and contradictions of globalisation, and also to the disappearance or emergence of different cultural, ethnic and social identities.

In Britain, Peter Schlesinger speaks of an emerging area of scholarly attention which is formed of the relationship between global media and collective, cultural, and national identities (Schlesinger 1993). The collective identity is created when people have a sense of themselves by self-identifying communities, using signs provided by their cultures. The collective consciousness is being defined in „we in relation to they“. The process extends through time, involving both memory and amnesia. It also extends in space like in the efforts to create a new Euro-identity, Europeanness, or European audiovisual space. Some even prefer to speak of a world citizenship.

The Canadian researcher Marjorie Ferguson has repeat-

edly pointed out the different myths about globalisation. The process is full of counter-globalising tendencies of cultural and political resistance to supranational hegemonies. Furthermore, one of the paradoxes in terms of global media colossi is that two relatively small states, Canada and Australia, have been singularly successful in exporting media empires and barons from Beacerbrook and Thomson to Packer, Murdoch and Black (Ferguson 1993).

Since the early 1990's it has been obvious that we are moving away from the concepts of mass-society, mass-production and mass media even though the existing dominant media empires prefer to ignore this (Varis 1992). They try to convince public bodies by the use of audience research and public opinion surveys that people like what they have now and that there is no signs of change in their behaviour. By doing so the media monopolies try to impress the policy-making organs that what they are doing is what the audience like and that there is no ground to criticise what and how they are doing what they do. Research is being used like the famous effect studies in the 1950's to convince that violence, low aesthetic and cultural level, and maintenance of ignorance do no harm to audiences and would

be what people like to have.

Two radically different thinkers have approached these problems in recent years. The thesis of the American bureaucrat Francis Fukuyama about the end of history is well known. But less thought is the view of Fukuyama that by losing his ideals and community life human beings may instead of coming to an end of history „return to being first men engaged in bloody and pointless prestige battles, only this time with modern weapons.“ (Fukuyama 1992, p.328).

In another culture and from a different point of view this problem has been analysed by the French philosopher and sociologist Jean Baudrillard. He has emphasised the differences between globalisation and universalism (Baudrillard 1996). Baudrillard says that globalism refers to such qualities as technics, markets, tourism and information. Universalism, however, deals with values like human rights, liberties, culture and democracy. Globalism today appears almost irreversible but universalism is withering away.

The industrialised countries of the West have made the values of modernism into such an industrially produced value-system that have no precedent

in history. The Japanese culture, for example, does not contain a precise conception to refer to this phenomenon. The problem is that the belief in the universalism of western values is original western thought but equally little exportable to other cultures than any other original thought. Probably a fundamental Islamic thought in its belief of universalism is close to western thought in this respect.

It may be by no chance that it is precisely the extremist fundamentalism of Islamic and western thought that confront each other even today. For the Europeans, it is worth remembering that the history of modern universalism and globalism started in Spain, which the Arabs called al-Andalus. There the Christian Catholics liquidated violently the Islamic Arabs in 1492. Tariq Ali describes the subsequent loss of identity and violent destruction of culture as well as the extension of this thought later in America which was „discovered“ (Ali 1996). His book „The Shadow of Pomegranate Tree“ was awarded with the Archbishop's high prize in Galicia in 1996.

However, a culture that makes herself universal loses her values and withers away, says Baudrillard. Becoming global

ends the universality of values. Sameness in thought wins value-based universalism. At the end, the only things that are global are the markets, exchange of products, and the endless flow of capital.

In cultural terms, there is a chaos of all kind of messages, signs and values. Baudrillard calls the flow of all kinds of messages in world-wide networks as pornography. It does not need to be of sexual nature but, for example, the images of democracy and human rights are disseminated world-wide as if they were oil or capital.

In fact, we face three complicated problems. The first one is the global nature of markets, the second is the universality of values, and the third the uniqueness of forms. Languages, cultures, individuals, characteristics, random chances are unique. When we have lost values, the global techno-culture captures uniqueness and transform them into sameness.

Great empires have degenerated earlier due to the time-biased communication infrastructure as observed by Harold Innis in the early 1950's. According to him it is equally fatal to have a space-biased media and communication, the excessive dissociation of messages from peoples environ-

ment, history and identity (Varis 1995).

Instead of making different languages and habits enrichment to people in their lives, they become in the global techno-structure barriers and factors of inefficiency. In solemn declarations like in the „White Book“ of the European Union they speak willingly of cultural diversities. But the concepts of freedom, democracy and human rights have become tools of a political game and they do no more have a value-based moral or intellectual power.

It is interesting to note that another French thinker, Vice-President of Centre d'Etudes et d'Actions Européennes in Paris, Mr. Emmanuel Aubert wrote at the time of the opening of the inter-governmental conference of the EU in March 1996 about the stagnation of European thought. According to him, this mental and operative stagnation can be overcome only by a new political opening. Only a small nucleus of states is capable for such opening, says Aubert - like Prussia for Germany, Castilla for Spain, Isle de France for France, and Piedmont for Italy once were. Today such a nucleus could be composed of Spain, France, and Germany, he continues. The opening of a new

Europe cannot be made only by means of monetary union, institutional developments or increasing the membership. What is needed, according to Aubert, is politics based on values (Aubert 1996).

Baudrillard concludes to emphasise the importance of resisting globalisation by political and social means by emphasising values that go above economy and existing politics. Universalism has had its historical options but today we face a new world order with no alternatives. The unifying globalism, however, also creates counter-forces.

One small but illustrative example is the change of time in our summer and winter periods. When the rich industrialised countries were shocked by the oil crisis in 1973 they decided to remove their clocks with one hour in summer time in order to save energy. This demand of efficiency and global saving, however, has had several negative consequences to peoples habits and even health. In 1996, for example, Portugal refused to follow the move into summer time. In the Czech Republic these global changes brought into people's minds the memories of 1849-1945 when the Nazi-Germany forced equal change of time (La Voz de Galicia 28 & 30.3.1996).

The whole process is full of contradictions and we have not yet seen all the positive or negative social consequences that the chaos in value systems may create. Hans Magnus Enzensberger speaks about violence without any ideological content which has become a way of life for this television age. The post Cold-War world is close to what Enzensberger calls „civil war“, everybody's fight against everybody else (Enzensberger 1994).

INFORMATION SOCIETY WITHOUT ENEMIES?

THE information and communication technologies, particularly in telecommunications and computer applications, are creating an entirely new kind of world economy. In a world-wide scale, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) estimates that information and communication industries were in 1994 as much as 6150 billion FMK, which equals to 5,9 % of world economy. ITU also estimates that the business also grows twice faster than the rest of the world economy.

World economy is becoming a networked economy. Operations cross borders and become global, regulations change and the pace of change is unprecedented. The giant

entertainment industries are fusing with giants of delivery technology and new megagiants are created with a strength of hundreds of billions of FMK. The equipment and service markets of telecommunications alone in the world are worth 2600 billion FMK.

As a consequence of the information and communication revolution some philosophers like Gianni Vattimo speak of the „end of employment“ (Vattimo 1996). People have constructed their identity and personality through work and though information and messages that have a meaning to them, usually through work.

The Canadian-French researchers Philippe Breton and Serge Proulx have a critical approach to the problems of social communication and information society. The present communication research and its concepts were created by American-based empirical study of mass-society when it was necessary to find common values in a multicultural society and evaluate the public opinion. The German influenced, European sociology of knowledge (Wissensoziologie) has not been dominant in the study of information and communication technology.

Breton and Proulx write that a

great deal of communication research approaches communication with a technical determinism. The great communication experts of our era have developed communication and information technology into an ideology which as if would replace political ideologies. Communication ideology appears as harmless since it has no enemies like political ideologies.

In addition to this, the ideology of the communication and information technology is believed to solve social problems better than value-based political ideologies. People as if were in a great consensus of the nature of the new „information society“ (Breton & Proulx 1989).

The visionaries of global information society believe that the development of information technology and telecommunications will create a new era of techno-culture which would be global. But what are the universal values of such a culture?

In his book „Being Digital“ (1995) Nicholas Negroponte does not even observe the difference between global and universal. His starting-point is the problem of world-wide markets: the GATT system that regulated world trade counted atoms when in modern global interac-

tion important will be bits, the amount of information not material things.

Negroponte, however, has a clear vision of the future world community. The system on national states will face a strong globalisation. In fifty years the nations will be simultaneously much greater and much smaller. Europe is a good example of this, says Negroponte.

He writes that while contemporary politicians stick to history a new generation without such prejudices is growing. These young people would be those of the digital era who would no more be limited by geography in creating friendship and cooperation. In addition to this, Negroponte believes in the emergence of a new common language that did not exist before and which would help people to understand each other without crossing frontiers (Negroponte 1995).

In his recent newspaper contribution Negroponte develops and emphasises his view that the governments are the problem: cyberspace should remain a private territory, says Negroponte, where nobody should be able to control what other people communicate and how (Negroponte 1996).

The same thinking of glorifying

the idea of atomised people without governments and forgetting that governments of national states with the rule of law are to guarantee social justice and not depress people, is shared by other world business leaders, too. Mr. Patrick McGovern, Chairman of the International Data Group, responds to the worries of Olivetti Chairman Carlo De Benedetti about the destabilisation of nations around the globe as a result of the growth in global communications by saying that „people now have the ability to communicate to everyone else through electronic means.“ He continues that „when people have the information and know what’s going on, they don’t need a chain of command to tell them what to do.“ (McGovern 1995).

We can raise the critical question if these views simplify too much the complexity of world’s political, cultural and economic systems? We can also ask what happens to the public sphere? What will be the role of public broadcasting, public libraries, public institutions of learning, public debate, and democracy? Will the new transnational, global actors also take the responsibility of maintaining and developing these institutions for the good of all, with universal services, training and education?

The problems of the information society include digital vandalism, robbery of software and misuse of information. We can argue whether we should concentrate us on intelligent software programs for home computers (Bill Gates) or intelligent networks (Larry Ellison) - or in other words, develop everybody's „Volkswagen“ or public transport (Terceiro 1996).

But what are the human and social values of the world-wide information society and the identity of the digital human being that would no more be dependent on time and space? A great deal of socially relevant knowledge is contextual to time and space. Most likely it is a question of time only that the new elites will become interested in the old sociology of knowledge or in general realise that such a scholarly field of human curiosity exists. To understand the uniqueness is the only means to preserve values in the pressure of global simplification.

The new communication elites willingly speak of individuality, interactive and free communication instead of the old mass media of the mass society. But communication has always been social and this basic characteristic did not start with the emergence of mass society nor

will it end with information society. Most interactive social communication may have been in churches throughout thousands of years. Freedom and individuality will be determined by the values that each culture recognises.

One of the consequences of the information and communication revolution is the introduction of new concepts. We may speak of the „mediamorphosis“, the change of the traditional media into a new one. Old, printed newspaper may appear in an electronic form, too, in the World Wide Web, or traditional books and journals are becoming part of electronic publishing. Television and video become multimedia television etc. In a way, we are approaching what in Aristotle work could be called esoteric publishing - unfinished hasty notes of lectures which characterises many of the e-mail exchanges today - as separate from finished, carefully finalised exoteric publishing.

According to the McLuhan's approach, the media are extensions of human senses in the same way as the wheel is an extension of feet, and the media change the internal balance of senses.

The basic question probably remains the same that

Aristotle and Plato took up, in other words, what is the relationship of sensual stimuli to human thinking and knowledge. Aristotle „Poetics“ is in my mind an excellent starting-point to study modern multimedia. He emphasised the importance of sensual information and pleasure in „Poetics“ and in rhetorics he stressed the importance of knowing the audience which are fundamental also in the modern media culture.

One of the basic values of our time is economic profit but the over-emphasis of economic utilisation may prevent sensual and spiritual reality to be found. Perhaps also the organised science when done in the extreme may prevent us to see the changes around us and trust our sensual observations. We may remember that the world theories of Ptolemy were quite perfect. The world only was not Earth-centered and the globe was not flat.

Those who have sensitivity to know the sensual reality may be best placed to express the essence of the audiovisual era. The artists are most sensitive to observe changes in sensual observations. In fact, the artists may be the only professional group which may face the media technology very freely. Nobody forces them to

any ready-made interpretations nor punish them on the way they use the new media technology.

We in Finland have started to develop multimedia with the know-how of technical and industrial art professionals but it may be more proper to give more attention to theatre art in this. Some conclusions of this sort have also been made in Hollywood.

The information society brings forward many kinds of popularists of knowledge who give their audiences more or less emotional certainty of the importance of things and order of significance. Some American techno-priests convince that in the computer-dominated civilization it is important to have communication based on friendship: „The rose is important.“

Much quoted John Naisbitt says when studying megatrends that communication civilisation may succeed only when it is combined with human input. His saying „high tech - high touch“ means that always when new technology is brought to a society it must meet with equal human response, touch and feeling of proximity which is based on mans natural inclinations. Otherwise there is a danger for

the technology to become rejected.

The brave new world of the information society appears to a social critic and poet much more barbaric and different than in the technological projects and visions.

The new book by a German professor and poet Hans Magnus Enzensberger has a title „Civil War“ (1994). With the honesty of a poet Enzensberger sees the post-Cold War changes more barbaric than politicians in their speeches. He rejects the idea that wars take place somewhere only far away in the developing countries. In fact the civil wars have long since moved in the midst of our own societies, in the metropolis of the world. Violence has become an end in itself without any ideology, our societies develop everybody's war against everybody else. In this process, television due to its nature is most corrupt, says Enzensberger.

We may agree with Enzensberger at least in that the audiovisual media like television does not favour intellectual analysis without emotional passions. Instead, it favours picturesque action, pathetic use of words and body language and rapid reactions. Even though we do not yet know who

is the enemy, there is a demand to bomb it. Multiplied social problems are expected to be solved rapidly with technological means. Security is believed to be created by strengthening the military, not by social and human means nor political action.

Although many claim that the new technology liberates man it often dominates him. Therefore we have to be able to continue developing technology and media so that human beings are masters of technology and not the other way around. Otherwise we might face a situation where a new elite which can seek, use and disseminate information and a large majority only ostensibly gets much information but is not able to use it or is media illiterate. Human beings may become again slaves like in the Middle Ages.

NECESSARY SKILLS

IN Finland, for example, it has been a Government policy to favour policies conducive information society and related needs for education. It has been recognised, too, that traditional forms of literacy are not enough and the Ministry for Education is actively formulating new programs for introducing media literacy, computer literacy and other forms of

media skills and communication competence to schools of all levels.

The new dimensions of communication require also image literacy and competence to produce messages combining traditional texts with sound, music, images, animation and video.

It may be possible that the new social communication works against old forms of totalitarianism but it may also create new groups of power. Those have the power who know the new information technology. Membership in traditional social organisations, parties and movements seems also to decrease. What will be the new forms of social activities?

We already have some experience of the phenomenon „video-on-demand“ but less of such things as „book-on-demand“. In the context of the Day of the Book in April 1996 some of the leading book experts and writers were interviewed in Barcelona. Nicholas Negroponte from the M.I.T. said that in the next century a large majority of the books will be electronic. But some authors, like Daniel Pennac, believe that no major changes will take place. Jostein Gaarder is of the opinion that a traditional book is more interactive than a CD-

ROM (La Vanguardia, 23.4.1996). As a matter of fact, when Nicholas Negroponte wrote his book „Being Digital“ he also said that one of the personal reasons for him to write a book is that the written word creates images and metaphors to which the reader gives meanings.

But it seems to be true that the ongoing information revolution and technological change have thorough consequences on the methods and nature of work, information search, learning practices and environments, and in situational solutions. We are able to construct learning and teaching in an entirely new way. It is popular to call this new approach as constructivism as separate from the earlier instructivism.

Essential elements in the new approach include first facing epistemic conflicts which means that there are always new and new problems to be solved without prior knowledge and the type of knowledge is rather generalist than particularist. Second, it includes self-reflection which means that a learner must response to the conflict. Third, self-regulation means that the learner reconstructs his or her thinking (Klemm 1996). In the institutional level, it is less important to work and study in a given

physical place or space but more important to be interconnected and in telepresence or cyberspace with the instructor and other learners. Physical buildings mean less, work-stations and interconnectedness more. Of course, we are still unaware of the possible new psychological and sociological problems that might arise in relation to alienation, loneliness, identities, etc.

LIBRARY SERVICE FUNCTIONS

IN these processes of change the service functions of libraries will grow. There are some who might believe that as people's capabilities to use information tools and search systems will grow there would be less need for service people between sources and users. This argument is sometimes heard of the role of journalists, too, as mediators and critics of information in the public media between sources and audiences.

Such arguments are in my mind completely wrong. The computer-programmed automatic cameras do not make visual choices or value judgments of human nature to any television viewer. the audience may preprogram their choices or select desired sources or

camera angels but that does not replace the mind of a trained, professional journalist.

Equally, professional or academic people searching material and information for research and teaching or producing own teaching material with the new media or participating in telematic distance learning projects always need the support and assistance of professional library people. The nature of assistance and extent of cooperation, of course, varies considerably between individuals, faculties and situations.

But it is already very clear that the service function of university libraries (and other libraries as well) is growing notably. In some universities in the United States, like in Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, the library has integrated a whole unit of „learning resource services“ (Snyder 1996). This includes personnel and resources to assist faculties in the preparation, use and development of all kinds of learning materials from information and multimedia material to distant learning classrooms and related technical support.

The older view of an atomistic user of university libraries is giving way to a collaborative vision where groups of students or researchers or teaching staff

actively work together with the support people of the library unit to prepare courses, demonstrations or research. A distant learning unit could well be connected to the library unit and provide libraries with new resources and mandates. The service people have to gain the confidence of the faculty people and they should not in any way interfere into the internal affairs of the faculties.

The Finnish Ministry for Education is supporting projects to promote the use of different media by libraries. This includes the active use of traditional and new media by libraries in schools, universities and other institutions of learning. In fact, we should view the process of life-long learning as a continuum where the traditional school is extended into the new environment of public media, including the specialised sources and means like Internet and the traditional forms like book. All of them are needed and have their advantages and functions.

What is needed now is a new vision of the totality of things and the social impact of the information and communication technology and its applications. In many fields of the arts including theatre and poetry the rationalistic and rigid views of life characteristic to

modern industrial societies and their logic there are trends of emphasising less the perfect nature of human rationality. Rather, there is a need to study more mentalities, more flexible aspects of human behaviour, and spiritual dimensions including belief systems.

GLOBAL CHAOS AND BELONGINGNESS

THE ostensible globality that modern media brings to the awareness of people also provides them with the feeling of powerlessness in front of such conflicts and processes like the war in the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia), or the former Soviet Union (Chechnya), nuclear tests, or simply world economy and unemployment. If the world's free market economy would have created any order how can we have such atrocities like Rwanda and Liberia now in Africa? In environment affairs, however, certain action groups maintain the belief that it is possible to change human behaviour by individual activities.

The nature of knowledge is no more as certain and absolute as in the world view of Galileo and Newton but increasingly trans-disciplinary and contextual. Different disciplines are more in favour of the use of the theo-

ry of chaos than before. Complexity and unpredictability characterise their scholarly efforts to know and understand things. Chaos theory, in essence, implies that very simple dynamical rules can give rise to extraordinarily intricate, surprising and essentially unpredictable behaviour like fractals, turbulence, or the weather.

The appearance of chaos may be quite different in the different fields. In the political life where the problem could be that there are simply too many states, mini states, and no leadership in the world political order. In the economy and financial markets there is the new dimension of information resources, digital world, which is not yet understood in the world trade organisations but which continue to measure „atoms“ (word introduced in this context by Nicholas Negroponte). In the cultural field we are facing even a deeper confusion of mixing globalisation and universalism and forgetting the uniqueness of each culture, language and value system.

The technology itself may be the only world-wide integrating force but it is also creating chaos in people's awareness with the speed of change. The Frankfurt school of the 20th

century may be an indication of the type of answers technology is provoking among intellectuals: alternative technology, alternative media, and alternative culture.

As has been observed by Carole Gray and Ian Pirie the study of complexity as a phenomenon has brought science closer than ever to art, closer than perhaps the Renaissance. Knowledge has gone through a cycle from non-specialism to specialism and compartmentalisation, and now back to interdisciplinarity (Gray & Pirie 1995). New ways of thinking must be applied to complex phenomena, new methodologies must be developed which are capable of handling changing, complex data.

Art and artistic approach is relevant here because art deals with the sensual world, metaphors, intuition, and the holistic concept of a human being. The dominant view of humans as defined by the cognitive sciences may be too narrow.

Planning an engine or even a computer and designing a building are intellectually demanding but they are quite different processes than creating social reality, communicating with humans and defining identities. People have their individual and collective memo-

ries, their history and the past, which defines where they belong and how they are approaching the existing or the future.

Even the European Union is concerned of the weak level of „Euro-consciousness“, „Euro-identity“, or „Europeanness.“ It is too much defined from the above without creating possibilities for people to construct the meaning for „Europeanness“ by themselves, if it is to have a meaning to them. The failures for efforts to create collective consciousness from above or force „official internationalism“ are known to fail. Examples include the American attempts to create a free-world with the introduction of international television in the 1960's, or the Russian efforts to create an all-Russian empire by imposing Russian language and culture to other people within the empire in the middle of the 19th century.

The „White Paper“ of the European Union defines the development of an „information society“ in Europe as a global phenomenon where Europe should aim at achieving three objectives:

1. from the outset, placing its approach in a world perspective, and therefore encouraging the international alliance

strategies of its companies and operators;

2. ensuring, at the same time, that the systems developed take due account of European characteristics: multilingualism, cultural diversity, economic divergence, and more generally the preservation of its social model; and

3. creating the conditions whereby, in an open and competitive international system, Europe still has an adequate take-up of basic technologies and an efficient and competitive industry. (White Paper 1994, p.110).

A recent study of the media and the European Union by FUNDESCO in Spain showed, among other things, that there are predominantly nationalist attitudes and even occasional touches of xenophobia in the European media (The Media and the European Union 1995).

The study defined Europe as an empty gap between the local and the global. Europe's image is statistics and economic information but not human nor social aspects. Since there are no common values or ideological substance there is a compensatory tendency to seek refuge in nationalist introspection. Sometimes this is manifested merely in a domestic viewpoint

with well defined local interests but they coexist with a modern sense of globalisation.

But there are two overlapping scenarios. One is that of the real environment, constructed by the media with an emphasis on proximity that can be summed up in a single phrase: the territory is the message. The global scenario, on the other hand, is a virtual one, the ultimate desire of a technologically advanced society subject to highly beneficial processes of intercommunication and interaction. This in itself results from a process of induction originating in the circles of power that govern world market forces.

Human beings have always tried to express and preserve things that correspond to their values. Culture is not a static but an evolving concept, it is a changing process that has space and time. Collective identity defines people in relation to other and gives a meaning to social information.

The rapid population growth, migrant movement and organisation make a great deal of mankind rootless and ahistorical with not great feeling of belonging to anywhere. It has been estimated that by the year 2025 half of the world population will live in megacities

and growing slums. New migrant waves are possible.

One of the principles of the European Union is the free movement of people inside the Union but only a few Europeans move to work in another country. In 1994, for example, out of the 13 million migrant workers 9 million were non-Europeans. Furthermore, hostility against foreigners and even xenophobia is strongly existent in European many countries.

Rapid changes have destroyed great civilisations. In the beginning of the 20th century Arnold Toynbee identified 21 great civilisations. Only six of them exist today. But in today's awareness one can find many elements of the past.

As to the past, we only know of those who have left some signs or works of art for later generations. The prehistoric drawing in Lascaux cave in Southern France is approximately 15 000 years old. The oldest Finno-Ugric rock paintings are in the Eastern coast of the Viena Sea and Äänisjärvi lake. According to the Estonian researchers and artist Kalju Pollu they were created two thousand years ago.

Pollu finds common features in

the rock paintings: in the large and complex graphic compositions one can find the efforts of artists to dig stories in the rocks. The foundations of thought are cosmogonic - dealing with the creation and existence of the world.

The curious mind of modern human beings is puzzled with similar questions. He or she has now as an extension of his nerve and sense system a huge galaxy of information and telecommunication which does not recognise any boundaries nor order.

The President of Estonia, Lennart Meri, once said that when the world was divided during the Cold War, the Estonian people found Siberia where there were equally space for concentration camps as well as untouched virgin nature. In order to learn to understand culture the Estonians returned to the roots of their culture and found fishers and hunters in the peaceful waters of mighty rivers who lived their traditional life poor in terms of money but rich in spirit. There was much to learn from them.

Some researchers are of the opinion that when speaking of art one should ask what kind of things the works that have been called art have performed. In the past art has tried to cre-

ate replicate images of reality but in modern media images are the reality, there is no other reality that they would represent.

According to Aristotle „Poetics“ the justification to the existence of art is that it appeals to man with pleasure, creates satisfaction. It is sensual and the modern media technology has expanded the realms of human sensual experience. The world is increasingly intercultural. There are parallel trends of integration and disintegration. It seems that technology is a strong, global integrative force but almost all other forces separate people and societies.

The Western concept of social justice and security are strongly linked to the concept of a national state. But the process of globalisation and technological integration has weakened the nation-state. The new technology favours new tribalism, new civic societies and new identities while the membership of and loyalty to old political and social organisations decrease. Some authors like Alan Minc claim that the political thinking of the European Union favours regionalism, city-state concepts, and even a rebirth of the old middle-age duchies (Minc 1994).

Deep in the minds of people

there is the collective memory, and there could also be collective amnesia. Cultural identity exists in time and space. The Europeans want to redefine Euro-identity and smaller geographic and ethnic regions and units want to exist on their own.

The emerging new cultural world order would be different from the present state-based political order or the one super-power military order that has existed since the Gulf War. As Elise Boulding has said no single society can impose others such universal order which would be acceptable to other value systems. New identities mean cultural diversity. But it is not at all sure how the new technologies, cyberspace and telepresence with the constant manipulation of images and confusion of time and space would contribute to such an order.

Why do we need any „order“ at all? It may be our Northern and German bias (German word „Ordnung“). As Vattimo observes, the Latin mind is better prepared to face instability which is the essence of our time. Information and library people certainly have to give some order to the exponential growth of information. This is also what the machines, computers do (the Spanish word for

computer is „ordenador“). But it is the constructive mind of human curiosity that gives meaning to the information and that is, in my understanding, what universities are about.

O

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Departures on an Old-Fashioned Track

• Broadcast Laws in Romania,
Poland and the Czech Republic

BY **PETER GROSS** AND **RAY HIEBERT**

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I. Introduction

IT has only been six years since Central Europe's communist regimes inelegantly and, with the exception of Romania, quietly made their exits from the world's stage.

The system that codified the lack of freedoms, running the gamut from speech to press, travel to choice of domicile and careers, came to an abrupt end.

New laws need to be enacted to give expression, direction and form to de-communicization, establish the rule of law and steer the evolution of media in these newly freed societies. In a distinct signal that old tendencies and mentalities and politicians' universal predilection to manipulate are difficult to change, Central European countries have filled or attempted to fill the legal vacuum left by communism's melt-away by

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enacting or drafting new press and/or broadcast laws that curtail media freedom and democratization. In fact, in the broadcast field, they have not been able to wean themselves away from the tendency to dominate television or, at the very least, to neutralize it vis-a-vis the new government. Johnson's accurate summation (1993, p. 3) of post-revolution developments is also a warning the demands for and expectations of a free media nurtured under the communist regime have thus far not been fully met:

All of the post-communist rulers of Eastern Europe have tried fervently to hold on to state control of radio and television broadcasting. Just like their communist predecessors, they have argued that as the people's elected representatives they must be able to deliver their message directly to the people, and not have to compete in the marketplace.

Indeed, while local, non-public broadcasting (inclusive of cable) have made their appearance all over the former Central Europe, competition for nationally disseminated public radio and television is non-existent. And, the attempts to control and manipulate national television news and the newly-established audio-visual councils **(1)** are by

now clear signals the fight for media freedoms must continue (Koven, 1993; Johnson, 1993; Brown, 1994, p. 34; Jakubowicz, 1995). They also show the reforming political culture is no yet one that can support a true democracy with all its attendant elements and characteristics. Thus, the new beginnings in Central Europe are departing on the old-fashioned tracks of paternalism. In the words of Polish President Lech Walesa, who has also been guilty of this paternalism vis-a-vis the media, (Speech at The Freedom Forum World Center, April 21, 1993):

"We have entered the new reality carrying old habits, but with a mentality burdened by the old way of thinking. It is our greatest weakness and our biggest obstacle in this task.

Indeed, the "old habits" and "old way of thinking" are evident in the new broadcast laws enacted in the Czech and Slovak Republics, Romania, Latvia, Poland, Estonia, S l o v e n i a , Ukraine, and Croatia. (In other Central European countries and republics of the former Soviet

(1) National broadcast or audio-visual councils or boards were by law established in each country to oversee the workings of radio and television broadcasting. Their mandates are varied, but each has a modicum of power, making them important new institutions.

Union provisional mechanisms for licensing private stations have been instituted in lieu of broadcasting laws).

The first three countries to enact new broadcast laws in post-1989 Central Europe were Czechoslovakia (in October 1991, before the Dec. 31, 1992 breakup into the Czech and Slovak Republics), Romania (May 1992) and Poland (December 1992). These laws are the principal focus of this paper because they serve as a guide-post for judicial developments in the broadcast field in Central Europe and symbols and models for other countries in the region. Throughout this article, we will attempt to compare broadcast laws in Romania, Poland and the Czech Republic with one another and, to enlarge the context, with some Western European countries, plus Canada. The Western European countries considered here are Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom (2).

II. The laws

THE Czech broadcasting law of 1991 ("The Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting") is, at the time of this writing, the most revised one in the small line-up of new

Central European broadcasting laws. The most "important" revision being, according to Milan Smid (March 5, 1995), the December 1993 one, "Arrangements in the Field of Broadcasting," coming on the heels of Czechoslovakia's partition into the Czech and Slovak republics. The 1991 broadcasting law is also the most succinct one of the three examined here.

The Polish broadcasting law of December 1992, "The Act on Radio and Television," is the longest one of the three under consideration here. Its 70 articles also cover the structure and workings of public radio and television. Public radio and television are addressed in separate laws in the Czech Republic (Act. No. 483 on the Czech Television, November 7, 1991 and Act. no. 484 on the Czech radio, November 1991) and in Romania ("The Law Concerning the Organization and Functioning of the Romanian Radio Society and of the Romanian Television society," June 18, 1994).

The 45 articles of the Romanian broadcasting law, "The Audio-Visual Law," con-

(2) The data for this comparison comes primarily from an undated publication from the UNESCO Communication Division, entitled "Database on Broadcast Laws in Western Europe and North America."

tain the more numerous and serious problems of the three broadcast laws examined here.

A. Freedom of Expression and Responsibilities

WESTERN European countries have felt the need to make a legal statement about press and broadcast freedom. Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, The Netherlands and Switzerland all have broad constitutional guarantees protecting freedom of speech and press. Austria and Germany have a “basic law,” and Sweden has an “Instrument of Government.” Among these countries, only the United Kingdom has no constitution or basic law concerning speech and press rights.

Poland, Romania and the Czech Republic also address the issue of freedom of speech and press, first and foremost in their respective constitutions and again in their broadcast laws. The latter also contain descriptions of the envisioned roles of broadcasting, as well as certain restriction to the freedom of broadcasters, implied or clearly stated.

The Polish law describes the tasks of radio and television as that of providing information, facilitating access to culture

and the arts and the use of education and of the achievements of science, as well as supporting national audio-visual production (Art. 1). It assigns the safeguarding of “freedom of speech on radio and television, the independence of broadcasting companies and the interests of viewers and listeners,” as well as ensuring “an open and pluralistic character of radio and television” to the National Radio and Television Board (NRTB) (Art. 6).

These provisions of the Polish broadcasting, lend themselves to restrictive or liberal interpretations thanks to Art. 18 of the same law. Such wording as “Broad-casting must not display actions contrary” to “attitudes and views contrary to morals and social well-being”; they “should display respect for the religious beliefs of viewers and listeners and especially it should respect the Christian system of values, (emphasis added)” allows for the possibility of curtailing freedom of speech and information, as well as restricting diversity and openness.

Reinforcing these broadcast restriction are some criteria for granting licenses (Art. 36) and for withdrawing them (Art. 38). In the former case, licenses will not be granted if the applicant’s programs are “likely to

cause...a threat to the interests of national culture, to good manners and propriety, to the security and defense of the state, as well as state secret abuses." In the latter case, more reinforcement by way of repetition is build into the law. For instance, broadcasters may lose their licenses if the programs broadcast "causes a threat to the interests of national culture (emphasis added), to the security and defense of the state and works against good manners (emphasis added)." No definitions of what the "interests of national culture," or "works against good manners," might mean are included. The former could be interpreted and applied in the most negative nationalistic sense.

In Romania, Art. 1 of the broadcast law spells out the obligation of both public and private broadcasters to "ensure accurate information" (Art 1, para. 2) and for "rectification or for ensuring the right of reply" (Art. 4, para. 2). Nowhere is "accurate information" defined nor is it stated who will be the judge of whether information transmitted is accurate or inaccurate. Art. 1 also calls for the protection of free expression of ideas, opinions and communication of information, and the prohibition of censorship. Yet, the law almost immediately proceeds to

reverse itself in Art. 2 which places the broadest and most ambiguous responsibility on broadcasters: defamation of the country and of the nation, (emphasis added) incitement to war, to national, racial, class or religious hatred, incitement to discrimination and territorial separatism (emphasis added), to public violence, as well as obscene attitudes contrary to good morals are forbidden by law.

"Defamation of the country and of the nation" can be broadly interpreted to mean just about anything the prosecution cares to make of it. And, it is clear, that "incitement to... territorial separatism" appears to have been drafted explicitly to address the Hungarian minority in Romania as a way of forbidding any public discussion of territorial secession or even autonomy.

In (slight) contrast to Romanian and Polish laws, the Czech broadcast law of 1991 laid the groundwork for, or anticipated, the separation of the Slovak and Czech republics. In Part 1 of that law, the issuance of licenses was assigned to the newly created Federal Broadcasting Council and to the "authorities of the national republic."

The Czech law (Art. 4) while guaranteeing "free and inde-

pendent broadcasting,” places the responsibility on broadcasters to provide “objective and balanced information...” comes closer to an American definition of good journalism. It clearly forbids censorship (Art. 17). And, while Art. 17 of the Czech law explicitly states that freedom of expression and the right to information is protected, its 4th paragraph states these freedoms, may be restricted by law when such a measure is necessary in a democratic society for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others, in the interests of national security, public safety, for the protection of public health and morals.

Prior restraint of media, including broadcasting, exists in parts of Western Europe as well. It is specifically illegal in Austria, Denmark, Germany, Italy and The Netherlands. Yet, four of the Western European countries considered here, France, Germany, Italy, and The Netherlands, place some constitutional restrictions on media.

In France, freedom of expression can be constrained for reasons of “public order and national security.” In Germany, fundamental human rights are restricted by the “law on youth protection,” and the “right to inviolability of personal honor;”

press or speech freedom can be forfeited by “abusing the democratic order.” In Italy anything contrary to morality can be forbidden. And in The Netherlands, anything harmful to the morality of persons younger than 16 can be regulated and restricted.

All the compared countries, including the United Kingdom, have separate and specific laws relating to broadcast media. Three of these countries mention broadcasting in their constitution. The Austrian constitution stipulates that broadcasting is a public activity. The Netherlands constitution prohibits government’s “prior supervision” of radio and television, but adds that roles concerning broadcasting are the responsibility of an act of parliament. The Swiss constitution says broadcasting is independent but must contribute to “cultural development” and reflect the plurality of opinions,” for which an independent complaint authority should be established.

B. Public broadcasting and the state

THE Czech broadcasting law does not specifically address the obligations of public broadcasting vis-a-vis the state. On the other hand, both

the Romanian and Polish laws do. In Poland, the broadcasting law, encompassing the rules under which public radio and television is to operate, clearly states that they “shall in a direct manner enable the state organs to present and explain the policy of the state” (Art. 22).

In Romania, more specificity is included in a similar article. While a separate law addresses public radio and television, the broadcast law specifies that “National public companies... are obliged to broadcast, on a priority basis and free of charge, communiqués or messages of public interest coming from the Parliament, the Presidency or Government” (Art. 9).

The role and nature of political campaign is also treated differently in the three countries. The Romanian law directs the National Audio-Visual Council (NAVC) to establish “the durations and the conditions of presentation of electoral campaign programs” (Art. 32, para. 1) for both the public and private broadcasters. **(3)**

The Polish law, while also specifying that the NRTB will outline procedures, is exceedingly specific and, in this matter, pertains only to public broadcasting. Art. 23 of the Polish

law mandates that public television and radio provide political parties, as well as national labor unions and unions of employer with opportunities to present their position. Furthermore, political parties are to be given the opportunity “to beam election broadcasts.” (Art. 24).

In all the compared countries, broadcasting has a specific public role, either with a corporation or commission or authority to undertake public broadcasting. All except Austria allow private broadcasting, licensed by government. In Austria, the public ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Authority) is the only economic entity authorized to broadcast on either radio or TV. In The Netherlands, private broadcasting is really “association” broadcasting, where certain associations are granted broadcast time by a Media Authority, depending on the number of association members, coordinated by a public foundation.

C. Children’s’ programming

ROMANIA’S broadcast law does not in any way address children’s programming or

(3) The NAVC changed the rules for the 1992 elections and are expected to make yet another change for the 1996 elections.

programming that may have to be monitored in some way if there is a potential for children to be exposed to it. However, the law does not preclude the NAVC outlining rules pertaining to children's programming.

The Polish law quite specifically addresses "programs which may be hazardous to the mental, emotional and physical development of children and youth," forbidding their broadcast between 6 a.m. and 11 p.m. The Czech law, too, addresses broadcasting that may touch the young viewers, but in a more general way (Art. 5).

Six of the Western European countries in our comparison have no laws stipulating broadcast requirements to protect minors. In France the Conseil superieur de l'audiovisuel (CSA), which issues licenses and oversees broadcast coordination and control, must take into consideration the protection of children and adolescents in issuing program rules. In Germany, public broadcasters must not show programs that would "endanger the education of children and adolescents" before 9 p.m., and private broadcasters must now show any such programs at any time. Italy prohibits programs that could harm the "moral or psychological development of

minors," and films that are prohibited to minors under 14 can only be televised or screened between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m. In The Netherlands a board of film censors rates programs not suitable for persons under 12 or under 16, and those programs are not to begin until 8 or 9 p.m., respectively.

D. News programs

WHILE mention of information dissemination and education is made in all three countries' broadcast laws and their outlining of responsibilities for broadcasters, the Czech and Polish laws specifically point to their country's Press Laws as governing news segments/programs.

In Romania, there is no new press law and it is not clear, if and when one will be enacted, whether it will have a bearing of broadcast news/journalism.

Defamation laws, in all three countries, are incorporated in their respective Penal Codes. In the Czech Republic, many defamation cases are now brought into court on the basis of the Civil Code.

In every country we compared, except The Netherlands, broadcast regulations speak to some aspect of responsibility in news reporting. In Austria, ORF has

to observe the principles of objectivity, impartiality in reporting, a plurality of opinions, and balanced programming. And these values are reflected in the other countries' regulations as well. United Kingdom broadcasters also have to be accurate as well as impartial, and Canadian broadcasters must provide opportunities for the expression of differing views.

E. Broadcasters and religion

THERE is no direct mention of, or specific rules outlined for religious broadcasts, or for religious groupings in either the Romanian or the Czech laws. On the other hand, the Polish broadcast law not only calls for respect for religious beliefs and "especially" for the "Christian system of values," but Articles 59, 60, and 62 specifically include amendments spelling out various aspects of the relationship between radio and television companies and the Catholic Church, the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church and "other denominational unions."

Five of the ten countries we compared have regulations about religious programs. The ORF in Austria is supposed to "take into consideration the importance of the officially rec-

ognized religious bodies." In France, public broadcasting has to air religious programs once a week in cooperation with recognized religious bodies. In Germany, both public and private broadcasters must allow "appropriate" time for religious programs, although private stations can charge "prime" rates for such programs. In The Netherlands, religious organizations can form broadcast associations, but the time they are allotted for broadcasting must be devoted entirely to religious matters. And in the United Kingdom, the law says only that private broadcasters must allow a "sufficient amount of time" for religious programming.

F. Who is broadcaster/ Who can broadcast

IN Western Europe and Canada, there are no laws stating who can or cannot be a broadcaster, but ownership is another matter. Studios and transmitters can only be owned by the public broadcasting ORF in Austria. In Canada broadcast companies must be owned "mainly" by Canadians and non-Canadians cannot be directors of public broadcasting (CBC). In Denmark the Post Telephone & Telegraph (PTT) is in charge of "establishing" stations but there are no restrictions on foreign owner-

ship. France has no restrictions on ownership of studios or transmitters except that non-nationals cannot be involved directly or indirectly in more than 20 percent of the capital. In Germany the "Lander" or regional authorities provide the technical facilities for broadcasting but no restrictions on foreign ownership.

In Italy the facilities can be privately owned but the majority of ownership must be Italian. In the Netherlands, the national Broadcast Production Company owns the facilities. Foreigners do not have permission to possess or operate radio transmitters, and are not allowed to hold any financial interest in broadcasting. The Swiss PTT provides transmission facilities and only Swiss citizens can be licensed to broadcast. The United Kingdom has no restrictions on ownership.

In Poland, Romania and the Czech Republic we find permutations of the Western European rules.

Czech corporations and Czech citizens with permanent residency in the Czech Republic may become broadcasters. There are no limits to foreign investments in broadcasting companies.

In Romania, the broadcast law

"public judicial entities" such as state institutions and public companies or Romanian commercial companies with state capital can be broadcasters (Art. 5). "Private judicial entities," such as Romanian commercial companies with full or partial Romanian or foreign capital, are also entitled to be broadcasters. Any individual, public or private judicial entity may invest in a broadcasting operation or be a majority shareholder. No mention is made of any requirements of citizenship in the Romanian law. Neither are the extent or limits of foreign investments mentioned in the law, this area of regulation being left to the NAVC. The caveat is that foreign or domestic companies/investors can be involved, as such, in only one broadcast company and "cannot hold more than 20 percent" of shares in another broadcast company" (Art. 6). Public radio and television are exempt from this provision in the law.

The Poles' approach to defining who is and who is not a broadcaster is similar to the Romanian and Czech one.

Art. 2 of the Polish Broadcast law simply states that the right to broadcast is given "public radio and television companies and to persons who have obtained a license to carry on

this business.” And, Art. 4, para. 1 states that “a broadcasting company shall be any person who produces or arranges programs and broadcasts them or gives them to other persons for the purpose of broadcasting...” Public radio and television act “exclusively as a one-man joint-stock company of the State Treasury” (Art. 26).

As in the Czech Republic, the Polish broadcast law specifies that broadcast licenses may be granted to a Polish citizen with permanent residency in Poland “or to a legal person having a registered principal office in Poland” (Art. 35). Foreigners or foreign companies may invest in Polish broadcast companies and these companies may obtain a broadcasting license as long as the foreign partners’ shares or “stock capital” does not exceed 33 percent, Polish citizens and residents are in the majority on the management board or board of directors, and that the votes of foreign partners do not exceed 33 percent. (Art. 35)

G. Licensing procedures/ Authorization and criteria/ fees

technical vs. other criteria

IN Poland, the chairman of the NRTB makes decision as to who shall get a broadcast license “on the grounds of a National Board resolution.” (Art. 33) The qualifications for applications are announced after “consultation with the Minister of Communication.” (Art. 34).

Similarly, in Romania broadcast licenses (Art. 12) and authorization (Art. 16) are issued by the NAVC to applicants “who have first obtained technical approval from the Ministry of Communications.” (Art. 12). The number of licenses issued has to be approved by the Ministry of Communication. (Art. 13).

The Czech Broadcasting Council (CBC) (Act. no. 103/1992) issues and withdraws licenses for radio and television broadcasts. In 1992 the Czech Parliaments Act. No. 474 frequency spectrum allocation for broadcasting was shifted from the Czech Telecommunication Office authority to the CBC. The former retain authority “as the guarantor for the use of frequencies as

regards the international agreements.” (Smid, 1995)

The Czech Republic’s broad-

pants, promotion of the national A-V product and of the national culture, the independence and objectivity of pro-

Rules of foreign investment/ownership in broadcasting outlined in broadcasting laws

	Allowed/Not	Specific Rules
Poland	Yes	no more than 33% investment/stock and decision-making votes
Romania	Yes	made by the NAVC
Czech Republic	Yes	no limits specified

casting law’s first criteria for issuing licenses is the need to ensure plurality and balance in the broadcasting system, with a small anti-monopoly expression that examines any license applicant for the possibility of gaining “a dominant position in the mass media” (Part 2). The promised contributions of the applicant to access to information, opinions and “cultural values” are also examined. The law allows for a wide interpretation of these criteria.

The same is true of the Romanian broadcast law. It specifies the criteria for granting a license (Art. 12, para. 4), must ensure pluralism of opinions, an equal treatment for all participants, quality and diversity of programs, fair competitive conditions for all partici-

grams broadcast by public judicial entities.

Furthermore, paragraph 5 of the Art. 12 also states that “access of socio-cultural, political, religious organizations and other applicants” for broadcast programs “will be achieved within the provisions set forth in para 4...”

In Poland an applicant for a broadcast license must first and foremost provide information, facilitate access to culture and the arts, “facilitate and use of education and of the achievement of science.” According to Art. 36 of the law, an applicant must also have the financial potential for investments for programs, etc. Most instructive are the criteria for NOT granting a license to an applicant.

Length of License (years)			
	Czech Republic	Romania	Poland
Radio	6	5	7
Television	12	7	3-10

Art. 36, para. 2, states that a license will not be granted “if the applicant’s programmed broadcasting is likely to cause (emphasis added),

1. a threat to the interests of national culture, to good manners and propriety, to the security and defense of the State, as well as state secret abuses (sic),

2. a dominant position in the mass media of a given area to be achieved by the applicant.

These sentiments regarding “threats to the interests of national culture,” while what these interests might be is not defined anywhere, are reinforced in Art. 38. It states that such threats may be cause for license withdrawal, as is “programmed broadcasting” that “gives the broadcasting company a dominant position in the mass media of a given region.”

Licensing appears to be less restrictive in Western Europe and Canada but still complex. Limits on the length of a

license vary from country to country, with many having no limits. In Italy a TV license is good for six years. In Denmark a radio license cannot exceed three years.

H. Advertising

BOTH the Czech and Polish broadcast laws address the issue of advertising in some depth. In contrast, the Romanian law only specifies that “Advertising through radio or TV must be presented in such a way by acoustic or optical means as to be easily distinguished from other programs” (Art. 3). It assigns the responsibility of establishing advertising norms and those related to sponsorship to the NAVC (Art. 32, para. 1).

In the Czech Republic the standards of advertising and sponsorship outlined in the 1991 law are “compatible with those promulgated in the Europe Convention on Transfrontier Television” (Smid, 1995). Sponsorship of news or current affairs programs is prohibited (Art. 8).

The law sets a limit of 10 percent advertising content to daily transmission time in the private television sector and a 3 percent limit in public television; 20 percent in daily, private radio transmission and 5 percent in public radio transmission (Art. 6 and 7). In amendments outlined in the 1993 "Arrangements in the Field of Broadcasting," the inclination to prefer development of private broadcasting is evidenced by a flat imposition of 1 percent of advertising in public sector broadcasting and virtually NO limitations in the private sector.

In Poland, the NRTB is charged with setting limits on advertising time for public radio and broadcasting (Art. 16, para. 3). The Board is also mandated to "provide a code governing advertising standards..." (Art. 16, para. 4). In the private broadcasting sector, the broadcasting law specifies advertising to take up a maximum of 15 percent of daily programming time and "not more than 12 minutes per hours." (Art. 16, para. 2). Sponsorship of programs is allowed in Poland (Art. 17), provided the sponsor is identified and does not "influence broadcast content in a way restricting the independence of the broadcasting company." The NRTB has the right to prohibit sponsor-

ship of some programs or certain types of sponsorship.

In all the comparison countries except for Sweden, advertising is allowed. In Sweden commercial advertising is prohibited on both radio and TV. In Austria one radio channel must remain free of advertising. Most countries maintain that ads must be distinct from other programming and should not influence program content. In Italy ads can't "infringe human dignity."

Canada, France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom set no limits on the amount and frequency of advertising. Canada, The Netherlands, and the United Kingdom have no restrictions on ad interruption of programs. Canada, Denmark, Germany, Italy, and The Netherlands place no prohibition on advertising content. In Austria, no programs can be interrupted by ads. In Italy, programs that would not be interrupted in live presentations cannot be interrupted on the air, and other programs have to be longer than 45 minutes to be interrupted. In Germany they have to be longer than 60 minutes, and in Switzerland longer than 90 minutes. In France, no "audiovisual or cinematographic works" may not be interrupted, nor can any public broadcast or pay-TV program.

In Austria, not more than 120 minutes a day for radio or 20 minutes a day for television can be devoted to advertising, and on certain religious holidays no advertising is permitted. In Denmark, only 15 minutes a day on TV2 can be given to ads, or 10 percent of daily broadcast time, and that percentage also applies to all local TV. In private broadcasting in Germany, the limit is 20 percent of all broadcast time. In Italy, the limit is 4 percent for public and 12 percent for private broadcasting, and ads must not exceed 18 percent in any one national broadcast hour, or 20 percent of local. In The Netherlands, the limit is 5 percent of total time and none on Sundays.

I. Cable

THE Czech law pays little attention to cable broadcasting. The Romanian law devotes three relatively vague articles to it addressing the issuance of licenses by the NAVC (they have to meet the same requirements as other broadcasters, as spelled out in Art. 12), the application procedures, and the authorization steps taken by the Ministry of Communication. In March 1995, the NAVC rules the scope of cable TV programs are to be confined to entertainment and cartoons, "thus reinforcing

the monopoly of state TV over the broadcasting of political information" (Ionescu, Oct. 6, 1995, pp. 52-54).

The Polish law is a bit more detailed, devoting 7 articles to cable broadcasting and specifying the order that must be followed by cable broadcasters in program introduction (Art. 43):

1. *national public radio and television programs,*
2. *local public radio and television programs,*
3. *other programs by national and foreign broadcasting companies.*

Art. 43 appears to limit the nature of the cable programs and place undue control over cable operators, certainly much more so than does the Romanian or the Czech law.

Of our comparison countries, five require government permission for cable transmission: Denmark, Germany, France, Sweden and Switzerland. The others have no requirements. Only Switzerland has a restriction on receiving cable or satellite transmissions, and the Swiss are only required to have a "subscription" - possibly so it can be tracked by the government.

Austria, Canada, Italy, and the United Kingdom have no

restrictions on the content of cable transmission. While other countries have legal statements on cable content, none of these statements amount to more than the obvious, i.e. "all programs by Swiss broadcasters," or "according to the laws of the German Lander," etc. The same generalizations are basically true of the content of satellite transmissions in these countries.

J. Program production-origin

IN most of the comparison countries, the norms for broadcast programming are set forth in general regulations on broadcasting. In France, when a license is granted it is accompanied by a schedule of conditions to which the broadcaster must comply. In Denmark, the law gives the Ministry of Communication authority to create special rules for public broadcasting. Six of the ten comparison countries set forth generalized program quality standards. Sometimes these include diversity of informative, cultural, educational, and entertainment programs (Italy), or standards of accuracy, integrity, fairness, thoroughness, and balance (Canada).

Norms for broadcast programming in Romania are established by the NAVC, according

to Art. 32 of the broadcast law and, in the Czech Republic by the CBS, according to Part 2 of the Broadcast Act (Part 2 was the subject of a myriad of amendments in subsequent legislation). In Romania, Art. 12, para. 4 of the broadcast law addressing criteria for granting a broadcast license speaks to the issue of program origin only by mentioning "promotion of the national A-V product."

In the Czech Republic the issue of programs domestically produced is only mentioned in passing in Art. 9, addressing solely the public service broadcasting sector.

In Poland, while the law allows the NRTB to establish the minimum proportion programs produced domestically (Art. 15, para. 1) and by other European producers (Art. 15, para. 3), it also sets some limits itself. For instance, a minimum of 30 percent of broadcast time must be assigned to indigenously produced broadcasts (aside from news, sports, advertising, panel games and teletext relays). This issue is also of import in the license granting procedures, according to Art. 36.

K. Leadership councils/ boards - memberships, etc.

THE Czech Broadcasting Council (CBC) established

in 1992 (Act. no. 103) exercises “within its jurisdiction - the state administration in the field of broadcasting.” The CBC is distinct from its Polish and Romanian counterparts, the NRTB and the NAVC, respectively, by the fact that it is accountable exclusively to the Czech Parliament. The parliament has the right to appoint six of the CBC’s nine members and three are appointed by the president of the republic.

In Romania, the parliament, the government and the president get to appoint the nine-members of the NAVC (Audio-Visual Law, Art. 25). In Poland, the 1992 Broadcast Law (Art. 7) gave parliament and the president the right to appoint members of the NRTB. However, in June 1995, the parliament amended the law, taking away the president’s right to nominate the chairman of the NRTB (Karpinski, Oct. 6, 1995, pp. 13-15).

The Romanian president and his government have more power over the make-up of the NAVC and, therefore, at least theoretically have a greater ability to manipulate the rules governing broadcasting.

However, the rules regulating the CBC and appointment of its members have also come under fire. For instance, Smid

(1995) writes:

This heavy CBC dependence on the Parliament stems from the belief prevailing in many East European post-communist countries in those early days of political change, that the best and only representation of the public is the parliament because the legitimacy (sic) of democratically elected deputies is indisputable. However, this state of affairs raises doubts about the independence and impartiality of the CBC in the future, since the legislation not only does not protect them sufficiently, but also enables very easy transformation of the independent and professionally minded CBC to the quasiparliamentary commission controlled by the instant party political interests.

All the comparison countries have an independent body of coordination and control, and laws establish their membership. Denmark and Italy have two bodies, one national and the other local or regional. The Netherlands also has two bodies, a Media Council to make advisory reports, and a Media Authority for coordination. In most cases, the membership of these bodies is complex and carefully spelled out

Composition of Broadcasting councils/boards

MEMBERS APPOINTED BY:	Parliament	Government	President	Term (yrs.)
Poland	+	-	+	6
Romania	+	+	+	4
Czech Republic	+	-	+	6

to provide some input from all segments of society.

L. Penalties

IN seven of the ten comparison countries, penalties for failure to abide by broadcast regulations are detailed in the laws. In France, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, fines can be imposed on broadcasters. In France, licenses can also be suspended. In Germany, laws of the Lander contain various penalties applicable to broadcasters. And, in The Netherlands, "penal sanctions" can be meted out for operating a transmitter without permission.

Broadcasting without a license brings about similar penalties in Romania and Poland: six months to two years in prison or a fine or confiscation of equipment and two years prison or 2 years prison and a fine, respectively.

In Poland, broadcasters who fail to meet the rules regarding percentage of broadcast programs produced indigenously, those addressing advertisements, their nature and percentage of minutes per hours or percentage per day, or the advertising standards outlined by the NRTB (see Art. 15, 16, 17), may be fined "up to 50 percent of the annual fee for the use of the frequency allocated for programmed broadcasting" (Art. 53).

In Romania, if the license holder fails to adhere to the "obligations enumerated in the license," sanctions may be levied ranging from (Art. 37):

a. a fine, between 2 and 5 percent of the previous annual earnings,

b. a 1 to 3-month suspension of the broadcast authorization,

c. a reduction by half of the length of authorization or license to broadcast,

d. withdrawal of authorization of license.

The far more serious differences in penalties, and therefore also in the dangers to freedom of expression and to information, arises in the area of non-compliance with the articles of the laws addressing broadcast content. In this respect, Art. 39 of the Romanian law, spelling out the penalties for violating the provisions of Art. 2, para. 2, in particular, potentially negates any guarantee of diversity and freedom of expression/press guaranteed in Art. 1 of the same law.

In Poland, violations of Art. 18, para. 1-3, (4) are not even mentioned in Articles 52-56. The latter cover responsibilities and the penalties for not fulfilling them. Paragraph 4 of Art. 18 only mentions penalties (fines) "if a broadcast company contravenes the duty arising from Art. 18, para. 4." The latter addresses the NRTB's code governing standards of programs that may harm children and their broadcast during the 6 a.m. and 11 p.m. daily time frame.

Neither the Polish nor the

Czech broadcast laws address "defamation of the country and of the nation." The Romanian Parliament, by its inclusion of these words in the broadcast law, leaves the door wide open for the prosecution of journalists who have anything negative to say about the state of affairs in or the direction taken by Romania at any national and international level. Theoretically, writing that Romanians discriminate against Gypsies or Hungarians could also be considered "defamation of the nation" and, therefore, actionable. The mention of defamation in the broadcast laws creates a double threat for journalists who also are liable for defamation under the Penal Code.

In the Czech Republic and in Poland, defamation is dealt with solely in their respective Penal Codes.

(4) Polish Broadcasts Law, Art. 18, para. 1 - broadcasting must not display action contrary to law, to the Polish reason of state, as well as attitudes and views contrary to morals and social well-being; para. 2 - broadcasting should display respect for the religious beliefs of viewers and listeners and especially it should respect the Christian system of values; para. 3 - programs which may be hazardous to the mental, emotional and physical development of children and youth must not be broadcast between 6:00 a.m. and 11:00 p.m.

In Romania, violations of: Art. 2 (para. 1-4):	Penalty
- freedom of audiovisual expression cannot prejudice a person's dignity, honor and private life as well as the person's right to his/her own image.	6 mo. - 5 yrs. prison
- defamation of the country and of the nation, incitement to war, to national, racial, class or religious hatred, incitement to discrimination and territorial separatism, to public violence, as well as obscene attitudes contrary to good morals are forbidden by law.	2 yrs.-7 yrs. prison
- broadcast of information, which, according to the law, is secret in its nature, or may prejudice national security, is forbidden.	3 yrs.-10 yrs. prison
- programming and broadcast of obscene shows contrary to good morals are forbidden.	3 mo.- 2 yrs. prison

III. Conclusion

THE September/October 1995 issue of the IPI Report (International Press Institute) and the October 1995 issue of Transition (Open Media Research Institute) re-emphasized the continuing struggle for media independence in Central Europe. Writing about the general situation in all of the world's new democracies, Adam Feinstein (September/October 1995, p. 16) points out, "The barriers to the free flow of information have not been removed - they've only been penetrated and in some cases re-erected with more vigor than before."

The examination of the

Romanian, Polish and Czech broadcast laws reveals a tendency in those countries to curb and manipulate some aspects of broadcasting. Perhaps even more dangerous is (a) the imprecise, nebulous, non-defined wording used and left open to interpretation by regulatory agencies and by the still-not-independent judiciaries, and (b) the degree of power assigned to national councils in charge of broadcasting - councils that are open to manipulation and control by the government, dominant political parties in parliament, and/or by the presidency.

Conceptually, Polish, Romanian and Czech broadcast laws are rooted in the larger

European broadcasting and political culture and there is no reason to believe they will not remain so. European tendencies and traditions of controlling broadcasting varies from country to country. These tendencies and traditions are in large measure greater than those in the U.S. and any comparison of new Central European broadcast laws have to be carried out in a European and not an American context.

The new laws are by no means written in stone. As the

Romanian, Polish and Czech societies mature and evolve, these laws will be revisited and their interpretations fine-tuned.

One thing is certain, the battle for a free mass media rages in every region on every continent. Central Europe, liberated from totalitarianism, is not exempt from fighting this battle.

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Women and media in Bulgaria: access to expression and decision making

BY VESSELA TABAKOVA

WHEN I started this study, I had to face a problem. On one side was a complete lack in my country of any research whatsoever on the position of women in the mass media. On the other side - the significant presence of women in mass media was obvious. The need of gathering and systematizing the necessary information in each and every case met a uniform response-summary: "Everything is obvious and clear - the media in this

country are completely feminized". For example, when I called some of my colleagues in the private radio stations, they answered immediately: "It is the same with us everywhere - a complete feminization". In the course of my research I came upon an interview with a famous Bulgarian artist, published in the only Bulgarian professional edition of the Journalists College. He stated in this interview the following:

"The radio sta-

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tions have some good broadcasts, but they become feminized. One could hear on air mostly female voices. It is not that they are not nice. The woman as such is something very good. But she is emotional and in this sense - a little superficial. There must be more male voices. I can see the same problem in the printed press as well. When you open a newspaper, you could only see only female names. And this started happening after November 10th, 1989 (the beginning of the democratic changes in Bulgaria - author's note). It is interesting why".

At this point the interviewer, in this case - a man, put in a remark: "But almost editors-in-chief are men..." (Bulgarian journalist, 6, 1994)

A little before completing this study, the following short information appeared in a Bulgarian daily newspaper: "The invasion of the fair sex in the mass media brought up a dispute during the last session of the parliamentary Commission for television and radio. The Deputy Chief, Ivan Gaytandjiev, complained that feminization has flooded the air and appealed for equality of sexes. The head of the Commission, Michael Nedeltchev, opposed that he liked tender faces and voices.

He added that although there were a lot of ladies in the Bulgarian National Radio and the Bulgarian National Television, both were not threatened by matriarchy, because they were headed by men". (24 Hours, September 20th, 1994)

So, things are clear at first sight, if a parliamentarian appeals for equality of sexes in the mass media and for a protection of man's right in them. Also at first sight one could ask itself the question whether in Bulgaria and also in the other Central and Eastern European countries exists a problem as far as the access of women to expression in the mass media is concerned. And even whether while focusing our attention on females' problems, on the access of women to the mass media and their participation in the decision making in them, we are not about to analyze problems, topical for the Western cultures, but not for our societies? Those questions, however, as it turned out, have risen from first sight.

Are the mass media feminized?

THE position of women in the mass media in Bulgaria as well as in all Central and Eastern European

countries, is exposed on the background of the general tendency of females invading the non-productions sphere - in science, health care, education, culture etc. Also, in Bulgaria, as almost everywhere in Europe, females comprise the larger part of the country's population. The tendency of massive invasion of women in the mentioned spheres is idiosyncratic not only for the recent years. In this respect the national statistics are definite. For example, in 1970, 72% of the persons, employed in the of education were women and in 1993 - 76.8%. In the field of sciences and scientific services in 1970, 50.3% were women, while in 1993 - 54.5%. As far as culture is concerned, and statistics place the mass media in this sphere, in 1970 the share of women was 64.9% and in 1993 - 63.8% (Source: "Integrated statistics of women", National Statistics Institute, 1993). The situation in the mass media undoubtedly reflects a general tendency in the society.

Regretfully, it is impossible to present a completely precise picture of women's presence in the mass media because, as it was already mentioned, no such research has ever been done in Bulgaria. In recent years in our country extremely dynamic processes have

occurred in the field of the mass media, which have and continue to change the countenance of the mass media themselves. Pluralism in society has its most visible reflection upon the mass media and market economy made its way into them before everything else.

At the end of last year Bulgaria, a country with a population of 8 million, had 2664 registered newspapers and magazines. That of course does not mean that all of them were printed and even less - that they all still exist. But it could be said without exaggeration that there was a period when almost every week a new edition came into existence and another one disappeared. Apart from that until quite recently the number of privately owned radio stations in Sofia and the country was 44 and that does not mean that some new one has not been established. All this very much complicates the attempt to collect precise information. In the same time, this radical change is one of the explanations for the more massive penetration of women in the mass media, which could not be covered by any study in such over mobile situation whatsoever.

For example the data used by the Union of Bulgarian Journalists (UBJ) and which

are naturally related to journalists only, have already become only partial following the establishment of many privately owned publishing houses. In them found employment not only a lot of completely young journalists, but there they have no structures of the UBJ either. According to the latest figures of the UBJ, from 4680 journalists, members of the Union, 1956 are women, i.e. 40%. Because of the peculiarities of the UBJ's functioning, the number of retired members is not so small. In the same time the countenance of most of the mass media at the moment, and that is more profoundly expressed in the newspapers, is created mainly by such young people, by completely new faces in this profession.

The facts, which were collected, gave the following picture:

Press

INFORMATION from the national daily newspaper shows that approximately half of their journalistic staff consists of women. Most significant is the presence of women among reporters, where ladies are considerably more than the half. Least represented are women in the Departments for international politics, sports, among photojournalists and graphic designers. There are all

reasons to believe that the excited Bulgarian parliamentarian, mentioned at the beginning, draws his conclusion on the grounds of the presence of reporters in the Parliament - parliamentary reporters in Bulgaria, and that means not only for the press, but for the radio and television, are almost women. Almost exclusively feminine is another new Bulgarian press activity - advertising. The permanent advertisements' agents of most of the studied newspaper are almost women.

Radio

EXACT figures could be presented for the Bulgarian National Radio and its regional centers. 1,333 are the women, or 59%, out of altogether 2,265 employees of the Radio. The National Radio is a ladies radio, was the conclusion of the colleagues, who kindly gave me access to the information.

According to the kind of activities, the picture at the National Radio is as presented in table 1.

The picture in the new, privately owned radio stations, has no significant discrepancies. Particularly strong is the presence of women in the creative positions - in some of the private radio stations their percentage is more than 80%.

TABLE 1

Staff	Total	Females	Percentage
Creative positions	1311	796	61%
Technical personnel	470	161	34%
Administrative personnel	191	156	82%
Subsidiary personnel	145	134	92%
Laborers	148	86	58%

There are radio stations outside of Sofia whose creative personnel comprises only women. In almost all those cases we are talking about women at the age of up to 40. The administrative positions are also taken mainly by women.

Television

THE general opinion concerning the feminization of the Bulgarian National Television is apparently due to the particularly visible fact for a solid creative presence of women on the television screen, particularly of female reporters and the ladies, conducting dif-

ferent programs.

The facts, which were offered by the Bulgarian National Television, present the following picture for its two channels (table 2).

Film production

IN order to achieve a better thoroughness on the question of females' access to the mass media as well as in accordance with researches done by UNESCO for different countries, this study also presents the data available on the place of women in the film production industry. The data, available at the moment, was sup-

Table 2

Staff	Total	Females	Percentage
	2919	1135	38.9%
Creative positions	808	391	48.4%
Administrative positions	298	158	53%
Technical positions	949	245	25.8%
Auxiliary personnel	675	254	37.6%
Laborers	189	96	50.8%

plied by the Union of Actors, but it should be accentuated straight away that due to the present situation of restructuring and changes in the film industry, the picture presented here is not complete. Nevertheless it could claim presentability.

Within the Union of Actors there are ten associations. The total number of members is 872, of which 272 are women (see table 3).

If we have to summarize all the available information, undoubtedly it has to be pointed out that females are comparatively en force coming into the mass media field and particularly in the printed press, the radio and television.

Therefore the following conclusions could be made:

1. It is impossible not to men-

tion the real and significant creative presence of women in the media. As it is obvious from the presented data their participation in the staff of the printed press and the radio stations is at least half and in a number of cases even considerably more than half. Almost half of the creative positions in the Television is taken by women. Interesting is the fact that in one of the new and most listened privately radio stations (Radio 99), where women are approximately 40% of the whole staff, about 70% are engaged in creative work. As a matter of fact it has to be noted that creative positions are not limited to only journalistic positions, but also music editors, sound producers etc. The generally accepted attitude in regard to total feminization is founded on the "sounding voices" and the "appearing faces". This situation is not a result of some kind of special privilege of

Association	Total	Females	Percentage
Producers	173	37	21.4%
Cameramans	164	10	6.1%
Playwright	77	16	20.8%
Artist	58	29	50.0%
Composers and sound producers	71	20	28.2%
Montage	78	77	98.7%
Movie critics	77	38	49.3%
Actors	86	21	24.4%
Legal, financial & technical specialists	28	3	10.7%
Animation	65	20	30.8%

women, but of the real fact of their competitive power. It must be noted - although this is a problem, which needs a special research of another kind - that from the point of view of communication in the Radio and the Television, the significant presence of Females causes a number of serious professional problems, connected with the peculiarities of the audience's perception. It is a fact, however, that in each competition for Radio or Television - without this being defined anywhere, men are actually preferred, but most of the competitions are won by women. "There are good male voices for speakers, but not for conducting programs" - this is the summary of the director of the regional centre of the Bulgarian National Radio in Plovdiv, which is the second largest city in Bulgaria. "Women are better communicators".

2. Most conservative in respect to female access to creative positions is the film industry. This fact, however, does not make any exceptions in regard to tendencies in Europe and the world as a whole. Even a glance at the data from the Union of Actors shows that females have a better presence in those creative fields, in which they are less dependent on the hierarchical interrelation.

3. There are fields of activities which could be differentiated as explicitly "feminine" or "masculine". Perhaps the most obvious example for a "feminine" activity is the "Montage" Association, where only a man is employed. It is not accidental that even the word for that profession in Bulgarian sounds more in a female gender. This is not an exception from the general tendency. The expression for the same profession in English sounded like "continuity girl". A reserved female territory are also a number of administrative professions at routine level. On the other hand females have considerably less presence among engineers and technicians.

4. The mentioned tendencies will not apparently undergo any significant changes in the near future. One of the indicators for the permanent tendency towards an active presence of women in the mass media as a sphere of creative expression of women, could be the result from the students' entry exams for the Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communications at the Sofia University this year. After the eliminating exam in the Bulgarian literature, out of almost 1,000 candidates, among which the number of men and women was almost equal, 251 candidates were admitted to the written and

oral exam in journalism. Only 51 of those were men. If at enrollment there were no preliminary defined equal quota for men and women, it is beyond any doubt that the Faculty of Journalism would have become a girls' school.

The same applies to a number of humanitarian specialities as well. The existence of quota creates a situation where men-candidates enroll at the Faculty with considerable inferior results. Naturally that raises disputes and objections in respect to the privileges of men and the caused damages to women. Analogic situation, but a negative sign of equality, also exists in many engineering and technical specialities.

Paradoxes of "feminization" and access to the decision making

THE analysis of females' access to expression in the mass media and their place inside cannot ignore some factors, which determine the picture of the present situation and which is widely being characterized as "feminization". Those factors will help us understand the paradoxes of feminization and its ambivalence.

In the analysis of the present

situation a look back towards the past - towards what was then called the emancipation of women in the socialist society - is more than necessary.

Well known is the fact that egalitarianism was a basic idiosyncrasy of socialist doctrine. "Equality" was a key conception, under which it was understood that all people have equal access to life's bounties, equal distribution of income and, of course, equality between the two sexes.

Totalitarian socialism preferred uniformity and unidentifiability, unification and sameness. Women's emancipation in totalitarian socialism, closely connected with egalitarian ideology, meant equal opportunities for participation in the production and non-production spheres. One of the results of that was the real appearance of women in the public sphere, taking positions and entering into professions, which were traditionally considered as masculine. Women's emancipation, understood as equality of sexes through equal work, completely changed the status of women. They were not only granted certain economic independence, but also began to identify themselves through their own social status and education.

Of course, women's professional engagement, materialized in a great scale in the countries from Central and Eastern Europe, was not some specific and isolated phenomenon. We are talking about a general process of liberalization and changes in the status of women as a whole after the II World War. In the same time, however, that process in the former socialist countries was of an excessive scale, determined by the development of the economy and the turning of women to the mass media follows in time the state activities primarily in the economic field.

Women's emancipation in the conditions of planned and centralized economy has always had two dimensions. Intended for public consumption was the fact of the real coming of women into all spheres of social life. In the same time, in the public discourse the other side of emancipation was almost kept silent about - the double burden of women, their double working day. The traditional division of home obligations not only remained, but the state socialism failed to create a network of public services. In the public discourse, and that means that it was proclaimed in the official doctrine, was the so called "triune role model" of the woman, i.e. the woman-mother, the woman-worker and

the woman-socially active person. In some jokes that "super-woman" looked like a super-being, who held in one hand her job, in other hand - her children and carried on her back her husband and socialism itself.

The access to the education and work was realized on the background of the inherited traditional structure for division of work not only at home, but also in the professional sphere. However, it could hardly be talked about any discrimination against women in the conditions of totalitarian socialism. In the same time, the traditional division of work naturally lead to a certain segmentation in some professions as far as sex was concerned. Anyway, women came in mass into professions, traditionally regarded as male. The officially proclaimed "triune role model" of the "super-woman" objectively continued to impose and the heritage of inertia continues to create certain obstacles before women-journalists in some sectors of this kind of activity.

Feminization during the era of socialism, i.e. the massive onrush of women into the public sphere, placed women in somewhat paradoxical situation. On one hand feminisation best of all symbolised the proclaimed egalitarian-collectivistic aims of

centralized socialism. On the other hand, however, it continued to develop and presently continues to develop even after the beginning of the democratic changes in the context of well established mechanism and views of the patriarchal society. When it comes to the mass media the clashes and paradoxes here are more evident. Women's urge towards creative professional work - and that also means forcing their way out of economic constraint - faces the general attitude of women's inequality as an intellectual and professional potential.

It could be said that although there was a lack of purposeful discrimination, inequality kept reproducing itself through different means. In Bulgaria, for example, there is no information about women's salaries. The existing data about the other former socialist countries - like Poland and Czechoslovakia - gives us grounds to believe that for equal work there were unequal salaries for men and women. (In 1989 in Poland the salaries of women were with 21% less than those of men, in Czechoslovakia at the same period salaries of women in the industrial sphere were 65% of those of men. (See Corin, C./ ed./ *Superwomen and the Double Burden*, London, 1992).

The most immediate relation to our analysis have the facts about women's presence in the hierarchic structure and their access to decision making. Feminisation in its positive meaning is accompanied by a heavily underlined masculinisation, particularly at the high levels of hierarchy. The disproportion here is particularly significant and that applies for all former socialist countries. The drastic lack of women in the top echelons of decision making is a fact, valid all spheres of activities, including the mass media. The problems here are many and different. Even today the professional career of women is negatively looked upon by society. Sacrifices in favor of the profession to the detriment of the family's interests or merely sacrificing the family are severely punished by society. The professional woman really came out of her home, but that did not change neither the traditional concept, nor the traditional divisions.

At the same time the so called "glass ceiling", if we could use this metaphor, which widely spread in the Western countries during the 1980's, shows the barrier before the hierarchic progress of women, which in a number of cases are connected with them. Although the researches on the "glass ceiling" have been done under

different circumstances, undoubtedly some of their conclusions are relevant to the situation in the former socialist countries. Among the factors in those researches, which represent obstacles for the hierarchic progress of women, pointed out are fear for failure, hesitation to take risks, the inability of women to be firm and definite etc. Other researches show women's fear of success because of factors present in the society. (e.g. see Morrison, A. and Von Glinow, M. - *Women and Minorities in Management*, American Psychologist, 1990, 2).

So, it seems that male lamentations about feminisation of the mass media in Bulgaria are caused by compatibility of women as intellectual and creative potential and because of that - their real creative presence in the printed press, the radio and the television. This is a presence which corresponds to the share of women in the society as a whole. Completely different is the situation, however, when it comes to the place of women in the process of decision making. Feminisation, treated as real participation of women in the mass media, does not necessarily lead to their presence in the process of decision making. There are almost no women Editor-in-Chief in the Bul-

garian press as the exceptions here only confirm the rule. The same applies to the whole top decision making echelon. The highest position a woman could usually reach in the hierarchy of the press, and that is again as an exception, is Head of Department or member of the Editors Council, if such one exists. The information, which was given to us by the privately owned radio stations unambiguously show that even at such great, even overwhelming creative presence of women, their participation in the process of decision making is more of an exception. Interesting is the data given to us by the Bulgarian National Television. In the top managerial echelon of the Television there is not even a single woman. According to the presented data, 87 of altogether 189 managerial posts are held by women. But as it turned out that significant number is to large extent due to the managerial post at different levels are held by women. Among the "three big bosses", i.e. among the top management of the Bulgarian National Radio there is one woman. Out of 13 Directors of Sections eight are women. Out of 34 Chief, Deputy Chief Editors and Producers 17, i.e. half of them are women.

Of course, quite mechanical would be the presumption that

the access of women to decision making should be treated in direct correlation with their number in the mass media if we want to search for some proportion in the presence of the two sexes in managerial structures. This problem is connected not only with relations within the society, but also with the determined by them structures in the former socialist countries meant a domination of the collective principle and the collectivistic interests. Inevitably that brought about underdeveloped individualistic motivations and ambitions of women. In this sense feminisation has another face as well - the marginalization of women towards the decision making positions.

Now gradually comes the time when individualism and the idea for personal success and career arranges the women's value scale in a completely different manner. However, the circumstance that the process of restructuring the values of life is ambivalent, should not be underestimated.

Information from the sociological researches, held during the recent years show women conservative and resistant towards the social changes position. For example, data from international research "Acceptance of justice in the East and in the West" shows that women, to a

greater extent than men, express their nostalgia for socialism. The egalitarian spirit, expressed through views on equal distribution of income and for remuneration according to the needs of a person are shared by more women than men. Other researches show that women are more skeptical about the economic potential of private enterprises in Bulgaria (See T. Kotzeva, "The end of the feminist socialism or what shall be the Bulgarian woman in the next years", Political research magazine, 1993, 3, p. 63). It is apparent that women's position in the process of decision making and particularly in the mass media, is a multifaced problem, in whose development a significant influence will have the changes in society and the individual transformations of values of life, which will be caused by them.

Between the "triune role model" and the image of the lady-seducer

IRRESPECTIVE of the complexity of the processes of restructuring and women's attitude towards them, it could be surely stated that the emancipated model of the socialist utopia completely failed. The raised to the skies in the public discourse and ridiculed outside

of it “triune role model” of the woman was demystified. Its demystification has different effects and reflections from the point of view of the problem of the women in the mass media.

I would like to draw your attention to two of them:

1. The demystification of the “triune role model” brought forward in the public discourse the attitude towards women such as really existed, but it did not add up to its ideology for equality. This is particularly obvious in the reactions to a truly significant creative presence of women in the mass media.

As a matter of fact, interesting is the fact that according to a completely new study of the journalistic profession and journalism ethics the percentage of female journalists, who think of the journalistic profession as being very prestigious, is smaller than that of men-journalists. According to respondents outside the journalistic profession men and women equally evaluate the prestige of the journalistic profession as “very high” (See “The trust in the mass media and the ethics of journalists”, July 1994, study of NOEMA Ltd. - “Social studies and marketing”).

The quite expressive and very often stated reactions towards “dominance of women” could be also viewed as bringing into the public discourse something which until very recently was never talked about. It was already mentioned about the key conception in the society in which we lived until recently. That egalitarian model changed the social status of women. It was based upon the view of lack of discrepancies between the sexes, a view which in its mass media reflection had plenty of absurd transformations and in real life - tragicomic expressions. The opposition “female-male”, which is much more intrinsic to Western culture, also has its deep roots in the way of thinking of the Bulgarian male. Woman is associated with emotions and expressiveness, while men - with rationality and knowledge. These associations could be extended, including the feminine principle being treated with professional indifference and conformity, while the male principle - with activity and independence. It could be maintained that this model of thinking was brought out in the public discourse in respect to the attitude towards in the mass media. Not only towards part of them are addressed reasoning like “She writes like a man” or “She does not think like a woman”. These reasoning

are one of the illustrations for the model of thinking, mentioned earlier. It appears that is difficult to “swallow” the striking presence of women in the mass media, particularly now when in all the media quite a number of women are engaged in the political life of the country.

The objective analysis requires to point out, that contrary to the expectations for tolerance and softness, at least at the beginning of the democratic changes the mass media message of the women-journalists was marked by implacability. Some researches would have explained that phenomenon with the attributed to women conformism - no matter whether the question is about the adhesion to the past or for a quick demonstration of unconditional agreement and support of the new. When looking more deeply into the realities of the present time the significant role of the females-journalists in the formation of the values of life of the democratic political culture must be accentuated.

2. The demystification of the “triune role model” found expression in the media and I would characterize this expression as the revenge of the “triune role model” itself.

We are talking not only about the reflection of women’s problems upon the mass media, but also upon the woman’s image itself.

Women in the post - totalitarian societies had to face a completely new existential situation. The changes released them from the paternalistic tutelage of the state. But women not only were not released from their former problems with the “double burden”, but had to face new problems. To a certain extent women turned out to be more affected by the first stage of market economy. Well known is the fact that due to the restructuring of the economy and the specifics of female occupations, unemployment became feminized in almost all former socialist countries.

However it could positively be stated that in Bulgaria at least this problem is present in the national media from time to time as some statistics or as tragic faces of utter poverty. The new problems, which women had to face are not adequately reflected in the mass media, nor are they adequately treated neither by the Parliament, nor by executive power. This is only one side of the problem. The other one, no less significant in a situation where the media create its new image,

is connected with the image of women themselves, which is being imposed by them. Exactly here comes the very sinister laughter of the famous "triumphant role model". The "super-woman" in its media reflection of a few years ago, who used to work, to bear children and on top of everything had to be some kind of activist, was a creature, which lacked the charisma of its sex. Even actresses in Bulgaria talked in their interviews only about their professional roles, about their children and their social engagements. A whole spectrum of problems was a tabu as it did not fit into the proclaimed model.

The rejection of tabus, the democratization of society and the relative freedom of speech - in their essence being very positive processes - brought however the image of the woman - sex-symbol, the woman-seducer, the woman-an object with particular dimensions. The absurd of the "triumphant role model" revenges now in the post-totalitarian societies through the absurd of a completely degraded image of woman. One of the most striking problems of the newspaper market now is the existence of numerous pornographic publications whose sale is not regulated by law in Bulgaria. But even if we leave aside this most

drastic problem and turn towards the national press, we will establish the same repeating itself presence of the woman-sex symbol, the woman-seducer, the woman, whose degree of feminineness is determined by the number of divorces, the woman-killer and violator in the name of her stormy passion or love, the woman-victim of sexual abuse. We could continue to particularize, but anyway it will be in the same order. And it could be said without exaggeration that often the whole of the named spectrum could be found in a single issue of a newspaper. In the understanding for a competitive newspaper, imposed by the decision-makers in the press, such an image of the woman is compulsorily included.

The colleagues-researchers from the Western European countries could be sure that the Bulgarian readers, even those who follow mainly the "serious quality press" know all the back stage gossip about the top western stars and top models. It is impossible in Western Europe to combine in one concept of a newspaper such styles as "Daily Telegraph" and "Daily Mirror", "Le Monde" and "France soir", "Frankfurter allgemeine zeitung" and "Bild zeitung". But exactly that conceptual symbiosis did not by-

pass even newspapers, which appeared with the ambition to establish the new model of independent serious press. When we talk about the Bulgarian woman as a person with professional ambition, here things are reduced to the image of the businesswoman, although only 7% of the registered in Bulgaria private companies are managed or owned by women. Nevertheless exactly this media image has positive implications during the transition towards a market economy, in which new values of life and new behavioral models are being formed. In the woman's image classification in the mass media a businesswoman is somewhere far back from the sixteen-year-old provincial Bulgarian girl, who have won some kind of beauty contest somewhere and whose dream is to become a top model.

It is well known that the problems, connected with the image of women in the mass media are also known to our colleagues from Western Europe, although it has different dimensions when being differentiated at the mass media market and in societies with stabilized values orientation. In the transitional situation of the Eastern European societies, however, the accent is on possible reflections and effects upon

the forming of values of life in the society.

A particular attention deserves the image of the woman on the television screen due to the fact of a strong influence of the television image upon the establishment of orientations and attitudes. In our conditions least of all because of the significant creative presence of female-journalists on the television screen it is not possible to talk about the "syndrome of the invisible woman", as this phenomenon is referred to in some researches. But the image of the "visible woman", which is imposed by television mainly through broadcasting of not a high quality film productions, is the same image which causes professional discussions in the developed countries over the years. It spreads over the whole spectrum which was characterized in the analysis of the woman's image in the newspapers.

For the Eastern European societies, which now have to face these problems, the fact that the discussion in the developed countries is quite active and the real changes quite insignificant could hardly be comforting.

The coming of advertisements into life on the television screen - a new phenomenon for the

post-totalitarian societies - will probably attract a far more active attention of researches of the mass media. The problem here is that the effect of advertisements is greater than the purchase of products and services. Advertisements suggest models of behavior and creates attitudes towards life. In this sense the television advertisements in Bulgaria could often be characterized as a prerequisite for erecting additional barriers before women and strengthening the sexist attitudes according to them. It should be pointed out here that a significant part of the advertisement clips have not been created in Bulgaria and are offered by the producer-companies themselves. Our own advertisement production is acting in the defined by the advertisements' psychomotivators of the West appeals and in the established stereotypes for the Western society. The problem here gets more complicated by the fact that advertisements are to a greater extent addressed to women as potential buyers.

The major stereotypes are two and they are connected with the image of the woman from the television advertisement at home - the woman at home and the woman-object of sexual desire. The woman at home washes, cleans and does every-

thing with the product offered by the manufacturer. The woman is the one who with "Ariel" makes her husband's shirt glare white again. He is the person who will be delighted and so on. When the question is about an advertisement of a more "superior" matter, like an advertisement about office equipment, she is also present - this time as the good business secretary. But if the manager appears, he is a man, of course.

The woman as a sexual object is the other image, imposed by the television advertisement. The body of the woman-seducer is capable of advertising everything - both men's and woman's accessories. Of course, neither the erotic attraction itself, nor the suggestion that the woman should be beautiful, are subject to rejection. The problem is in the imposed suggestion about the aims and meaning of the woman's life itself.

This article presents only some of the problems, specific for the Bulgarian society as well as for the most of the post-totalitarian societies in Central and Eastern Europe, connected with women in the mass media. We are talking about problems which will attract public attention as well as the attention of researchers.

Women in Bulgaria would hardly give up the already achieved creative presence in the mass media. In the same time, however, different problematic spheres and making of strategies are defined:

- Feminisation of the mass media - realities and obstacles

- The place of women in the decision making in the mass media

- The effect of the changes in the society upon the status of women and its covering by the mass media

- The woman's image in the mass media and the responsi-

bilities of the decision making persons

- The effect of advertisements and the sexists' attitude

- Women and the creation of mass media strategies in the democratic society.

O

New Role Models for Journalists in East European Countries

BY DANIELA ROVENTA-FRUMUSANI

OUR discussion of the image and role of journalists perceived by themselves and the public could be legitimately situated under the sign of Milan Kundera's famous remark of "The Book of Laughter and Forgetting": "All the life of people between people is only a battle for the others' ears" and Claude Lévi-Strauss' japanese expression "regard éloigné": "Le créateur du théâtre nô dit que peut être bon acteur il faut savoir se regarder soi-même de la façon don't les spectateurs vous regardent et il emploie l'expression regard éloigné. J'ai

trouvé qu'elle représente très bien l'attitude de l'ethnologue regardant sa propre société, non comme il la voit en tant que membre, mais comme d'autres observateurs, placés loin d'elle dans le temps ou dans l'espace la regarderont". (C. Lévi-Strauss, 1990: 215).

In this battle "for the others' ears", media elites have a significant weight. For that reason we'll try to circumscribe their social role and image in a semiotic-structural manner permitting to

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suggest a grid and a meaning not the meaning, but a possible signification as Lévi-Strauss pertinently maintains for the myth: "Dans tout ce que j'ai écrit sur la mythologie, j'ai voulu montrer qu'on n'arrive jamais à un sens dernier. Y arrive-t-on d'ailleurs dans la vie? (...) Un mythe propose une grille, définissable seulement par ses règles de construction. Cette permet de déchiffrer un sens, non du mythe lui-même, mais de tout le reste: images du monde, de la société, de l'histoire avec les interrogations que les hommes se posent à l'égard du sujet". (C. Lévi-Strauss, 1990: 197)

Or the intellectual elites defined by Mannheim as social groups whose task is to offer an interpretation of the world for the society and by Coser as people living for and not through ideas (apud Katherine Verdery, 1994: 35) are these social actants who try to suppress alternative messages in order to capture the ears of the audience and facilitate a broader perception of their discourses.

If intellectual elites have a charismatic sense of the vocation we'll be interested to analyze:

- the vocation of media elites (as part of the intellectual

elites or political elites?);

- the types of demands and resources they use in social actions: claims to the monopoly of knowledge, competence, truth (cf. M. Foucault) or the possession of symbolic capital (Bourdieu);

- the discourse they construct and disseminate (as Bauman defines intelligentsia as temporary occupiers of a privileged space of formation and transmission of discourses, thus constituting the means through which society is thought by its members);

- their space of legitimacy: claims of a specific (sociological and anthropological) expertise recognized as symbolic capital as opposed to political posts (positions).

This legitimacy space doesn't always serve the existing power, on the contrary it can become the scene of elaborating other images of the social reality.

Cultural and knowledge values play a central role in the maintaining and transformation of social order and the defense of one or other value participate in it.

As a result intellectual activity and culture are inherently

political (not grounded on politics but interweaved with it at two levels: that of meeting with alternative values in the same sphere and that of the place in the reproduction of society.

Contrary to the first position of Raymond Aron reluctant to analyze the concept of elite because of its equivocal resonances: "Est-il possible, est-il utile de constituer un ensemble qui englobe tous ceux qui ont réussi, y compris les rois de la pègre (...) Il n'est ni très facile, ni très utile de tracer le cercle à l'intérieur duquel les réussites assurent l'entrée dans l'élite" (R. Aron, 1960: "Classe sociale, classe politique, classe dirigeante", p. 264), we adopt his second view when he relates the elite taxonomy to the practice of pluralist democracy, distinguishing:

*the spiritual aristocracy
(priests and intellectuals);
the political leaders
(helped by the police
and the army);
the managers;
the mass leaders who
express and orient
demands.*

A pluralist democracy supposes negotiations and compromises between these divided elites, while tyranny is the result of the hegemony of one elite,

which regards its aims as absolute.

Even it is obvious that the revolutionary 1989 change set up new models, new techniques, new writing practices a parallel between the ante and postfunctioning of the media and the journalists' task could provide the main tendencies of the actual mechanisms and indicate the change affecting the place of journalism in modern postcommunist society: "Is the issue the emergence of a new legitimate model or is it the creation of an area that will remain fragmented and in which several strong competing models will come to the fore?" (J.M. Charon, 1994: 52).

The following dichotomies emerged from interviews with journalists (in the printed and audio-visual press), analysis of what journalists have written about themselves, working papers of professional associations (SZR - Society of Romanian Journalists) and observation:

-
- from the propaganda model (Lenin's famous definition of 1901: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer")
 - from a conception of force feeding where the reader is imagined as a fragile child incapable of any judgement
 - from a state controlled and subsidized press
 - from the bolshevik "driving belt"
 - from strict specialization (anachronic after the end of the Cold War: military correspondents as well as kremlinologists)
 - from a stachanovist or fordist production perspective under the sign of a unique view (socialist or capitalist)
 - to the objectivity myth described by Gaye Tuchman 20 years ago as the journalist's self protective "strategic ritual". Journalists believe they are keeping their values out of the news by relying on facts gathered from standard sources that reinforce each other's quotes, by creating the "web of facticity".
 - to a conception of autonomy where the new media technology makes an adult of him
 - to a market controlled or politically controlled press. The key to avoiding government control may lie in the political strength and legitimacy of the journalists themselves. "The strongest defense against both state and owners has always been the independent organization of those who work in press, both journalists and production workers" (Colin Sparks, 1992: 48)
 - to a mediator between events and audience (Henry Grunwald, editor in chief of "Time")
 - to multimedia and interdisciplinarity
 - to a transnational human perspective. In this direction press is the antidote of the iron curtain, the instrument of transparency. Journalism could even replace diplomacy (like in 1977 when

American correspondents have achieved the historical simultaneous interview between Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat who said that he is ready to go to Jerusalem if he is invited; also the Americans' decision to interfere in Somalia's tribal war as reaction to the terrible images of hunger and suffering).

- from a redundant, "incantatory" discourse actualizing only the phatic function

- to a creative one, both referential and poetical, able to discuss new issues: Balkan history, tribalism and ethnicity, violence and gender subjects. Lawrence Eagleburger trying to sketch the post Cold War society emphasized the stability of the previous period in the sense of the predictivity of relationships between the superpowers. Now press is searching other explanatory principles: North/South tensions, religion and secular thinking, nationalism and internationalism

- from a monolithic "langue du bois" discourse, transmitted in a telegraphic left-right unidirectional manner

- to a convivial, interactive, narrative modality. Mass media have to educate for mutual storytelling and storylistening of real biographies (not only Stasi archives and figures but also and particularly how people resisted or decided not to leave their country)

- to a real mastery of the discourse, that is of a conceptual network, a vocabulary, a system of categorization and a criteria for distinction, evaluation and hierarchical arrangement, which enable us to organize the field of communication and account for our practices. "This language is not first and foremost representative or descriptive; it is constitutive. It is not only used to categorize, name and report accurately what we do; it articulates

our practices, provides them with depth and with an horizon" (Louis Quere, 1992 apud D. Ruellan, 1993: 86)

- from the subordinate, obedient, reproductive actor

- to the ombudsman who keeps an eye on the non distorted transmission of news

- from the iconic, echo image of the "new man", "new society", "golden era"

- to an indexical role (journalists are Zeigers in Heidegger's terminology anticipators-good journalists have to foresee social conflicts or disfunctions and signal them before the child falls in the fountain)

- from a stable functionalist unique image

- to a fuzzy integrative view. A lot of fields are in permanent exchange with journalism:
art (in particular photography and literature), performance (in the TV shows), education, marketing, politics and thinking (the expert function, the participation to debates are the apanage of mass media and mediators)

- from a fetishist journalist who is the master of quotations, ready made formulas, ideological cliches etc

- to the paranoid one which produces hyperbolic texts, tortuous
In the attempt to diagnose the maladies of the posttotalitarian press (characters searching for an author like in Pirandello's play - the search being here for a new model, for a new role, for a new social task) we could use the term forged by Lucien Sfez tautism (tautology and autism or redundancy and solitude) put otherwise a sensationalist voyeurist yellow press with a unique table of contents: rape, murder, abnormal events. The second malady could be the paranoia of failure (perpetuance and generalization of failure - many editorials have the same demolishing style

based on the metaphorical network of destruction, illness, ruins etc, combined with a unique temporal dimension - the past - or in best cases the present (it lacks a vision or project future oriented).

The schizophrenia of communist acting defined by V. Havel as thinking black and saying white becomes now monomania: thinking black and saying black.

- from a restricted ideological access to the journalist class

- to a professionalization linked to a technical rationality (news gathering, cross-checking of information) and interdisciplinary education (communication sciences, public relations, social sciences, rhetoric etc)

In strengthening the relationship between communication and democracy, mass media are bound to give a solution (attenuate) the triple crisis of our society: of credibility, of integration, of participation; this could be achieved by underlining their role of:

- imago mundi (icon and index to use semiotic terms);
- fountain of values that have to be kept, known, defended;
- lubricant of the dialogue between institutions and individuals, dialogue able to reduce social tensions by argumentation, negotiation;
- watch-dog of the civic society.

If the task of the first period (1990-1991) is accomplished: the quantitative aspect (more means for the people), the goals of the present stage are qualitative aspects of media democratization (credible agents, coherent and consistent messages, congruent corporate strategies, adequate training).

O

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Brief / Dossier

The network of Central & Eastern European Schools of Journalism

At the beginning of the year, the Network of Central & Eastern European Schools of Journalism decided to make a survey in order to obtain data about every member of the network. So, with a little help from Freedom Forum, the following information was requested from the journalism schools:

1. GENERAL DATA
 - a. Name
 - b. Address (tel, fax, e-mail)
 - c. Board members
 - d. Contact person
 - e. Dependent on (University, Foundation, Professional Association)
 - f. Number of students
2. SHORT HISTORY

3. STRUCTURE
 - a. Number of chairs
 - b. Professors (name, age & teaching fields, knowledge of foreign languages, international affiliation as individuals)
4. CURRICULUM (title of courses, short presentation, number of hours per semester)
5. FACILITIES (description of labs)
6. ADMISSION
7. DIPLOMA & STATUS OF DIPLOMA
8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS (in last five years)
 - realised
 - in progress
9. PUBLICATIONS, AUDIO-VIDEO BROADCAST
 - realised by students
 - realised by professors
10. PRINTED COURSES (title, year)

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP
(of the entire school or of separate departments)
12. SUMMER SEMINARS (if any)

The Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication Studies from the Bucharest University, as the acting president of the Network, received this information and now starts to publish it in this issue of Global Network journal. You will find the most complete data about the following schools of journalism:



a. Department of Journalism, Tartu University (Estonia);

b. Department of Journalism, Comenius University, Bratislava (Slovakia)

c. Department of Journalism, Lviv State University (Ukraine)

d. Department of Communication, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana (Slovenia)

e. International School of Journalism, Minsk (Belarus)

f. School of Social Communication and Journalism, Catholic University of Lublin, Poland.

Department of Journalism, Tartu University

1. GENERAL DATA:

A. NAME:

Department of Journalism, Tartu University

B. ADDRESS:

Ülikooli 18, EE2400 Tartu, Estonia

tel.: (+ 372 7) 435188

fax: (+372 7) 435440

e-mail: kati@naba.jrnl.ut.ee

C. BOARD MEMBERS:

Peeter Vihalemm, Head of the Department, professor, Ph. D.

Juhan Peegel, professor emeritus, Ph. D.
Marju Lauristin, professor, Ph. D.
Epp Lauk, researcher, M.A.
Halliki Harro, researcher, M.A.
Krista Aru, doctoral student, M.A.

D. CONTACT PERSON: Peeter Vihalemm

E. DEPENDENT ON University, state budget

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS:
Bachelor program: 90
Master's program: 23
Doctoral program: 3

2. SHORT HISTORY

The beginning of professional journalism education in Estonia goes back to 1954, when the students of Estonian philology at Tartu University were offered a special program of study in journalism. In 1976, the first 20 students were enrolled as journalism students.

The Department of Journalism was established in 1979. Today 15 Estonian and 5 foreign students are matriculated each year.

During the period from 1957-1995, about 500 students have graduated. About 20% among the journalists of Estonia today are our graduates.

In 1988, the Department of Journalism became independent to make its curriculum without any commands of obligatory subjects from Moscow. Even before the independence, the prescribed curriculum was interpreted flexibly at Tartu University - for example, the compulsory course about the history of Russian journalism consisted mainly of lectures about the history of the Estonian journalism.

Until 1989, the curriculum for journalism students contained a big course of literature (Estonian, Russian, world history of literature). At the same time, the block of so called "red studies" (history of the Communist Party, political econ-

omy, dialectical and historical materialism, scientific atheism, scientific communism) was reduced.

Until 1990, all subjects in the curriculum were obligatory and common for all journalism students, except for the subjects containing specialization in TV, radio or printed press. (Students had to specialize in one branch of mass media during the third year of their studies.) Now, about 40% of all the subjects in the curriculum are chosen by students themselves.

3. STRUCTURE

One chair - mass communication and journalism.

Professor Peeter Vihalemm (52)

- Social Psychology, Psychology of Persuasion, Public Opinion, Audience Research;
- Russian, Finnish, English.

4. CURRICULUM

The academic program in journalism consists of up to three degree programs: bachelor (4 years), master of arts (2 years) and doctoral (4 years).

The bachelor program consists of three modules:

- 1) The main course in journalism - 105 points
- 2) A subsidiary subject - 15-45 points (for example: political science or history etc. It could be taken at a primary or medium grade)
- 3) Optional courses - 16-40 points

The main course in journalism is divided into three grades:

- primary grade 18 points - 1st term
- medium grade 35 points - 2nd-3rd term
- upper grade 52 points - 4th-8th term

The aim of the primary program is to give an overview about mass communication, the social and cultural functions of the media and the structure of journalistic organizations and to provide basic journalistic knowledge and skills.

The medium program provides the courses on history of journalism, international mass media, media ethics and law. The practical training in journalistic production for various media such as newspapers, weeklies, magazines, radio and TV continues. The upper grade program provides theoretical and practical courses in order to specialize (by subject and by medium).

During the first two years almost all the subjects are compulsory. The 3rd and the 4th year students can build up to 50% of their program individually. The Department of Journalism provides (arranges) each year a number of optional courses. A student should take some of these up to 10 points.

One should create academic thesis to obtain a bachelor degree.

LIST OF SUBJECTS

Primary grade

	Points (hours)
1. Introduction to mass communication	2p (32 h)
2. Estonian mass media system	1p (32h)
3. News writing I	3p (96h)
4. Basic TV reporting	2p (32h)
5. Basic radio reporting	1p (32h)
6. Techniques of spelling and speech	1p (32h)
7. The Estonian language I	2p (64h)
8. Introduction to sociology	2p (32h)
9. Introduction to political science	2p (32h)
10. Estonian history	2p (64h)

Medium grade program

1. History of the mass media	2p (32h)
2. Process of journalistic work	1p (32h)
3. News writing II	2p (64h)
4. The Estonia language II	2p (64h)
5. TV reporting	2p (32h)
6. Radio reporting	2p (32h)
7. Information technology	2p (32h)

8. Lay-out	2p (32h)
9. Photo reporting	2p (32h)
10. Feature	2p (32h)
11. Methods of scientific research	1p (32h)
12. History of Estonian press	3p (64h)
13. History of Estonian press in exile	2p (32h)
14. International media	3p (64h)
15. Introduction to psychology	2p (32h)
16. Academic thesis	2p
17. Practical work	2p

Upper grade course

1. Column	2p (32h)
2. Stylistics	3p (64h)
3. Media law and ethics	2p (32h)
4. Investigative journalism	2p (32h)
5. Media management	2p (32h)
6. Psychology of persuasion	2p (32h)
7. Public opinion	2p (32h)
8. Audience of Estonian mass media	2p (32h)
9. Estonian culture history	3p (64h)
10. Mass communication theory	3p (64h)
11. Advanced English	4p (126h)
12. Advanced journalistic skills	2p (32h)
13. Graduation thesis	3p
14. Practical work	2p
15. Graduation thesis (bachelor degree)	8p

Optional courses

Advanced radio journalism
 Advanced TV journalism
 Advanced Information science
 Techniques of spelling and speech
 Media systems in Eastern Europe
 Introduction to economics
 Introduction to law studies
 Philosophy
 Social psychology
 Communication psychology
 Content analysis
 Advertising (introduction and advanced courses)

This list will be amended each year.

5. FACILITIES

TV and Radio studio (3 rooms, about 80 sqm, Super VHS camera, SVHS editing system Amigo Computer)
Computer class (6 computers PC 486 + server)

6. ADMISSION

15 Estonian students each year on the basis of the results of creative tests and 3 entrance exams.

5 foreign students (from Finland and Russia - representatives of small fino-ugric nations) will be matriculated without the exams. Foreign students are also studying in the Estonian language (they stay one additional year in Tartu to learn Estonian). They must pay for their studies, Estonian students are studying without paying tuition.

7. DIPLOMA

Bachelor of Arts
Master of Arts
Doctor of Philosophy

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Realized in last five years:

Norwegian-Baltic comparative research of media and journalism development.

In progress:

1. Estonian press history
2. Norwegian-Estonian comparative research on professionalization of journalism
3. Balticom: Changing values and orientations in the Baltic sea countries. Estonian-Swedish comparative research
4. Estonia project: Swedish, Finnish and Estonian comparative research on the coverage of ferry catastrophe in the media.

9. PUBLICATIONS

The Department of Journalism has two publication series in Estonian: "Fakt, sõna, pilt" (Fact, Word, Picture - from 1961 to the present time 12 issues) and "Ajakirjanduse ajaloo" (About the history of journalism - from 1961 to the present time, 9 issues). In both of them are students also participating.

The main publication in English: Svennik Hoyer, Epp Lauk, Peeter Vihalemm (eds). Towards a Civic Society. The Baltic Media's Long Road to Freedom. Tartu: Baltic Association for Media Research/Nota Baltica Ltd. 1993. 366 pp. ISBN 9985-60-014-2.

10. PRINTED COURSES

H. Harro, Legal Regulation of Estonian Media, 1994 (in Estonian)

R. Kurvits, T. Hennoste. Newspaper's lay-out. 1995 (in Estonian)

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Associate member of European Journalism Training Association

Member of Baltic Association of Media Research, the latter is an associate member of International Association of Mass Communication Research and a member of International Communication Association.

12. No

13. No

Department of Journalism, Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia

1. GENERAL DATA:

A. NAME:

Department of Journalism of the Faculty of Arts

B. ADDRESS:

818 01 Bratislava, Stúrova 9, Slovakia
Tel: ++ 427 364192, 364194, 364196, 364198
Fax:++427 326530
E-mail: kzur@fphil.uniba.sk

C. STAFF MEMBERS:

Full-time: 29
Part-time: 19

D. CONTACT PERSON:

Prof. Juraj Vojtek, Ph. D., Head of the Department of Journalism

E. DEPENDENT ON: Comenius University

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 254

2. SHORT HISTORY

Comenius University in Bratislava set up a chair of journalism at its Faculty of Arts in 1952. The first academic staff was composed mostly of graduates of humanities (history, literature etc.) and law. Later, the first graduates of journalism studies became members of the department. In the early 60's, the so called "Bratislava theory of journalism school" was founded by the late professor Mieroslav Hisko and his closest colleagues. They laid the fundamentals of journalism education in Slovakia.

The period from August 1968 to the Velvet Revolution in November 1989 brought about the most problems in the whole history of the university education of journalism in Slovakia. Journalism was supposed to be primarily a political issue. This approach strongly influenced journalism studies, too.

The Revolution of November 17, 1989 brought new tasks - mainly to transform journalism education program so it could prepare students for the work in free democratic media of the sovereign Slovakia. The whole Department of Journalism has undergone serious changes both in the sphere of journalism curriculum (many new courses were introduced) and in the sphere of teaching methods (new facilities available). New contacts with journalism schools from abroad have been established.

3. STRUCTURE

A. NUMBER OF CHAIRS:

The Department of Journalism is an integral unit of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University. It may be subdivided into four subdepartments:

- Theory and History of Journalism
- Press and News Agencies
- Radio and Television Journalism
- Advertising

B. PROFESSORS

Full Professors:

Vojtek Juraj, Ph.D. (60)

- History of World Journalism, Theory of Editing
- English, Russian
- Member of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, US

Emeritus Professors:

Jacz Ludovit, Ph.D. (71)

- Mass Media Law and Ethics, Agency Journalism
- German, English

Associated Professors:

Droppa Boris, Ph.D. (61)

- Heuristic, Journalistic Methods, Interpretation of Science and Technology in Mass Media
- German, Russian

Holina Vladimir (61)

- Mass Communication and Journalism Theory, Information Policy
- French, Russian

Hradiska Elena, Ph.D. (45)

- Psychology of Mass Communication, Psychology of Advertising
- English

Sand Ján, Ph.D. (51)

- Radio Journalism, Journalistic Methods, Journalistic Genres, Media Studio
- German, Russian

Serafinová Danusa, Ph.D. (46)

- History of Slovak Journalism, History of World Journalism, History of Advertising
- French, German

Tuser Andrej, Ph.D. (58)

- Introduction to Journalism Studies, Journalistic Genres, Typology of Periodicals, Media Studio
- German

Tvrdon Emil, Ph.D. (60)

- Language and Style of Mass Media, Language and Style of Advertising
- Russian, German

Vatrál Josef, Ph.D. (51)

- Interactive Media, Typography and Design, Master's Thesis Seminar, Media Studio
- Russian

Velas Stefan, Ph.D. (60)

- Journalistic Methods, Journalistic Genres, Economy, Media Studio
- Russian

Virčík Josef, Ph.D., (63)

- Sociology of Mass Communication, Sociology of Advertising
- English, Russian

Assistant Professors:

Benická Stanislava (43)

- Broadcast Journalism, Journalistic Genres, Theory of Editing, Media Studio
- English

Dobis Igor (54)

- Television Journalism, Journalistic Methods, Journalistic Genres, Media Studio
- German

Follrichová Mária, Ph.D. (42)

- Journalistic Genres, Domestic Affairs, Media Studio
- Russian

Hlavčáková Svetlana, Ph.D. (41)

- Journalistic Methods, Agency Journalism, Media Studio, Advertising Campaigns
- English, Russian

Hornák Pavel, Ph.D. (43)

- Theory of Advertising, Production of Advertising Means, Introduction to Advertising Studies
- German

Ivantysyn Roman (49)

- Public Relations, Media Management
- English, Russian

Jenca Imrich (46)

- Interactive Media, Media Studio, Theory of Editing, Journalistic Genres
- English, Russian

Konecna Vlasta, Ph.D. (42)

- Moderatorship, Communication with Public, Program Production
- English, Russian

Krizova Bohuslava (42)

- International Relations, World Affairs, exhibitions and Fairs, Fundamentals of State and Law
- French, Russian

Lofaj Ján (54)

- Journalistic Photography, Photojournalism, Photography in Advertising, Media Studio
- German, Russian

4. CURRICULUM

Besides four-year, one major graduate study, the Department of Journalism has been combining the M.A. in journalism study for the fourth year with another major subject, e.g. political science, philosophy and philology. This two-major M.A. study lasts for five years. In addition, it also provides an independent two-major M.A. advertising program. Both programs are for full-time students.

Within the curriculum, there is a core of obligatory courses and a variety of optional and special courses. Each student has the possibility to shape his/her orientation from the very beginning of university studies.

The academic year runs two terms (semesters). Presented below are journalism program schedules for the academic year 1996-1997.

M

Journalism Program

1. First-major M.A. degree program

First academic year

	Winter term hours	Summer term hours
History of World Journalism	24	24
Heuristic	24	-
Interactive Media	24	24
Language and Style of Mass Media I	24	24
Media Studio I +	60	60
International Relations	-	36
Journalistic Methods I	36	36
Introduction to Journalism Studies	36	-
Journalistic Photography I	-	36
Journalistic Genres I	36	36
Optional Courses I	-	24

Second academic year

History of Slovak Journalism ++	36	36
Information Policy ++	-	36
Language and Style of Mass Media II	24	24
Media Studio II +	60	60
Journalistic Methods II	48	24
Research Project ++	-	-
Theory of Editing	-	36
Fundamentals of Economics	-	24
Journalistic Photography II	36	-
Journalistic Genres II	36	-
Journalistic Genres III	36	-
Optional Courses:		
Optional course I	24	-
Optional course II	-	24
Optional course III	-	24

Third academic year

Master's Thesis Seminar	12	-
Language and Style of Mass Media III	24	-
Cultural Studies	24	-
Mass Media Law and Ethics	-	36
Media Studio III + Psychology	60	60
of Mass Communication	24	24
Public Relations	-	36
Mass Communication and Journalism Theory I	-	24
Theory of Editing	24	-
Fundamentals of State and Law	24	-

Branches of Journalistic Work. Students pick out one of the following:

Photojournalism	24	24
Economy	24	24
Culture	24	24
Sports	24	24
Science and Technology	24	24
Domestic Affairs	24	24
World Affairs	24	24

Specialisation. Students pick out one specialization:

Press and News Agency:

Management	-	36
Opinion Journalism I	-	36
Reporting	36	-
Typography and design	36	-

Radio and Television:

Management	-	36
Moderatorship	36	-
Opinion Journalism I	-	36
Reporting	36	-

Optional courses:

Optional course I	24	-
Optional course II	-	24

Fourth academic year

Master's Thesis Seminar	-	-
Philosophical and Methodological Issues in Mass Communication	24	-
Media Studio IV +	60	-
Sociology of Mass Media	36	-
Final Examination		
Special Seminars	-	48
Mass Communication and Journalism Theory II	36	16
Interpretation of Science and Technology in Mass Media	-	16

Specialisation. Students are required to take the specialization of the previous academic year. -

Press and News Agency:

Photo Editing	24	-
Opinion Journalism II	36	16
Regional and Local Press	-	24

Radio and Television:

Opinion Journalism II	36	16
Television Documentary	-	16
Program Production	36	-

Optional courses:

Optional course I	24	-
Optional course II	24	-
Optional course III	-	16
Optional course IV	-	16

+ *Media attachments (5 hours/week) supervised by a teacher in charge.*

++ *Courses obligatory for a special comprehensive examination at the end of the second academic year.*

Final Examination Courses:

1. Master's Thesis
2. General Theory of Journalism
3. Journalistic Reporting and Writing
4. Journalistic Editing and Production

2. Second-major M.A. Degree Program

First academic year

	Winter term hours	Summer term hours
History of World Journalism	24	24
Heuristic	24	-
Interactive Media	-	24
Language and Style of Mass Media I	24	24
Media Studio I +	60	60
Journalistic Methods I Introduction	24	24
to Journalism Studies	24	-
Journalistic Genres	24	24

Second academic year

History of Slovak Journalism ++	24	24
Information Policy ++	-	24
Language and Style of Mass Media II	24	24
Media Studio II ++	60	60
Journalistic Methods II	24	24
Research Project ++	-	-
Theory of Editing	-	24
Journalistic Genres II, III	48	-

Third academic year

Master's Thesis Seminar	-	12
Language and Style of Mass Media III	12	-
Media Studio III + Psychology	60	60
of Mass Communication	24	24
Mass Communication and Journalism Theory I	-	24
Theory of Editing	24	-
Fundamentals of Economics	-	24

Specialisation. Students pick out one specialization:

Press and News Agency:

Management	-	24
Opinion Journalism	-	24
Reporting	24	-
Typography and Design	24	-

Radio and Television

Management	-	24
Moderatorship	24	-
Opinion Journalism I	-	24
Reporting	24	-

Fourth academic year

Master's Thesis Seminar	-	-
Mass Media Law and Ethics	-	24
Media Studio IV + Public Relations	60	-
Mass Communication and Journalism Theory II	24	24
Fundamentals of State and Law	24	-
Journalistic Photography	24	-

Branches of Journalistic Work. Students pick out one of the following:

Photojournalism	24	24
Economy	24	24
Culture	24	24
Sports	24	24
Science and Technology	24	24
Domestic Affairs	24	24
World Affairs	24	24

Specialisation. Students are required to take the specialization of the previous academic year.**Press and News Agency:**

Opinion Journalism II	24	-
Regional and Local Press	-	24

Radio and Television:

Opinion Journalism II	24	-
Program Production	-	24

Fifth academic year

Master's Thesis Seminar	-	-
Philosophical and Methodological Issues in mass Communication	24	-
Culture Studies	24	-
Media Studio V +	60	-
International Relations	24	-
Sociology of Mass Media	24	-
Final Examination	-	48
Special Seminars	-	48
Interpretation of Science and Technology in Mass Media	-	16

Optional courses:

Optional course I	24	-
Optional course II	-	16

+ *Media attachments (5 hours/week) supervised by a teacher in charge.*

++ *Courses obligatory for a special comprehensive examination at the end of the second academic year.*

Final Examination Courses

1. Master's Thesis
2. General Theory of Journalism
3. Journalistic Writing and Editing

Advertising Program

Second-major M.A. Degree Program

First academic year

	Winter term hours	Summer term hours
Introduction to Advertising Studies	36	-
Theory of Advertising	-	36
History of Advertising	36	-
Marketing	24	24
Macroeconomy	-	36
Slovak Language and Stylistics	24	24

Second academic year

Psychology of Advertising	24	24
Sociology of Advertising	24	24
Production of Advertising Means I	-	24
Photography in Advertising I	-	24
Communication with Public	-	24
Advertising and Law	48	-
Fundamentals of Aesthetics	24	-

Third academic year

Production of Advertising Means II	24	24
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Language and Style of Advertising	24	24
Exhibitions and Fairs	-	36
Advertising Campaigns	-	24
Photography in Advertising II	24	-
Advertising Graphics	24	-
Master's Thesis Seminar	-	12
Typography and Design in Advertising	24	-
Fourth academic year		
Advertising Agencies	36	-
Music in Advertising	24	-
Public Opinion and Social Advertising	-	24
Advertising in Domestic and Foreign Trade	36	24
Master's Thesis Seminar	-	-
Management in Advertising	-	36
Fundamentals of Fine Arts Studies	24	24
Fifth academic year		
Ethics of Advertising	24	-
Master's Thesis Seminar	-	-
Final Examination Seminar	-	16
Optional courses	60	40
Multimedia	24	-

5. FACILITIES

- TV studio - closed circuit TV facility for laboratory and classroom use
- Radio station "Studio Academica)
- Computer room - 4 PC computers (IBM compatible), the Internet (via Comenius University Computing Center)
- Photogallery "FOCUS" - an exhibition room

6. ADMISSION

All applicants for admission to the Department of

Journalism of the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava have to take a special test of talent, prior to the regular admission examination (obligatory for all applicants for university studies). In addition to the application form and application fee, a high-school academic record is required. Journalism applicants have to submit copies of their journalistic work for print, broadcast and advertising media. Their acceptance is based on the excellence rate of both examinations.

7. DIPLOMA AND STATUS OF DIPLOMA

At present, courses at the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava are provided on the following levels:

A. UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES

- leading to the first, bachelor's degree (3 years), graduates hold the degree of Bachelor (Bc)

B. GRADUATE STUDIES

- leading to the second, master's degree (4 or 5 years), graduates hold the degree of Magister (Mgr)

C. POST-GRADUATE STUDIES

- post-graduate courses (full-time 3 years, part-time 5 years)
- leading to the academic degree of Doctor (Dr).

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

In the last five years (1990-1995), the Department of Journalism completed the first part of a research program "The transformation of University Journalism Studies with Regard to the Needs of a Free Democratic Society". It has been a long-term research project, still in progress. Its results have already been implemented in the new curricula and teaching methods. They also gave rise to many textbooks and research papers written by the academic staff.

9. PUBLICATIONS , AUDIO -VIDEO BROADCAST

The radio station "Studio Academica" is operated by the students of journalism supervised by two teachers in charge. Its broadcasts extend primarily to academic public, but they are popular among general public, too. It broadcasts twice daily on weekdays, except for examination periods and holidays.

The E-mail periodical "Our Words" (Nase slova) is produced by journalism students under the supervision of a teacher in charge. This electronic bi-weekly (in Slovak and English) contains up-to-date information on life in Slovakia. Through the Internet it can be reached all over the world.

Students of the Department of Journalism, together with a teacher in charge, produce one page for each issue of "Our University" (Nasa univerzita), a bulletin of Comenius University.

Students of journalism studies are active participants in the EJTA program "Euroreporter".

Since the early years of its existence, the Department of Journalism has been publishing its own miscellany "Journalism" (Zurnalistika). Up to the present, twenty volumes appeared. The volume 21-22 (1994-1995) is published this year.

10. PRINTED COURSES : No

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Since 1992, the Department of Journalism has been an associated member of EJTA - The European Journalism Training Association (Maastricht, Netherlands).

12. SUMMER SEMINAR : No

Department of Journalism from Lviv State University

1. GENERAL DATA

A) NAME

Department of Journalism

B) ADDRESS

290000, Lviv, 1 Universytetska Str.

Tel: (0 322) 72 58 45, 79 47 51

Fax: (0 322) 72 26 86

E-mail: journft%franko.lviv.ua@litech.lviv.ua

C) BOARD MEMBERS:

Volodymyr Zdrovega, Stepan Kost, Vasyl Lyzanchuk, Yosyp Los, Oleksandra Serbenska.

D) CONTACT PERSONS: Volodymyr Zdrovega, Stepan Kost

E) DEPENDENT ON: Lviv State University

F) NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 576

2. SHORT HISTORY

Department of Journalism is one of the two existent in Ukraine. It was established in 1954. Since then well over 4000 students majoring in various fields of mass communication have graduated from the Department. They now work in and outside Ukraine.

3. STRUCTURE

A) NUMBER OF CHAIRS: 4 (Ukrainian Press, TV and Radio Broadcasting, Foreign Press and Information, Language of Mass Media).

B) PROFESSORS

Volodymyr Zdorovega, Professor (65)

- Theory and Practical Course of Journalism, Psychology of Creative Work
- Russian, Polish, English

Stefania Andrusiv, Assistant Professor (44)

- History of the Ukrainian and World Culture
- Russian, Polish, German

Volodymyr Hoj, Assistant Professor (49)

- Theory and Practical Course of Journalism, Principles of Broadcasting
- Russian, Polish, French

Zinovij Dmytrovskij, Assistant Professor (52)

- Principles of Television
- Russian, Polish

Fedir Dysak, Assistant Professor (58)

- History of Ukrainian Literature and Journalism
- Russian

Anatolij Kapelyushnyj, Assistant Professor (44)

- Editing, Stylistics
- Russian, Polish

Ivan Krupskij, Assistant Professor (44)

- Technics of Mass Communication, History of Ukrainian Journalism
- Russian, German

Stepan Kost, Assistant Professor (50)

- History of Ukrainian Journalism, Theater
- German, Czech, Russian

Olena Kuznietsova, Assistant Professor (42)

- Theory of Mass Communication, Principles of Media Law and Media Ethics
- Russian, English

Natalia Melnichuk, Assistant Professor (46)

- Economics and Mass Media

- Russian, English

Ihor Motorniuk, Assistant Professor (62)

- History of Ukrainian Literature
- Russian, Polish

Ihor Lubkovich, Assistant Professor (43)

- Sociology of Mass Media, Social Psychology
- Russian, English

Vasyl Lyzanchuk, Professor (58)

- Theory and Practical Course of Journalism, Principles of
Broadcasting
- Russian, Polish

Yosip Los, Assistant Professor (58)

- International Journalism
- Polish, Russian, Spanish

Mykhailo Nechytaliuk, Professor (74)

- History of Ukrainian Journalism
- Russian, Polish, German

Boris Potiatynik, Assistant Professor (35)

- Foreign Press, Phenomenology of Mass Media
- Russian, English, Polish

Mykhailo Prysiazhny, Assistant Professor (44)

- Theory and Practical Course of Journalism, Principles of
Editorial Work
- Russian, Polish, German

Nina Radvanska, Assistant Professor (59)

- History of Foreign Press
- Russian, English

Oleksandra Serbenska, Professor (66)

- Language of Mass Communication
- Russian, Polish, German

Olga Fedyk, Assistant Professor (47)

- Language of Mass Communication
- Russian, German

Maria Jatsymirska, Assistant Professor (41)

- Language of Mass Communication
- Russian, Polish

Zinovij Partyko, Assistant Professor (42)

- Desktop Publishing Systems, Publishing Networks, Editing, Text Processors
- Russian, English

Andrij Yurash, Teaching Assistant (25)

- Theory and Practical Course of Journalism, Religious Press
- Russian, English

Natalia Gabor, Teaching Assistant (31)

- Press of US
- Russian, English

Nadia Lobur, Teaching Assistant (28)

- Slavic Languages
- Russian, Czech

Marijan Zhytariuk, Teaching Assistant (24)

- History of Journalism, Sport Journalism
- Russian, English

4. CURRICULUM

COURSES	HOURS / SEMESTER								
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Theory and Practical Course of Journalism	72	64	72	80	-	-	-	-	-
Introduction to Journalism	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Theory of Literature Technics of Mass Media	36	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical Journalistic Facilities	36	48	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
History of Ukrainian Journalism	36	32	36	32	36	32	-	-	-
Bibliography	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
History of Foreign Literatures	-	16	36	32	18	16	-	-	-

Foreign Languages	36	64	64	48	36	32	-	-	-
History of Ukrainian Literature	36	32	36	32	36	32	36	-	-
Language of Mass Media	72	64	64	64	-	-	-	-	-
Ukrainian and Foreign Culture	-	-	36	32	72	64	72	64	18
History of Religion	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
Principles of Ukrainian Economy	36	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Economic Analysis	-	-	36	32	36	-	-	-	-
Social Psychology and Sociology	-	-	-	-	36	32	-	-	-
Political History of Ukraine	-	-	-	-	-	32	36	-	-
Foreign Press	-	-	-	-	36	32	54	32	27
Stylistics	-	-	-	-	36	32	-	-	-

Specialized Courses:

a. Press and Press Agency	-	-	-	-	144	128	144	160	54
b. Television	-	-	-	-	144	128	144	160	54
c. Radio	-	-	-	-	144	128	144	160	54
d. International Journalism	-	-	-	-	144	128	144	160	54

Phenomenology of Mass Communication	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	-
Principles of Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	-	-
Ethics and Aesthetics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
Editing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-
Politology	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	32	-
Ukrainian Business Language	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Socioecology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
History of Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	18
Modern Philosophy	-	-	54	48	-	-	-	-	-
Logic	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

5. FACILITIES

Broadcasting Studio, Printing Laboratory, Photo Laboratory, Typewriter and Computer Laboratory.

6. ADMISSION

85 persons annually (60 - full-time, 25 - part-time). Education is free, but extra number of student (usually 15 persons) pay for their tuition. All applicants take entry examinations or undergo a publications competition.

7. DIPLOMA AND ITS STATUS

After completion of five years (six years for part-time students) study, students will get Diploma of "Specialist" majoring in "Journalism".

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Major research projects: "Mass Media and Strengthening of Ukrainian Sovereignty"

Other projects:

Moral Codes of Ukrainian Journalist; Computers in Educational Process; Linguistics and Computer Means of Promotion Ukrainian Language; Mass Media and Moral Reformation of the World; Mass Media and European Integration of Posttotalitarian Countries.

9. PUBLICATIONS , AUDIO-VIDEO BROADCASTS

Annual scientific publication: "Vishnik Lvivskoho Universytetu" (Lviv University Herald) - "Journalism". Besides, faculty and students do occasional TV and Radio programs jointly with local Radio and TV stations.

10. PRINTED COURSES

V. Zdrovega, **Introduction to Journalism** , 1994.

O. Kuznietsova, V. Lyzanchuk, **Methods of Newsgathering** , 1991.

O. Kuznietsova, **Reasoning in Journalism** , 1992;
Ukrainian Journalism and National Revival , 1992;
Mass Media and Ukrainian Consolidation .

Y. Los, **Awareness of Our Mission** , 1993.

B. Potiatynyk, **Totalitarian Journalism** , 1992; **Foreign Theories of the Press and Ukrainian Journalism** , 1993.

O. Serbenska, **Ukrainian Language for Beginners** , 1991;
Ukrainian Language , 1983; **How to Behave Oneself and Speak Correctly** , 1994.

11. No

12. No

Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana

1. GENERAL DATA

A. NAME

Faculty of Social Sciences

B. ADDRESS:

Kardeljeva ploscad 5 (PO BOX 47)
61109 Ljubljana, Slovenia
Tel: (+ 386 61) 168 14 61
Fax: (+386 61) 168 23 29

C. BOARD MEMBERS

Dean: Ivan Svetlik, Ph.D., Full Professor
Pro-Dean for Research Activities: Anton Grizold, Ph.D.,
Professor
Pro-Dean for Study and Students Affairs: Bojko Bucar,
Ph.D., Assistant Professor

D. CONTACT PERSON

Marusa Gros Ahlin, Ll. B., Faculty Secretary

E. DEPENDENT ON University of Ljubljana

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS: not mentioned

2. SHORT HISTORY

The Faculty of Social Sciences is a member of the University of Ljubljana. The University was founded in 1919.

The Faculty of Social Sciences was established in 1961. Over the past thirty years, it has been defining social sciences in Slovenia through its teaching and researching work. Within the framework of its basic areas, which are sociology, political sciences and journalism, the faculty's teachers and scientists contribute to the development of communication studies, defence studies, social science informatics, culture sci-

ence, anthropology, religious studies and many other social sciences disciplines.

The faculty is the largest social science center in Slovenia. It cooperates with many foreign universities, institutes and expert associations active in the area of social sciences. Further confirmation of the faculty's central position and significance is provided by the Institute of Social Sciences and the Joze Goriscar Central Library, which operate as part of the faculty.

The faculty has been establishing itself as a publisher and editor of social science literature in various collections of work in the field. Under the aegis of the faculty, or in conjunction with it, major Slovene social science journals are being published:

Theory and Practice
Papers in Social Sciences
Phainomena
The Public
Journal of International Relations

The faculty have 133 members of staff. Over the last 34 years, 2165 social scientists graduated from the faculty, 198 students were awarded master's degrees and 83 received Ph.Ds.

3. STRUCTURE

A. THE FACULTY CONSISTS OF FOUR DEPARTMENTS:

1. The Department of Sociology (Head: Niko Tos, Ph.D., Full Professor)

2. The Department of Political Science (Head: Bogomil Ferfila, Ph.D., Professor)

3. The Department of Communication Science (Head: Tomo Korosec, Ph.D., Full Professor)

4. The Department of Culture Science (Head: Frane Adam, Ph.D., Assistant Professor)

Each department includes several chairs and research centres. There are 11 chairs totally:

Sociology:

- Chair of Theoretical Sociology
- Chair of Personnel and Social Management
- Chair of Informatics and Methodology

Political Science:

- Chair of Theoretical Political Science
- Chair of Analysis of Politics and Public Administration
- Chair of International Studies
- Chair of Defence Studies

Communication:

- Chair of Communication Theory
- Chair of Journalism
- Chair of Market Communication

Between all Departments there is the Chair of Foreign Languages.

A. Department of Sociology

- Chair of Theoretical Sociology (Head: Mirjana Ule, Ph.D., Professor)
- Chair of Personnel and Social Management (Head: Miroslav Stanoevic, Ph.D., Assistant Professor)
- Chair of Informatics and Methodology (Head: Vesna Omladic, Ph.D., Assistant Professor)

The Department of Sociology offers 3 undergraduate study courses.

THE ANALYTICAL AND THEORETICAL COURSE educates experts in scientific and analytical research, planning, advisory and teaching work.

THE PERSONNEL AND SOCIAL MANAGEMENT COURSE provides the basis for analytical, managerial and advisory work in personnel and employment offices in various administrative

bodies responsible for personnel organization, employment and education.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATICS COURSE provides training in using information technology in research work and in development, management, analytical usage and maintenance of information systems and databases in the social sciences.

The Department of Sociology currently offers 5 post-graduate study courses.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EVERY-DAY LIFE PROGRAM introduces students to new approaches in the analysis of every-day life and guides them towards the sociological and sociopsychological analysis of social crisis and its consequences.

THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY PROGRAM offers studies in the area of social factors in preserving and protecting the environment, as well as methods and techniques for assessing the social consequences of environmental changes.

THE SEXISM AS A (CONTEMPORARY) TRADITION PROGRAM focuses on discovering the key determinants of the continued reproduction of the hierarchy between the sexes and on strategies for complete removal of negative consequences stemming from the subordinated position of women. The program is also available as a specialist study course.

THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY ANALYSIS is an international program run in conjunction with the Universities of Bath, Roskilde, Maynooth, Tilburg, Lisbon, Complutense and Crete. Students consider the institutional and political context within which a social policy is created and implemented, within individual European countries and at the European Union level

THE MASTER'S MANAGEMENT STUDY PROGRAM is organized in conjunction with the Institute of Management of Ljubljana. It is divided into social management and management in public administration. The study of management produces experts for managing work processes or organizations in the area of social services and public administration.

B. Department of Political Science

- Chair of Theoretical Political Science (Head: Adolf Bibic, Ph.D., Full Professor)
- Chair of Analysis of Politics and Public Administration (Head: Drago Zajc, Ph.D., Assistant Professor)
- Chair of International Relations (Head: Bojko Bucar, Ph.D., Assistant Professor)
- Chair of Defense Studies (Head: Marjan Malesic, Ph.D., Teaching Assistant)

There are four regular undergraduate study courses within the Department.

THE THEORETICAL-ANALYTICAL COURSE examines the theory of politics, the Slovene political identity and an intensified involvement within the European space.

THE COURSE OF POLICY ANALYSIS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION introduces the “policy” approach. Graduates are capable of conducting expert-analytical work in state institutions and other major administrative systems and institutions of local self-government, as well as in political and other organizations and associations. The international relations course conveys to students specific knowledge to be applied to work in state, diplomatic, political, representative and other services which are active in foreign policy and the international arena.

THE DEFENCE STUDIES COURSE is based on interdisciplinary study. Graduates may conduct scientific research, teaching, organizational-administrative and advisory work.

There are 5 post-graduate study courses in the Department of Political Science.

THE POLICY ANALYSIS - EUROPEAN ASPECTS COURSE conveys to students the policy approach in analyzing political phenomena. It enables the development and application of acquired knowledge in the chosen policy area in the light of the

European context.

THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION COURSE produces experts in various areas of public administration and personnel appropriate for managerial positions in public administration.

THE AMERICAN STUDIES COURSE is designed for individuals or members of institutions dealing with the US presence in the world. Through interdisciplinary studies, it attempts to clarify various important aspects of the US.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S STUDY COURSE deepens interdisciplinary knowledge of international study on regions. It particularly enables students to deepen their knowledge about the new united Europe.

THE POST-GRADUATE DEFENCE STUDIES PROGRAM covers the theoretical and empirical knowledge in the area of defence systems and policies, military sociology and political science, strategy, operational and defence studies' methodology. Students focus on analytical-research or expert military areas.

C. Department of Communications Science

- Chair of Communication Theory (Head: Slavko Splichal, Ph.D., Full Professor)
- Chair of Journalism (Head: Manca Kosir, Ph.D., Professor)
- Chair of Market Communication (Head: Nada Sfiligoj, Ph.D., Full Professor)

The Department of Communications Science includes under-graduate study programs of journalism and communication theory . The latter includes the marketing and market communication course and the theory and methodology course.

Within the journalism program, students are trained to work in the media. In addition to general knowledge, communication and language skills, the program also conveys practical skills useful to journalists, publicists and editors.

The journalism program can also be taken up as a second subject or as a subject in a two-subject study arrangement with other faculties of the University of Ljubljana.

THE MARKETING AND MARKET COMMUNICATION COURSE is intended for personnel who will plan, manage and implement activities in the area of marketing and market communication. It conveys to students strategic marketing management, market research, public relations, advertising, media planning and similar knowledge.

THE THEORY AND METHODOLOGY COURSE is designed for researchers working on informations and communications' systems in various research, advisory and similar services, as well as in public media, information and documentation centres etc.

The post-graduate communications science study includes two courses.

THE COMMUNICATIONS COURSE produces experts on research of the communication behavior of the audience, opinion-forming processes and public opinion, and on planning communication activities, political communications and mass media.

THE MARKETING COURSE covers knowledge in the area of marketing and market communications. It produces experts for the needs of profit and non-profit organizations in the business environment in Slovenia.

D. Department of Cultural Studies

The cultural studies program is a single four-year course covering the distinctive range of approaches to the study of culture and society at the faculty of Social Sciences. It is based on the increasingly important role of culture in (post-)modern society. The course is predominantly oriented toward theory. By providing an appropriate categorization and operational apparatus as well as epistemological and methodological knowledge, it aims at providing the students with the basis for analytically interpreting developments in the area of culture. Graduates will be able to continue their study at the post-graduate level and may be employed,

among other things, in the school system, as publicists or as culture promoters.

B. PROFESSORS

1. Full Professors:

Zdravko Mlinar - Member of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts, full professor of spatial sociology and social development indicators. Researching autonomy and regional links.

Veljko Rus - Corresponding member of the Slovenian Academy of Arts, full professor of industrial sociology and social development. Researching national welfare and the privatization of social services.

Vlado Benko - Professor emeritus. Full professor of international relations. Researching the positions of small countries in the international community. Collaborates implementing the subjects of international relations.

Zdenko Roter - Professor emeritus. Full professor of sociology of religion and faiths of the world. Researching Slovenian public opinion and structural and spiritual forms in the post-modern society.

France Vreg - Professor emeritus. Full professor of public opinion, otherwise an expert in general communications studies, communications theory and the history of world journalism.

Adolf Bibic - Full professor of general political science and the history of political thought. Researching contemporary, pluralism, the theory of democracy and the development of the political science.

Janez Jerovsek - Full professor of organization theory, evaluation of work, education and staff planning. Researching developmental changes in organization.

Maca Jogan - Full professor of development of sociological theory and sociology of gender. Her main research is in the

field of contemporary theoretical perspectives in sociology and in the field of gender studies

Stane Juznic - Full professor of modern history, social and political anthropology, developing countries and the history of civilization. Researching national identity.

Andrej Kirn - Full professor of epistemology of the social sciences and the sociology of science and knowledge. Analytically and theoretically studying scientific research activities and the social aspects of ecological problems.

Tomo Korosec - Full professor of Slovenian language, military terminology and the stylistics of message communication. Researching different aspects of message communication in the social sciences.

Jan Makarovic - Full professor of the sociology of the young and of the sociology of creativity. Researching vocational careers and conditions of self-actualization in personal, national and world history.

Janko Prunk - Full professor of recent history. Subject head for The History of Slovenian Social and political Thought.

Dimitrij Rupel - Full professor of the sociology of culture, the sociology of fine art and the history of Slovenian culture. Researching new forms of spiritualism in the post-modern society.

Nada Sfiligoj - Full professor of economics and marketing. Researching the market and market communications.

Slavko Splichal - Full professor of communication, public opinion, theory of mass communication, informations systems, political propaganda and methods of communication research.

Niko Tos - Full professor of sociology and the methodology of social science research. Head of the Slovenian public opinion project and collaborator in the international research of values (ISSP, WVP), of voting processes, etc.

Anton Zabkar - Full professor of defence science. Subject head for "The Basics of Leading and Commanding", as well as Modern Weapons Systems.

2. Professors

Ivan Bernik - Professor of general and theoretical sociology. Researching post-socialist societies, especially the emergence of new nation-states, as well as topics in social regulation.

Bogomil Ferfila - Professor of comparative economics and management systems, public finances, government economics and post-socialism. Concerned with American studies.

Anuska Ferligoj - Professor of statistics. Concerned with methods of multi-variant analysis, network analysis and methodological problems of public surveys.

Anton Grizold - Professor of defence and security policies and systems. Concerned with research on Slovene national security and security in international relations.

Manca Kosir - Professor of journalistic reporting and the mass media. Studying journalistic discourse, especially types and genres and journalistic ethics.

Stane Kranjc - Professor in the field of political parties. Researching and concerned with theories of and empirical processes in contemporary pluralism and democracy.

Marjan Svetlicic - Professor of international economic affairs and current international community affairs. Researching the position of the Slovenes in international relations, foreign investments and transnational enterprises.

Ivan Svetlik - Professor in the field of the labor market and employment. Concerned with research into the quality of life, social policies and employment.

Mirjana Ule - Professor of social and political psychology, as well as the psychology of communications. Researching everyday life and the political culture of youth.

Slavoj Zizek - Professor of contemporary philosophical problems, research consultant at the centre for Philosophical Studies. Ambassador of Science of the Republic of Slovenia for 1990.

3. Assistant Professors

Frane Adam - Assistant professor of general sociology and senior research worker at the Centre for Theoretical Sociology. Researching processes of modernization and social transformations in the post-socialist societies. Also concerned with sociological theories and political sociology.

Smilja Amon - Assistant professor of the history of journalism. Researching the development of journalism, especially the role of the newspaper in Slovenia. Subject head for the Development of World Journalism.

Vojko Antoncic - Assistant professor of methodology and information science. Subject head for "Forecasting and Planning, Staff Planning". Researching the quality of life and the problems of public surveys.

Bojko Bucar - Assistant professor of international affairs. Concerned with international affairs, international law, modern law, regionalism and foreign policy. Studying the role of Slovenia in international relations.

Nevenka Cernigoj-Sadar - Assistant professor, senior research worker at the Centre for Welfare Studies. Researching the quality of life, especially leisure time, the family and lifestyles.

Danica Fink-Hafner - Assistant professor of policy analysis, political parties and interest groups. Developing autonomous Slovenian policy analysis and research in changes in the Slovene interest-group system and party arena in Slovenia. Recently specializing in the EV policy-making and lobbying.

Pavle Gantar - Assistant professor of regional sociology, social planning and social development. Researching changes in the social territorial organization of the environment.

Vesna V. Godina - Assistant professor of social, political and cultural anthropology. Concerned with comparative analysis of anthropological theory, with the process of the transfer of cultural samples (inculturation) and political socialization.

Ljubica Jelusic - Assistant professor of military sociology and polemology. Concerned with research on peace studies and international security.

Zinka Kolaric - Assistant professor of the sociology of social policies. Researching welfare systems, but above all the role of voluntary organizations in the Slovenian welfare system.

Miran Komac - Assistant professor of political science. Collaborates in the subject Recent Political History.

Igor Luksic - Assistant professor of general and political science and the theory of the modern state. Researching contemporary pluralism, corporatism, liberalism and democracy.

Franc Mali - Assistant professor, associate professor of the Institute. Problematically and analytically studies scientific and research activities in Slovenia.

Mojca Novak - Assistant professor, associate professor of Sociology at the Centre for Welfare Studies. Researching the quality of life, especially the prosperity and poverty and peripheral modernization.

Vesna Omladic - Assistant professor of information management sciences. Researching the dynamics of sociological systems.

Tanja Renner - Assistant professor of the sociology of the family and the sociology of gender. Researching the sociology of the family and the gender structure of everyday life.

Miroslav Stanojevic - Assistant professor of the sociology of work, also a research collaborator at the Centre for Theoretical Sociology. Concerned with the research of industrial relations.

Janez Strehovec - Assistant professor of the sociology of culture. Subject head for Cultural Policies and the Sociology of Mass Cultures.

Barbara Verlic-Dekleva - Assistant professor, scientific collaborator at the Centre for Welfare Studies. Researching the quality of life, especially the social development of the environment and urbanization, as well as housing problems.

Drago Zajc - Assistant professor at the Centre for Political Science Research. Concerned with the analysis of politics and its application, researching the operation of the Slovenian parliament.

Alojzija Zidan - Assistant professor of the sociology of education. Researching the political culture of youth.

4. Teaching Assistants

Marijan Brezovsek - Research assistant, researches political systems, national affairs, federalism and local administrations. Researching the role and operation of the Slovenian parliament.

Ales Debeljak - Research assistant for the sociology of culture, sociology of religion and culture studies. Researching the structure of spiritualism, especially the role of religion and art in the post-modern society.

Mitja Hafner-Fink - Research assistant of social science methodology. Was concerned with the ideology of social strata in Slovenia, presently researching Slovenian public opinion.

Marko Lah - Research assistant for economics and marketing. Researching marketing management and market communication as a factor of effectiveness of (non)profit organizations.

Dana Mesner Andolsek - Research assistant for the theory of organization and the sociology of work. Researching developmental changes of organizations and their structural man-

agement, business ethics and organizational culture.

Milivoja Sircelj - Research assistant for social demography. Teaches the subject of Social Democracy.

5. Research Assistants

Majda Cernic Istenic - Associated specialist of the Centre for Welfare Studies. Researching the quality of life, fertility and privatization in health care.

Drago Kos - Senior associate specialist at the Centre for Spatial Sociology. Researching the factors for Slovenian integration into global modernization processes.

Gregor Tomc - Senior research assistant at the Centre for Theoretical Sociology. Researching the process of modernization and youth subcultures.

5. FACILITIES

Not mentioned

6. ADMISSION

Not mentioned

7. DIPLOMA & STATUS OF DIPLOMA

Not mentioned

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

The Institute of Social Sciences (Head: Anton Grizold, Ph.D., Professor) conducts scientific research related to the education programs at the faculty. It also implements other scientific research projects from the area of sociology, and political and communications science. The institute annually implements some 80 research projects, which are funded partly by the state and partly by the contracted commissioners.

All infrastructures necessary for empirical social science research in Slovenia is concentrated within the Institute of

Social Sciences. The largest projects so far are “Slovene Public Opinion Survey” and the “Quality of Life”, which have been running for many years. The two projects provide Slovene social scientists with a database. All researchers have free access to it.

The work of the institute has been organized in 14 research centres: Centre for Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research, Centre for Welfare Studies, Centre for Environmental Sociology, Centre for Political Science Research, Centre for Religion and Church Research, Centre for Social Communication Research, Centre for International Relations Research, Centre for Theoretical Sociology, Centre for Philosophical Studies, Centre for Methodology and Informatics, Centre for Defence Studies and Research, Centre for Social Psychology, Centre for Anthropological Research and Centre for Evaluation and Strategic Research.

9. PUBLICATIONS , AUDIO-VIDEO BROADCAST

Not mentioned

10. PRINTED COURSES

Not mentioned

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Not mentioned

12. SUMMER SEMINARS

Not mentioned.

International School for Journalism, Minsk, Belarus

1. GENERAL DATA

A. NAME

International School for Journalism

B. ADDRESS

F. Skariny st. 15A, 220072 Minsk, Belarus

Tel/fax: 0172 3945 36

E-mail: mmc@glas.apc.org

C. BOARD MEMBERS:

Vladimir Dunaev, EHU, Vice-Rector, Prof. of History and Philosophy

Barys Sachanka, Byelorussian Encyclopedia, Editor-in-Chief, Journalist

Vince Malmgreen, Internews Network

Piotr Martsev, "Belorusskaya Delovaya Gazeta", Newspaper publisher

Tamara Vorobiova, Mass Media Center, Chief Manager, Journalist

Svetlana Plashchinskaya, Manager, Associate Professor of English

Victoria Kozlova, Executive Director, Journalist

D. DEPENDENT ON Soros Foundation, Mass Media Center, EHU

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 14 students

2. SHORT HISTORY

The program began in early 1994 as part of the training programs of MMC. Later on it became a special faculty for journalism and mass communication and was named "International School of Journalism" operated jointly by Minsk Mass Media Center (MMC) and European Humanitarian University (EHU). The course of study is 1,5 years, Purpose - improving of professional skills for working

journalists. We are planning to make it a permanent higher educational institution with a 5-years period of study.

3. STRUCTURE

A. NUMBER OF CHAIRS -

B. PROFESSORS: no full-time staff professors, only visiting professors from different countries: Russia, Belarus, Poland, US, Czech Republic etc.

4. CURRICULUM

List of subjects	Hours
English	600

General sciences (during the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd semester):

1. Policy and Mass Media	20
2. Sociology of Mass Media	20
3. Economics and Mass Media	20
4. Law and Legislation in Mass Media	22
5. Diplomacy and Ethics	16
6. Environment and Mass Media	30
7. Practical Belarussian Language	30
8. Practical Russian Language	30

General professional subjects throughout 2nd semester:

9. Ethics of Journalism	30
10. Theory of Communication:	
Psychology of Perception	32
Psychology of Video Information Perception	10
Psychology of Sound Perception	10
Phenomena of Printed Information Reception	10
TV as a Form of Mass Media	26
Video-news of Today	28
Radio as a Form of Mass Media	24

Informational Radio Programs	26
The Press as a Form of Mass Media	26
Printed Informational Reviews	26
Information Agency	34
12. Informatics (Computer science)	36
electronic communication possibilities (e-mail, data- bases, electronic libraries and related topics)	

Special disciplines throughout the 2nd and 3rd semesters: -

13. Basics of Reporting	66
television reporting	22
radio reporting	22
reporting in the printed media	22
14. Analytical reporting	14
15. Topical reporting	14
16. Commentary	14
17. Business reporting	16
18. Political reporting	14
19. Principles of Journalism Investigation	10
20. Principles of Gathering and Distributing Information	16
21. International Journalism	18

Special disciplines at the end of the 2nd and 3rd semesters:

22. Photography	22
23. Work with a Video Camera	22
24. Interviewing Technique	56 (total)
how to ask questions	5
how to keep to one theme	5
listening skills	5
how to get an answer	5
working in front of the camera	18
moderating techniques	18
25. Editing	58 (total)
rules for written material editing	22
sound editing techniques	16

video editing techniques	20
26. The work of the executive producer	10
27. Computer Design	16
28. The Work of Information Department	14
29. Newspaper Publishing	20 (total)
the structure of a newspaper	10
design of a printed publication	10
30. TV Program Production	30 (total)
script writing	20
design	10
31. radio Program Production	20
32. TV Station Management	16
33. Radio Station Management	16
34. Newspaper Management	14

5. FACILITIES

One large classroom equipped with 4 DTK computers, 1 editing computer for students newspaper production, a TV set, a tape-recorder. TV studio with 2 Betacam SP, 2 S-VHS cameras, each system with a VCR and an editing unit "Matrox".

We have a possibility to use the equipment and a broadcasting time of "Belorusskaya Molodezhnaya" radio studio.

6. ADMISSION

Having undergone testing done by a highly qualified commission of 5 members.

7. DIPLOMA

At present - the certificate for completing the course "Advanced skills" and the English language.

In future - the diploma for second higher education in journalism.

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

No at the moment.

9. PUBLICATIONS , AUDIO -VIDEO BROADCAST

- realized by students:

monthly supplement to the students paper "Takaya Zhyzn",
TV-program "Students discussing club"

- realized by professors:

weekly information program "Post Scriptum", one video
story for CNN World Report per week or two.

10. PRINTED COURSES : No

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

"Internews" (US)

12. SUMMER SEMINARS :

Early beginning of June: "Psychologic aspects of person
reception on the screen" (style and "face" make-up of a pre-
senter, fitness to the program character)

The end of June: "Coverage of cultural events" (what is a
news in cultural life, making of a cultural report).

School of Journalism, University of Zagreb

1. GENERAL DATA

A. NAME

School of Journalism

B. ADDRESS

Lepusiceva 6, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia

Tel: 412 731

Fax: 412 283

C. BOARD MEMBERS

dr. Tomislav Jantol, this year dean of the Faculty;

dr. Pavao Novosel, director of the School of Journalism;

dr. Miroslav Vujevic, president of the Communication and Journalism Department of the Faculty

D. CONTACT PERSON: dr. Pavao Novosel, Lepusiceva 6, Zagreb,
tel. at home 445 327

E. DEPENDENT ON Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb.

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 500

2. SHORT HISTORY

Founded in 1970 as a one year study. Already next year promoted to the two years study with a partial diploma. In 1986 further enlarged to four years study with full professional journalism diploma.

Main orientation since foundation was toward the objective, professional journalism as performed in western democratic countries. It was never conceived or realized another "Marxist" education like in some Eastern European communist countries. The specifics from the start on was to integrate communication theory with journalistic skills, so as

not to produce “journalistic morons”. This was then reflected in the curriculum profile (see below).

3. STRUCTURE

A. NUMBER OF CHAIRS.

We don't have “chairs” in the classical sense, but the study is conceived as a whole.

B. PROFESSORS

Dr. Pavao Novosel, professor, founder of the school
- Communication Theory, Interpersonal Communication, Organizational Communication
- English, German, Italian, French, Russian

Dr. Marko Goluz, docent
- Press and Advertising
- German, English

Dr. Marko Sapunar, docent
- Radio, Introduction to Journalism, History of Journalism, Modern Media
- English

Dr. Stjepan Malovic, docent
- Press, Photography, Media Management
- German, English

Dr. Branko Polic, lecturer
- Croatian Language and Journalistic Style
- Russian

Dr. Miroslav Vujevic, professor
- Research Methodology in Social Sciences
- English

Dr. Tomislav Jantol, professor
- Public Opinion and Propaganda
- German, English

Dr. Nenad Prelog, professor

- Computer Science and Skills
- English, German

Vlatko Cvrtila, MA, assistant

- in charge with Computer Lab and Journalist Library
- English

Karlo Blagus, MA, assistant to professor Novosel

- English

Marija Nemcic, MA, assistant

- TV Skills
- English, German

Jadranka Rilovic, MA, assistant

- Radio Skills

Ivanka Lucev, MA, assistant

- Radio Skills
- English

Also, a number of prominent professional journalists deliver lectures on their specific field of activity.

4. CURRICULUM

Not mentioned.

5. FACILITIES

a. Computer lab with 20 modern machines in LAN. Host computer with Pentium 100. Printer, Scanner, direct line to Internet.

b. Journalistic library with more than 200 most recent books.

c. Editing room for student journal "PULS" with 4 computers and a direct telephone line. The journal is published once a month and is self-financing.

d. Radio station ("Radio Sveuciliste"), with most modern gear, working on the frequency of 100.5 MHz, covering the whole city of Zagreb (about 1.000.000 inhabitants).

Broadcasting 16 hours/day and is self-financing.

e. Modern Video and TV gear in lecture rooms (for about 100 students at a time). Includes graphoscopes and other lecturing hardware.

6. ADMISSION

Middle school diploma. Admission upon the entrance exams on a competitive basis. The school inscribes about 60 students each year financed by the state, as well as some 50 self-financing students. The self-financing students are subject to the same entrance exams as other students.

7. DIPLOMA

Full professional diploma after four years study which entitles for the vocation of the "Diploma journalist"

Parallel journalist diploma after two years specially organized study which is frequented parallel with some other full study (e.g. Law, Medicine and so on). This diploma can be received only after the main study is fully finished.

MA diploma in journalism after finishing MA studies of two years. This study is the prolongation after the four years study mentioned above.

8. RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Upon special request.

9. PUBLICATIONS , AUDIO -VIDEO BROADCAST

"PULS" - the students monthly in its third year of publishing. Realized entirely by students.

"Radio Sveuciliste" - broadcasting 16 hours/day, five day in week. Programs are realized by the students under to supervision of their professors and three professional journalists.

10. PRINTED COURSES

None. However, there exist a number of textbooks for the courses our professor give.

11. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

None by now.

12. SUMMER SEMINARS

None.

School of Social Communication and Journalism, Catholic University of Lublin

1. GENERAL DATA

A. NAME

School of Social Communication and Journalism

B. ADDRESS:

Al Raclawickie 14, 20-950 Lublin; Poland;

Tel: (081) 304 32

Fax: (081) 304 33

E-mail: skid@zeus.lublin.kul.pl

C. BOARD MEMBERS: ?

D. CONTACT PERSON:

Prof. Leon Dyczewski OFM Conv., Director of the school

Mgr. Robert Szwed, secretary of the school

E. DEPENDENT ON:

SSCJ is an autonomous Department of the Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

F. NUMBER OF STUDENTS: 49

2. SHORT HISTORY

It is common knowledge in our days and age, that the mass media and journalists play an immense role in the formation of the human attitudes and in making people aware of their needs.

In Poland, during the last forty years, the media were in the hands of the communist government or were at least controlled by it; journalists were submitted to a training based on governmental directives.

In 1989, the political system in Poland changed. One observed an increase of the process of democratization and liberalization in the field of mass media, but there is still a great need for people who could help in the organizing of this sphere of social life. Our society needs journalists, who would be able to fulfill their duties in a responsible way, bearing in mind the benefit of each human being and the fate of society. A very particular need is felt for people of a democratic and Christian orientation. As a result of a state of affairs, Christian thought, the principles of Christian ethics, and a Christian way of life are all inadequately represented or completely oblivious on TV, radio and in the secular press.

In the present situation, new specialists ought to be trained for the mass media, as well as new journalists with a democratic and Christian outlook. This is an absolute necessity.

The Catholic University of Lublin, wishing to satisfy this great need of society, on the 20th of February 1993, resolved to found a School of Social Communication and Journalism, which is to open in October 1993.

3. STRUCTURE

The purpose of the School is:

- a complete professional training, accounting for the press, radio, video, TV, advertisement, editing, text analysis, marketing;
- the training of journalists in meritorial line of their own choice, within a context of Christian formation;
- to help communicate with other social communication centres and journalists.

Students are required to identify one of six domains as their principal area of study:

- 1. Social and Political Problems**
- 2. Economic Problems**
- 3. Iura and State**
- 4. Philosophical and Theological Problems**
- 5. Culture and Artistic Creativity**
- 6. Health and Ecology**

The study of journalism includes many varieties of communication. Our program emphasizes professional ethics and responsibilities in the broad study of social communication and society.

Courses last for two years: a total of 2180 hours (including 200 hours of practice)

B. PROFESSORS

Baginski Dobroslaw, director of Lublin TV
- Journalistic Genres

Dabala Jacek, Doctor, Journalist of the Lublin Television
- Journalistic Genres

Dyczewski Leon, Professor
- Theories and Principles of Social Communication

Fredro-Boniecki Tadeusz, Director at 1st channel of the Polish Radio
- Journalistic Information

Gajlewicz Michal, Professor, Warsaw University
- Public Relations, Advertisement

Ilowiecki Maciej, 1st channel of Polish TV
- Creative Writing of Journalistic Genres

Jarmul Michal, Doctor, University of Lublin
- Public Relation and Management of Mass Media

Jurga Andrzej, Professor, University of Silesia
- Journalistic Technology

Klauza Karol, Doctor
- Church and Mass Media

Krapiec Mieczyslaw, Professor
- Human Rights, Philosophical Anthropology

Loth Roman, Professor, Polish Academy of Sciences
- Editing

Letowski Maciej, Doctor, Editor-in-Chief of Lad
- Reportage, Essay, Review

Margaritte Bernard, Journalist of France TV and Radio
- News, Interview

Marszalek Halina, Director, Polish TV
- Journalist Style

Michalski Bogdan, Professor, Warsaw University
- Social Communication and Mass Communication Law

Nowakowski Marek, Journalist and writer
- Creative Writing of Journalistic Genres

Olszewski Olaf, Director, 2nd channel of Polish TV
- Journalistic Technology

Plisiecki Janusz, Professor, University of Maria Sklodowska-Curie
- History and Analysis of Film

Tkaczuk Wacław, Journalist, 2nd channel of the Polish Radio
- Essay, Reportage

Viatteau-Kwiatowski Michal, Director of the Program in Polish Radio
- Journalistic Information

Wierzbicki Alfred, Doctor
- Ethical Problem in Mass Media

Wilkanowicz Stefan, Editor-in-Chief of Znak
- Ethical Problems in Mass Media

4. CURRICULUM

SUBJECT	SEMESTERS			
	I	II	III	IV
Facultative subject (Political Science, Law, Social Science, Health Education, Civilization Questions)	2	2	2	2
Philosophical Anthropology and Human Rights	2	2	-	-
Theological Courses (the Bible Interpretation, Dogmatics, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of Life, Comparative Studies of Religion)	2	2	-	-
Contemporary Political, Cultural, Social and Ecological Questions in Poland and in World	-	-	2	2
History of Communication and Journalism (Press, Radio, TV, Film)	2	2	-	-
Theories and Principles of Social Communication	2	2	-	-
Social and Mass Communication Law	-	-	2	2
The Church and Mass Media	2	-	-	-
Public Relations Management (relation and cooperation between mass media and local community)	-	-	2	-
Local Communication: Its Forms and Roles	-	2	-	-
Management of Mass Media- Advertisement, Public Relations	-	2	2	-
News Editing	-	-	2	2
Creative Writing of Journalistic Genres (information, news, report, reportage, interview, essay, review, photography, music presentation)	4	4	4	4
Journalistic Information	6	6	6	6
Journalistic Style	2	2	-	-
Journalistic Technology (electronic reporting, editorial and critical writing, multi-media	2	2	-	-

production)	6	6	6	6
Euristics	1	-	-	-
Logopedies	-	1	-	-
Editing, Lay-out, Publishing	-	4	4	4
Tabling the Contents of Magazine, Radio Broadcasting, Film	-	-	2	2
Computer Training	4	4	-	-
Ethical Problems in Social Communication and Mass Media	-	-	2	2

5. FACILITIES

Currently our school consists of following places:

- Lecture hall (for circa 35 persons)
- Editorial Laboratory with 18 computers
- Studio of training students in radio manner (incomplete)
- Reading hall
- Secretariat
- We are planning to put in motion a TV studio

6. DIPLOMA AND STATUS

Post-graduate diploma

Lithuanian Mass Media and Its Legal Regulation Between 1991-1995

BY **MARIUS LUKOSIUNAS**
SKIRMANTAS VALIULIS *

FREEDOM of the media in Lithuania is guaranteed by the country's Constitution. For the moment, conditions for the legal existence of Lithuania's media are specified by the 1991 Law on the Press and Other Mass Media, which covers both print and electronic media. It includes provisions on communications law, which deals with the technical side of the business, such as allocating frequencies etc. It also includes the Statute of Lithuanian Radio and TV, which applies only to

the national RTV company, as well as some articles on a civic and penal code dealing with questions of libel, defamation, privacy and the Law on State Secrets.

Constitutional Provisions

THE Lithuanian Constitution, adopted in 1992, provides the essential guarantees for mass media freedom. Article 25 says: "Individuals shall have the right to have

Marius Lukosiunas is professor at the University of Vilnius, Lithuania.

Both Lukosiunas and Skirmantas Valiulis are members in the editorial board of Mass Media Law and Practice Bulletin, published in Moscow, Russia

* This article appeared at the beginning of this year in the Baltic edition of the bulletin.

their own convictions and freely express them. Individuals must not be hindered from seeking, obtaining and disseminating information or ideas. Freedom to express convictions as well as to obtain and disseminate information may not be restricted in any way other than established by law, when it is necessary for safeguard of the health, honour or dignity, private life or morals of a person or of the protection of constitutional order. Freedom to express convictions or impart information shall be incompatible with criminal actions - the instigations of national, racial, religious or social hatred, violence or discrimination, dissemination of slander or misinformation. Citizens shall have the right to obtain any available information which concerns them from the State agencies in the manner established by law."

Article 44 prohibits censorship: "Censorship of mass media shall be prohibited by law". It also defends against monopolisation of media: "The state, political parties and public organisations and other institutions or persons may not monopolise means of mass media".

Article 145 gives the authorities power "during martial law or state of emergency" to tem-

porarily restrict the rights and freedoms of the media.

Broadcasting: Supervision, Frequencies, Licensing

ALL of Lithuania's media have to be registered by the Department of Press Control under the Ministry of Justice. The department supervises private broadcasters.

Frequencies are allocated by the Commission of Telecommunications operating under the Ministry of Communications and Informatics for a period of five years. Until last year, private companies had to apply to the Board of Radio and Television for licenses to use a frequency. In 1995, the Board lost its power to license private broadcasters after a Constitutional Court ruling. The new broadcasting law is expected to be passed in the Parliament, which will define the body with the authority to issue licenses.

The Board of Radio and Television was created in 1990 - when there were no private broadcasters - to regulate public TV: Lithuanian TV and Radio company. As the only institution to regulate TV and radio it gradually took over the process of regulating private broadcasters.

In 1995, the board entered into conflict with Baltijos TV. According to the license issued it a couple of years earlier, Baltijos TV was forced to retransmit the Polish program TV Polonia in the Vilnius region for a certain amount of hours. Baltijos TV rejected the agreement under the new circumstances, but the board forced them to return to the agreement. Lawyers for Baltijos TV then took the case to the Constitutional Court, which ruled that the Board of Radio and TV was created to supervise public, not private television.

So, for the moment, the supervision of private broadcasting companies is carried out by the Department of Press Control under the Ministry of Justice.

Public Broadcasting

THE Lithuanian Radio and Television Company (LRTV) is a national broadcaster financed by both the state budget and advertising and accountable to the Parliament.

LRTV air one TV and three radio programs.

The supervision of the "public" (some experts tend to use the term "state", indicating LRTV dependence upon state authorities who allocate money from

the budget) broadcaster LRTV is carried out on two levels. The final control is exercised by the Parliament. However, the Parliament appoints a 16 member Radio and Television Board that supervises the national channel. Ten board seats are given to appointees of the ruling party, while six are allotted to the opposition.

The Board nominates the LRTV director-general for Parliament appointments. It also has the right to interfere in the company's internal affairs in cases of mismanagement or low-quality programming.

Discussion about the future of LRTV started just after Lithuania regained its independence. After numerous conferences and meetings, the LRTV leadership in 1993 decided that the only path was to seek the status of public TV. The only problems to be solved are finding the right legal status and method of financing LRTV.

The main arguments supporting the status of public broadcasting were: public benefit, situation in neighbouring countries (they all introduced the model) and the European Broadcasting Union's (EBU) support of the idea.

At the same time, numerous

proposals on how to deal with the problem of finances were submitted. It was obvious from the beginning that the license fee model was not going to work in Lithuania. On the other hand, there was a clear understanding of the urgent need to break free from state financing, which provided financial security, but couldn't guarantee freedom from the authorities. In 1993, the idea of following the examples of Turkey and Israel - to finance public broadcasting by giving 2-3 per cent of the income obtained from the country's energy consumption - emerged. It later was abandoned.

Today, all players more or less agree to have financing of public TVR coming from different sources. public TVR will continue to receive financing from the state budget, but only for a certain period of time while a licensing fee is gradually introduced. The latter gradually will have to replace state budget financing. Public TVR will continue to broadcast advertisements and sponsorship announcements, but these activities will be much more regulated and restricted.

Another question in the transition from the state-controlled TVR model to sound public broadcasting is management accountability. The broadcast-

ing bill which is discussed in the Parliament foresees two separate boards, one to supervise the public sector and another to supervise the private sector. The director-general of a private broadcasting company will be accountable to the board, but not to the Parliament.

The separation of public and private-sector boards will help to maintain a balance of interests between the sectors.

The future of LRTV depends greatly on the Broadcasting Law expected to be passed in the Parliament in the near future.

Private Broadcasting

THREE of four national TV networks are operated by the private commercial TV stations TELE 3, Baltijos TV and LNK.

TELE 3 was the first independent TV station to begin nationwide broadcasting back in 1991. It took over the TV channel used by the Russian TV in Soviet times. Its founder and director-general is Professor Liucija Baskauskaitė, an American citizen of Lithuanian descent. The station's programming started as educational, but now gives the full spectrum of services: news,

sports, documentaries, movies, children's programs etc. TELE 3's main source of income is advertising. In the beginning it was modestly supported by Western pro-democracy foundations.

Facing economic problems, the station sold in 1994 from 30 to 60 per cent of its shares to local real estate firm Status and some US investors. The station's major shareholders are now arguing over the future of the station and the press has reported that the management is now looking for a company eager to purchase TELE 3.

Baltijos TV is owned by American Lithuanian. It started as a state company with programs for national minorities, but was taken over by its current owner. Baltijos TV offers a variety of programming such as news, locally produced TV series, children programs and sports.

Baltijos TV gets its income from advertising and the investments of its owners. It is the only national TV station which is close to having a network of its own transmitters. It should be capable to broadcast in more than 60 percent of the country's territory, including the major cities, by the next year.

LNK is the newest private company, which operates on the former Ostankino channel. According to terms under which the license was issued, LNK is forced to rebroadcast Moscow's "Vremia" news program. LNK tries to support itself from advertisement, but also gets financial assistance from its owners: a local conglomeration of companies called EBSW and the State Commercial Bank, which is in fact owned by the Lithuanian government.

LNK offers its viewers a morning newscast and an assortment of locally produced entertainment programs, talk shows etc.

All three channels broadcast seven days per week, about 16 hours per day and rely heavily on Western movies and TV series for their programming.

Commercial radio stations broadcasting nationwide are privately owned, profit-driven ventures. Their programming consists of music, talk shows, call-in shows and brief news clips. The biggest nationwide broadcasters are M-1, Radiocentras, Laisvoji Banga and Znad Willii. The last one broadcasts mostly in Polish and Russian.

There are many local privately

owned TV and radio stations. Two local TV stations, Vilniaus TV and Kaunas+ are worth mentioning. Vilniaus TV broadcasts in the capital city Vilnius and the surrounding area. It mostly rebroadcasts TV 6 programs from Moscow. Kaunas+ broadcasts in Vilnius, Kaunas and the surrounding area and hopes to become a nationwide broadcaster. Close to 50 percent of Kaunas+ shares are owned by Scandinavian company Kinnevik.

All private TV and radio stations are in fierce competition with each other. Experts estimate that the country's advertising market (about 20 million litas or 5 million USD) cannot support the present number of TV and radio stations. Of the nationwide broadcasters, M-1 radio station is the only one cutting a profit. The others are either poised to cross the profit-margin threshold or are preparing to go out of business.

Printed Press

ALL four of Lithuania's major national dailies - Lietuvos Rytas, Respublika, Lietuvos Aidas and Diena - are private. The state doesn't own or control any national daily or weekly paper and there is no system of state subsidies for the general interest press. National minority publications

and some specialised culture and education periodicals are the only ones receiving State support.

The biggest daily, Lietuvos Rytas, has a circulation of about 80,000 on weekdays to 100,000 on weekends. Its daily circulation has decreased by five times since 1990, but the amount of pages has increased from four to 64 and even more on Saturdays. About two-thirds of the pages are covered with ads.

In addition to its main section, Lietuvos Rytas has added numerous local supplements, which differ from city to city. Each day the newspaper has supplements on different topics: business, automobiles, TV and cinema, culture, gardening etc. This strategy has enabled the newspaper to more effectively fight for audience share and has brought the company more advertising litas. More than half of its income is generated through advertising.

As a profitable enterprise, Lietuvos Rytas was able to build its own printing house and is no longer dependent on government printing facilities. Moreover, some other newspapers left government-owned printing houses and became clients of Lietuvos Rytas. Recently, the newspaper's

printing house welcomed three new clients - independent newspapers from Minsk, the capital city of Belarussia. These independents retreated from Minsk to Vilnius because of the pressures independent media face in Belarussia.

Because of the Lithuanian Post Service's policy to increase its newspaper delivery price, Lietuvos Rytas also had to create its own distribution system, which covers major cities and regional centres.

Lietuvos Rytas is owned by a group of shareholders composed mostly of the newspaper's employees. According to unofficial data, the four top managers own more than 50 per cent of shares.

The second-biggest newspaper is Respublika, which has a circulation of about 60,000. Sixty per cent of its shares are owned by two private individuals, one of whom serves as the paper's editor-in-chief.

Both Respublika and Lietuvos Rytas are published six times a week. Both have weekly digests in Russian.

The third-biggest newspaper is Lietuvos Aidas, also owned by a group of shareholders. The newspaper's editor-in-chief is a member of Lithuanian

Parliament's right-wing opposition. Its circulation is declining, but currently hovers at about 30,000.

The fourth-biggest national daily is Diena, formerly known as Tiesa, the equivalent of Russia's Pravda. Its circulation is between 10,000 and 20,000, but is in continuing and dramatic decline, so the management doesn't disclose accurate figures. The newspaper is owned by a share holding company and, according to some reports, Lithuania's ruling Labour Democratic Party owns close to 30 per cent.

The local press boasts a variety of ownership forms, ranging from local governments to private. Survey results indicate that local press is the most popular in Lithuania. The local Kaunas newspaper is the second-biggest in the country, with a circulation of about 70,000, nearing that of Lietuvos Rytas.

Verslo Zinios is a full-colour business weekly and constitutes the first major foreign investment into Lithuania's newspaper industry. Its circulation is nearly 15,000. The investment was made by a Scandinavian company which founded similar business weeklies in St. Petersburg (Russia), Estonia and Latvia.

General-interest magazines are gradually going out of business, while specialised ones are gaining popularity. The new ones usually have a single owner, while the old ones are generally owned by the journalists working for the magazine.

Media and Journalists Organisations

THE majority of Lithuanian journalists are members of the Lithuanian Journalist Union. Its counterpart, the Lithuanian Journalists Society, is much smaller. It was found-

ed by journalists not satisfied with the Union's policy toward Soviet era journalism.

Other organisations are the Association of Independent Broadcasters, the Association of Editors and Publishers, the Free Speech Centre and Lithuania's Journalism Centre, which functions as the country's mid-career institution.

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Transformation of the Polish Media System*

BY TERESA SASINSKA-KLAS

THE mass media is not only playing an important role in the reconstruction of Polish society towards democracy and a free market economy, the media is the catalyst of these changes, even though it is undergoing a fundamental transformation itself. (1) An observation of these changes constitutes a fascinating field for research and - as could be expected - has attracted the attention of numerous academic research centres and other observers of the process of systematic

changes in East-Central Europe.

The Freedom and Independence of the Media in Poland

FUNDAMENTAL changes have taken place in the mass media in Poland since 1989. These changes have concerned virtually every aspect of the press, radio and television. The most significant of these changes is that the media is now free and

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independent. The media in Poland between 1945-89 was under political control, there was censorship. The event of 1989 shattered the former system and brought a new freedom to the media. It soon became apparent however, that freedom is a double edged sword. The media was liberated from communist party control, but the resulting vacuum was soon filled by financial dependence on the money of the new owners and new political constellations.

We can divide the five-year period of transformation of the media in Poland into three characteristic periods:

- 1) the phase of "lively enthusiasm and obligatory transformation" (from May 1989 to mid 1991),
- 2) the phase of "apparent stabilisation and fundamental transformation" (from mid 1991 to the end of 1992),
- 3) the phase of "fight for the market" (from the beginning of 1993 till the present). (2)

The first phase of media transformation in Poland was dominated by a revolution in the political system. There was a lively development of numerous independent publications (principally local magazines),

whereas previously existing publications were subject to organisational transformation and to a change of ownership. The RSW "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" company, which monopolised the press was dissolved. The first period could be termed as an "assault" since at this time hundreds of new publications appeared on the market. Old papers were subject to a painful "cleaning out" as they were relics of the "old system" and had to adapt to the recently installed rules of the free market.

"Gazeta Wyborcza" appeared at this time, and until today is the daily with the largest circulation in Poland. It is very influential in shaping public opinion on a national level, and has attracted readers due to a new formula, which includes local supplements, which have become a significant challenge to local dailies. During this period some 1500 sub-local publications appeared, but only a small part has survived on the market until today. In 1990 three local privately owned commercial radio stations appeared on the market: Radio Malopolska FUN - which later changed its name to the currently used Radio RMF FM - in Krakow, and Radio Zet as well as Radio Solidarnosc - which later operated under its current name radio ESKA in Warsaw.

In addition, several micro-regional “pirates” sprung as well. Attempts were made to start private local television stations (in Wroclaw and Gdansk). Throughout this period, a sharp increase in the purchase and installation of satellite antennas and video equipment was noted as well.

During the second phase of “apparent stabilisation and fundamental change”, Polish political life was quite stormy (three governments fell, a center-right government returned, there was an “inspection” and “decommunisation”), nevertheless political events had little tangible influence on the mass media. Certain elements of the new regime started to crystallise on the media market, and the electronic media had a lot more to offer. Some of the old publications were auctioned off and thus privatised. Old periodicals, generally those which were geared to women and youth, changed their old black and white layout for a new full colour one, and at the same time started to print on new, better quality, often foreign, paper. New national publications started to appear (“Glob, Nowy Swiat, Obserwator Codzienny”), which didn’t survive on the market. The electronic media had continually more to offer, including satellite and cable television.

Gradually, more and more local “pirate” (operating without a broadcast license) radio and television stations appeared, and already existing stations expanded (Radio RMF FM created a local network and started satellite transmission).

The third phase of media transformation was initiated with the Parliament’s passing a new radio and television law, thereby creating the legal basis for a new order in broadcasting. The emphasis of these changes was placed on the electronic media (the struggle for local and national broadcast licenses). The decisions handed down by the National Council for Radio and Television regarding radio and TV broadcast licenses soon took on a political significance, and became a point of conflict on a national level.

The decision to award broadcast licenses to the newly created radio and television stations, changed their former “pirate” status (at this time there were 50 pirate radio stations, and around twenty television stations, as well as around another twenty Catholic pirate radio stations), to one that was legal.

The current, ever more universal audio-visual model of culture is expelling the culture of the printed word. An increase

in the presence of foreign capital can be noticed on the press market, as well as the concentration of ownership of periodicals in the hands of a constantly decreasing number of powerful publishers. The number of magazines is increasing - full colour, generally geared towards women and teenagers/young adults. These magazines are usually carbon copies of their Western counterparts. New titles however, are not appearing in the local press.

Changes in the Way the Media is Received After 1989

THE first phase of media transformation in Poland was accompanied by the elimination of old publications which were maintained by the bad habits instilled in the public by the former regime (a decline in the circulation of old titles on the one hand, and on the other - a rationalisation on the part of the readership linked with suspicion to the new publications which appeared on the market). Be that as it may, the way the press was read maintained one traditional attribute: it was still based on the reading of dailies, which to a great extent regional.

During the second phase of the transformation, the readership became more animated as a result of the constantly increasing number of publications, nevertheless, there was not an increase in the indicators of the regularity of the reception of new newspapers, as well as of radio or TV, which would attest to a loosening of contacts and "reception" of the public of an ever wider assortment offered by the media.

In the third phase, which has lasted until today - we can notice a breakdown in any growth trends. The number of those who don't read the press at all is growing, the number of publications which the average reader reads is falling, and the popularity of local dailies is falling as well. In short, a reductionist tendency may be noticed, even in the press which is considered to be sensationalist or of lower category. However, there is a crystallisation and stabilisation regarding the reception of new commercial TV and radio, as well as of cable and satellite TV.

The Transformation of the Catholic Media in Poland

VIRTUALLY at the start of the process of transformation of the system in Poland, negotiations were held between the Secretariat of the

Episcopate of Poland and the Ministry of Communications concerning the possibility of the Catholic Church's organising its own local radio stations in Poland.

This possibility appeared as a result of the efforts to create a new order on the airwaves via the change to higher frequencies. An agreement was signed in 1991, which guaranteed each diocese in Poland a local share of radio frequencies. Representatives of the Catholic Church prepared an initial map of their needs the broadcast power and range of these stations.

By 1994, Catholic dioceses organised 46 radio stations on 56 frequencies. Radio "Maryja", the largest Catholic radio station in Poland, possesses 60 frequencies and is attempting to get fifty more frequencies. Two different religious orders have their own stations, and approval has been given for one local TV station in Niepokolanow (near Warsaw).

Nevertheless, already at the very moment when it attained access to radio, it became apparent that the Catholic Church was not sufficiently prepared to operate in this area of the media. It lacked the necessary organisational experience. For this very reason,

immediate efforts were made to train the necessary cadre which would be able to undertake religious journalism. A two year course in religious journalism studies was organised at the Catholic University of Lublin, and starting in October 1995 - a section of religious journalism studies was established at the Papal Academy of Theology in Krakow.

As far as the formula for religious radio stations is concerned, three types of Catholic radio may be distinguished:

a) the formula realised by "Radio Maryja" - which fulfills a typically religious role, with a large amount of prayer programs. There are no commercials on "Radio Maryja". The station is financed by donations from its listeners and the faithful. The radio programs themselves are prepared by the volunteers. Heavy emphasis is placed on direct contact with the listeners.

b) another attempt to create a Catholic radio is based on a social-cultural concept (75-89%). The rest of the air time is taken by typically religious problems. In principal, these radio stations are maintained by the diocese. Their target audience is composed of middle-aged listeners.

c) Radio "Mariackie" in Krakow, "Plus" in Gdansk and "AS" in Szczecin represent a third current in Catholic radio. Cultural programs with a local bent tend to dominate in these stations. Religious programs occupy 10-15% of the air time. This type of radio is oriented towards young listeners, and plays music which young people listen to. In addition, these stations have commercials, which represents an additional source of income. The majority of operating costs of these stations is covered by their respective Catholic dioceses.

In the opinion of the Secretariat of the Polish Episcopate and as well as of other Catholic experts, the newly formed Catholic radio stations are an example of pluralism in the media and fulfill an "important role in the process of transformation, which has taken place during the last few years in Poland". (3)

Nevertheless, the Catholic press in Poland - severely discriminated against in the time of the former political system - has problems adapting to the new free market system which of course has a profound influence on the media. Perhaps one can perceive new titles in the Catholic press, but this does not represent a significant

degree of growth. However, there is noticeable growth among the Catholic sub-local press, which currently consists of about 500 parishes, sub-diocesan and newspapers published by religious orders. The concept of a Catholic press apostolate is developing in Poland based on the slogan coined by the Catholic bishops in Poland in 1992 in "Slowo Pasterskim" - "a Catholic periodical in every family".

The Catholic press, as well as the radio, heavily stresses pedagogical and evangelical declarations. Nevertheless, in the opinion of Catholic experts, "the language used in the Catholic press is unintelligible for the average reader". (5)

To sum up, it should be pointed out that the Catholic Church in Poland obtained a greater access to the public media in the 90's, as well as the ability to organise its own media (6). The Catholic media which functioned after 1989 has to compete with other media for the Catholic public. Theoretically the situation would appear to be very promising, since 94% of the Polish citizens, when asked to declare their religious affiliation say they are Catholics. Nevertheless in confrontation with today's reality, the popularity of Catholic media has a limited dimension; the Catholic

media doesn't always come up victorious when competing with the other media.

Nevertheless, the changes which have taken place in the Catholic media over the last years in Poland - as opposed to changes in other post-communist countries - compose a specifically unique situation and merit a keen sociological observation.

Opportunities and Threats for the Media in Poland

THE main question today for the media not only in Poland, but also in other post-communist countries is the following: what does independence and freedom mean, and what and whom should it serve? What form should it take so that the changes which are under way would lead towards a responsible freedom?

Enormous opportunities are appearing regarding the reforms and changes which touch every facet of the media. (7) Virtually from at the very start of the process of transformation of the system, concurrent threats to the liberty and independence of the media appeared. How are these threats expressed?

The media has become the arena of a new political battle,

and that battle is being carried at the expense of informing the public. Journalists who are taking part in this battle are forgetting their obligation to be unbiased and objective. They often fulfill their political obligations - via the media - towards their political bosses. Journalists still give vent to their political emotions, and at times change their political alliances, opinions and viewpoints 180 degrees.

Another threat is posed by the fact that they don't perceive the "information trap" when informing. A lot of journalists still don't ascertain the difference between the facts and an interpretation of the facts, between information and opinion.

Yet another threat is linked with the increasing commercialisation of the media. Wherever the media is ruled by the laws of the free market, there arises a conflict between the role of the media as an informer, a creator of cultural values and its role as business enterprise out to make a profit. This process is becoming more and more obvious on the media market in East-Central Europe.

An additional threat, which has a specifically Polish dimension, is the journalists' com-

plete defencelessness faced with their employers. The journalists' lack social and legal guarantees to practice their job, has produced a new type of dependence for journalists (previously they were politically dependent, today - they have an undefined professional dependence). (8) Nobody therefore is able to effectively defend the journalists professional interests.

At the end of 1995 we can notice an increasing preponderance of the audio-visual media and television has a market supremacy. Specific consequences are linked with this. One of these consequences is a fall in the readership of the press.

The press is free. But is it independent? An article of the bill concerning freedom of the media puts no limits on publishing, if the publisher has necessary means to do so. But the question of material means is not so simple as that of freedom.

The media in Poland is on the road to define itself. On the one hand it is manifesting a fear of defining itself, on the other hand it perceives this self-defining as an opportunity. The process of transformation of the Polish media is still going on. The media is achiev-

ing successes, but is also weakened during this period of transformation, which one day - as may be expected, would lead to a new information order in East-Central Europe.

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