## Media and Democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union



1

Akhrarkhodjaeva, N.: The instrumentalisation of mass media in electoral authoritarian regimes: evidence from Russia's presidential election campaigns of 2000 and 2008. ibidem-Verlag, Stuttgart (2017).

2.

Alvares, C., Dahlgren, P.: Populism, extremism and media: Mapping an uncertain terrain. European Journal of Communication. 31, 46–57 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115614485.

3.

Anable, D.: The Role of Georgia's Media—and Western Aid—in the Rose Revolution. Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics. 11, 7–43 (2006). https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X06289211.

4.

Andén-Papadopoulos, K.: Citizen camera-witnessing: Embodied political dissent in the age of 'mediated mass self-communication'. New Media & Society. 16, 753–769 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813489863.

5.

European Audiovisual Observatory, Council of Europe: Media coverage of elections: : the legal framework in Europe (IRIS Special), https://rm.coe.int/16807834b2, (2017).

Axford, B., Huggins, R.: The new media and politics. SAGE, London (2001).

7.

Barhaim, G.A.: Public-private relations in totalitarian states. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ (2012).

8.

Barhaim, G.A.: Public-private relations in totalitarian states. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ (2012).

9.

Brown, A.: Contemporary Russian politics: a reader. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2001).

10.

Bennett, W.L., Livingston, S.: The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions. European Journal of Communication. 33, 122–139 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760317.

11.

Bilić, P., Švob-Đokić, N.: The pendulum model of Croatian media policy: Digitalisation between public interests and market competition. European Journal of Communication. 31, 503–518 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116659976.

12.

Hindman, E.B., Thomas, R.J.: When old and new media collide: The case of WikiLeaks. New Media & Society. 16, 541–558 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813489504.

13.

Boromisza-Habashi, D.: Speaking hatefully: culture, communication, and political action in Hungary. Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park (2013).

14.

Burrett, T.: Television and presidential power in Putin's Russia. Routledge, London (2011).

15.

Charles, A.: Media in the enlarged Europe: politics, policy and industry. Intellect Books, Bristol (2009).

16.

Castells, M., Askews & Holts Library Services: Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the Internet age. Polity Press, Cambridge (2015).

17.

Castells, M., Askews & Holts Library Services: Networks of outrage and hope: social movements in the Internet age. Polity Press, Cambridge (2015).

18.

Ceron, A., Memoli, V.: Trust in Government and Media Slant. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 20, 339–359 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161215572634.

19.

Charles, A.: Media in the enlarged Europe: politics, policy and industry. Intellect Books, Bristol (2009).

20.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Media freedom and pluralism: media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2010).

Coleman, S., Kaposi, I.: New democracies, new media, what's new? A study of e-participation projects in third-wave democracies, https://ega.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Coleman handbook.pdf.

22.

Coleman, S., Moss, G., Parry, K.: Can the media serve democracy?: essays in honour of Jay G. Blumler. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2015).

23.

Coleman, S., Moss, G., Parry, K.: Can the media serve democracy?: essays in honour of Jay G. Blumler. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2015).

24.

Coleman, S.: The elusiveness of political truth: From the conceit of objectivity to intersubjective judgement. European Journal of Communication. 33, 157–171 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760319.

25.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

26.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

27.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

Dahlberg, L., Siapera, E.: Radical democracy and the Internet: interrogating theory and practice. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire (2007).

29.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B.: Comparative media systems: European and global perspectives. CEU Press, Budapest (2010).

30.

Donders, K., Pauwels, C., Loisen, J. eds: The Palgrave handbook of European media policy. Palgrave Macmillan, Basinngstoke (2014).

31.

Downey, J., Mihelj, S.: Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective: politics, economy and culture. Ashgate Pub. Company, Burlington, Vt (2012).

32.

Downey, J., Mihelj, S., König, T.: Comparing public spheres: Normative models and empirical measurements. European Journal of Communication. 27, 337–353 (2012). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323112459447.

33.

Coleman, S., Moss, G., Parry, K.: Can the media serve democracy?: essays in honour of Jay G. Blumler. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2015).

34.

Dyczok, M., Gaman-Golutvina, O.V.: Media, democracy and freedom: the post-communist experience. Peter Lang, Bern (2009).

Dyczok, M.: Was Kuchma's Censorship Effective? Mass Media in Ukraine before 2004. Europe-Asia Studies. 58, 215–238 (2006).

36.

Fairbanks, C.H.: Georgia's Rose Revolution. Journal of Democracy. 15, 110–124 (2004). https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2004.0025.

37.

Fengler, S., Eberwein, T., Alsius, S., Baisnée, O., Bichler, K., Dobek-Ostrowska, B., Evers, H., Glowacki, M., Groenhart, H., Harro-Loit, H., Heikkilä, H., Jempson, M., Karmasin, M., Lauk, E., Lönnendonker, J., Mauri, M., Mazzoleni, G., Pies, J., Porlezza, C., Powell, W., Radu, R., Rodriguez, R., Russ-Mohl, S., Schneider-Mombaur, L., Splendore, S., Väliverronen, J., Zambrano, S.V.: How effective is media self-regulation? Results from a comparative survey of European journalists. European Journal of Communication. 30, 249–266 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323114561009.

38.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

39.

Freedman, D.: Populism and media policy failure. European Journal of Communication. 33, 604–618 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118790156.

40.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Media freedom and pluralism: media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2010).

41.

Gerli, M., Mazzoni, M., Mincigrucci, R.: Constraints and limitations of investigative journalism in Hungary, Italy, Latvia and Romania. European Journal of Communication. 33,

22-36 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117750672.

42.

Graber, D.A.: Media power in politics. CQ Press, Washington, DC (2011).

43.

Giorgi, L., Pohoryles, R.J.: The Post-socialist media: what power the West?: the changing media landscape in Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic. Avebury, Aldershot (1995).

44.

Graber, D.A.: Media power in politics. CQ Press, Washington, DC (2011).

45.

Gunther, R., Mughan, A.: Democracy and the media: a comparative perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2000).

46.

Gurevitch, M., Coleman, S., Blumer, J.G.: Political Communication—Old and New Media Relationships. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 625, (2009).

47.

Hallin, D.C., Mancini, P.: Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

48.

Hallin, D.C., Mancini, P.: Ten Years After Comparing Media Systems: What Have We Learned? Political Communication. 34, 155–171 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1233158.

Hannan, J.: Trolling ourselves to death? Social media and post-truth politics. European Journal of Communication. 33, 214–226 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760323.

50.

Harcourt, A.: The Regulation of Media Markets in selected EU Accession States in Central and Eastern Europe. European Law Journal. 9, 316–340 (2003). https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0386.00180.

51

Downey, J., Mihelj, S.: Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective: politics, economy and culture. Ashgate Pub. Company, Burlington, Vt (2012).

52.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Media freedom and pluralism: media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2010).

53.

Herman, E.S., Chomsky, N.: Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media. Pantheon Books, New York (2002).

54

Jakubowicz, K.: Rude awakening: social and media change in Central and Eastern Europe. Hampton Press, Cresskill, N.J. (2006).

55.

Jakubowicz, K.: Rude awakening: social and media change in Central and Eastern Europe. Hampton Press, Cresskill, N.J. (2006).

Jakubowicz, K.: Rude awakening: social and media change in Central and Eastern Europe. Hampton Press, Cresskill, N.J. (2006).

57.

Jakubowicz, K., Council of Europe: Media revolution in Europe: ahead of the curve. Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg (2011).

58.

Downey, J., Mihelj, S.: Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective: politics, economy and culture. Ashgate Pub. Company, Burlington, Vt (2012).

59.

Jakubowicz, K., Sükösd, M.: Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective. Intellect, Bristol, UK (2008).

60.

Jakubowicz, K., Sükösd, M.: Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective. Intellect, Bristol, UK (2008).

61.

Jakubowicz, K.: Oleg Manaev: The "Civil (Society) Constructor" Soldiers On. Political Communication. 23, 381–385 (2006). https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600600976963.

62.

Karlsen, R.: Followers are opinion leaders: The role of people in the flow of political communication on and beyond social networking sites. European Journal of Communication. 30, 301–318 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115577305.

Kelly, M.J., Mazzoleni, G., McQuail, D., Euromedia Research Group: The media in Europe. SAGE, London (2004).

64.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Media freedom and pluralism: media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2010).

65.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Structural Media Pluralism and Ownership Revisited: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe. Journal of Media Business Studies. 6, 43–62 (2009). https://doi.org/10.1080/16522354.2009.11073488.

66.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

67.

Knobloch-Westerwick, S., Kleinman, S.B.: Preelection Selective Exposure. Communication Research. 39, 170–193 (2012). https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650211400597.

68.

Koc-Michalska, K., Lilleker, D.: Digital Politics: Mobilization, Engagement, and Participation. Political Communication. 34, 1–5 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1243178.

69.

Komorek, E.: Is media pluralism? The European Court of Human Rights, the Council of Europe and the issue of media pluralism. European Human Rights Law Review. 3, 395–414 (2009).

Lašas, A.: Media and Democracy in Central Eastern Europe: Political Culture, http://www.academia.edu/20261531/Media\_and\_Democracy\_in\_Central\_Eastern\_Europe\_P olitical\_Culture.

71.

Laursen, B., Valentini, C.: Mediatization and Government Communication. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 20, 26–44 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161214556513.

72.

Leach, P.: Responding to systemic human rights violations: an analysis of pilot judgements of the European Court of Human Rights and their impact at national level. Intersentia, Antwerp (2010).

73.

McNair, B.: An introduction to political communication. Routledge, London (2018).

74.

Mancini, P.: Media Fragmentation, Party System, and Democracy. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 18, 43–60 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161212458200.

75.

Coleman, S., Moss, G., Parry, K.: Can the media serve democracy?: essays in honour of Jay G. Blumler. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2015).

76.

Mansell, R., Raboy, M.: The handbook of global media and communication policy. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2011).

77.

Jakubowicz, K., Sükösd, M.: Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective. Intellect, Bristol, UK (2008).

78.

Mattoni, A., Ceccobelli, D.: Comparing hybrid media systems in the digital age: A theoretical framework for analysis. European Journal of Communication. 33, 540–557 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118784831.

79.

Trappel, J., McQuail, D., MyiLibrary, Euromedia Research Group: Media in Europe today. Intellect, Bristol, UK. (2011).

80.

Charles, A.: Media in the enlarged Europe: politics, policy and industry. Intellect Books, Bristol (2009).

81.

Milojević, A., Krstić, A.: Hierarchy of influences on transitional journalism – Corrupting relationships between political, economic and media elites. European Journal of Communication. 33, 37–56 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117750674.

82.

Milutinović, I.: Media ownership and democratic capacity of transitional society: The case of Serbia. European Journal of Communication. 32, 367–380 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117718465.

83.

Moeller, J., de Vreese, C.: The differential role of the media as an agent of political socialization in Europe. European Journal of Communication. 28, 309–325 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323113482447.

Jakubowicz, K., Sükösd, M.: Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective. Intellect, Bristol, UK (2008).

85.

Mutu, A.: The regulatory independence of audiovisual media regulators: A cross-national comparative analysis. European Journal of Communication. 33, 619–638 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118790153.

86.

Nardis, Y.: News, Trust in the European Parliament, and EP Election Voting. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 20, 45–66 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161214556710.

87.

Nielsen, R.K., Esser, F., Levy, D.: Comparative Perspectives on the Changing Business of Journalism and Its Implications for Democracy. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 18, 383–391 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161213497130.

88.

Trappel, J., McQuail, D., MyiLibrary, Euromedia Research Group: Media in Europe today. Intellect, Bristol, UK. (2011).

89.

Klimkiewicz, B.: Media freedom and pluralism: media policy challenges in the enlarged Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2010).

90.

Nisbet, E.C., Stoycheff, E.: Let the People Speak. Communication Research. 40, 720–741 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650211429117.

Nulty, P., Theocharis, Y., Popa, S.A., Parnet, O., Benoit, K.: Social media and political communication in the 2014 elections to the European Parliament. Electoral Studies. 44, 429–444 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.04.014.

92.

Gill, G.J., Young, J. eds: Routledge handbook of Russian politics and society. Routledge, London (2012).

93.

Ognianova, E., Scott, B.: Milton's Paradox. European Journal of Communication. 12, 369–390 (1997). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323197012003004.

94.

Onuch, O.: EuroMaidan Protests in Ukraine: Social Media Versus Social Networks. Problems of Post-Communism. 62, 217–235 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2015.1037676.

95.

Orneberg, H.: Journalistic Autonomy and Professionalisation (Media and Democracy in Central Eastern Europe (MDCEE)),

https://www.rcmediafreedom.eu/Publications/Reports/Media-and-Democracy-in-Central-Eastern-Europe-MDCEE, (2013).

96

Pajnik, M.: Media Populism on the Example of Right-Wing Political Parties' Communication in Slovenia. Problems of Post-Communism. 1–12 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2018.1540275.

97.

Paletz, D.L., Jakubowicz, K.: Business as usual: continuity and change in Central and Eastern European media. Hampton Press, Cresskill, N.J. (2002).

Perez, F.: Political communication in Europe: The cultural and structural limits of the European public sphere. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2013).

99.

Jakubowicz, K., Sükösd, M.: Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective. Intellect, Bristol, UK (2008).

100.

Podesta, D.: Soft censorship: how governments around the globe use money to manipulate the media: a report to the Center for International Media Assistance, https://www.cima.ned.org/resource/soft-censorship-how-governments-around-the-globe-us e-money-to-manipulate-the-media/, (2009).

101.

Politkovska[i]a, A., Tait, A., Kennedy, H.: Nothing but the truth: selected dispatches. Havrill Secker, London (2010).

102.

Price, M.E., Rozumilowicz, B., Verhulst, S.: Media reform: democratizing the media, democratizing the state. Routledge, London (2002).

103

Psychogiopoulou, E.: Understanding media policies: A European perspective. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2012).

104.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., Nowak, E.: Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: concepts and conditions. Intellect, Bristol (2009).

Richter, A.: Post-Soviet Perspective On Censorship and Freedom of the Media. International Communication Gazette. 70, 307–324 (2008). https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048508094291.

106.

Risse-Kappen, T. ed: European public spheres: politics is back. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2015).

107.

Hallin, D.C., Mancini, P.: Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

108.

Sajó, A., Price, M.E.: Rights of access to the media. Kluwer Law International, The Hague (1996).

109.

Savin, N., Kashirskikh, O., Mavletova, A.: Fragility of strong media effects in authoritarian environment (Evidence from Russia). European Journal of Communication. 33, 471–488 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118775305.

110.

Schroeder, R., Ling, R.: Durkheim and Weber on the social implications of new information and communication technologies. New Media & Society. 16, 789–805 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813495157.

111.

van Spanje, J., de Vreese, C.: Europhile Media and Eurosceptic Voting: Effects of News Media Coverage on Eurosceptic Voting in the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections.

Political Communication. 31, 325–354 (2014). https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2013.828137.

112.

Graber, D.A.: Media power in politics. CQ Press, Washington, DC (2011).

113.

Siebert, F.S., Peterson, T., Schramm, W.: Four theories of the press. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, III (1984).

114.

Šimunjak, M.: (De-)personalization of mediated political communication: Comparative analysis of Yugoslavia, Croatia and the United Kingdom from 1945 to 2015. European Journal of Communication. 32, 473–489 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117725972.

115.

Downey, J., Mihelj, S.: Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective: politics, economy and culture. Ashgate Pub. Company, Burlington, Vt (2012).

116.

Splichal, S., Dahlgren, P.: Journalism between de-professionalisation and democratisation. European Journal of Communication. 31, 5–18 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115614196.

117.

Splichal, S., Dahlgren, P.: Journalism between de-professionalisation and democratisation. European Journal of Communication. 31, 5–18 (2016). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115614196.

118.

Stetka, V., Örnebring, H.: Investigative Journalism in Central and Eastern Europe: autonomy, business models and democratic roles. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 18, 413–435 (2013). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161213495921.

119.

Stetka, V.: Media Ownership and Commercial Pressures (Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, final report),

http://www.academia.edu/8562331/Media\_Ownership\_and\_Commercial\_Pressures.\_Final\_R eport\_for\_the\_ERC-funded\_project\_Media\_and\_Democracy\_in\_Central\_and\_Eastern\_Europe, (2013).

120.

Sükösd, M., Bajomi-Lázár, P.: Reinventing media: media policy reform in East-Central Europe. Central European University Press, Budapest (2003).

121.

Trappel, J., McQuail, D., MyiLibrary, Euromedia Research Group: Media in Europe today. Intellect, Bristol, UK. (2011).

122.

Trappel, J., McQuail, D., MyiLibrary, Euromedia Research Group: Media in Europe today. Intellect, Bristol, UK. (2011).

123.

Tucker, J.: Protest in the age of social media: technology and Ukraine's #Euromaidan, https://medium.com/carnegie-corporation-international-peace-and/protest-in-the-age-of-social-media-7ae9fd940b06

124.

Semetko, H.A., Scammell, M.: The SAGE handbook of political communication. SAGE, London (2012).

Tworzecki, H., Semetko, H.A.: Media Uses and Effects in New Democracies: The Case of Poland's 2005 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections. The International Journal of Press/Politics. 15, 155–174 (2010). https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161209360698.

126.

Vaccari, C., Valeriani, A., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Jost, J.T., Nagler, J., Tucker, J.A.: Political Expression and Action on Social Media: Exploring the Relationship Between Lower- and Higher-Threshold Political Activities Among Twitter Users in Italy. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication. 20, 221–239 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12108.

127.

International Encyclopaedia for Media Law - Kluwer Law Online.

128.

Valcke, P.: The Unbearable Lightness of Media Ownership Transparency | MediaObservatory (AS/Cult/Inf (2014) 04), http://mediaobservatory.net/library/unbearable-lightness-media-ownership-transparency, (2014).

129.

Voltmer, K.: Mass media and political communication in new democracies. Routledge, London (2006).

130.

Voltmer, K.: The media in transitional democracies. Polity, Cambridge (2013).

131.

Hallin, D.C., Mancini, P.: Comparing media systems beyond the western world. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

Voltmer, K.: The media in transitional democracies. Polity, Cambridge (2013).

133.

Voltmer, K.: Mass media and political communication in new democracies. Routledge, London (2006).

134.

Watanabe, K.: Measuring news bias: Russia's official news agency ITAR-TASS' coverage of the Ukraine crisis. European Journal of Communication. 32, 224–241 (2017). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117695735.

135.

Voltmer, K.: Mass media and political communication in new democracies. Routledge, London (2006).

136.

Wilkin, P., Dencik, L., Bognár, É.: Digital activism and Hungarian media reform: The case of Milla. European Journal of Communication. 30, 682–697 (2015). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323115595528.

137.

Williams, K.: European media studies. Bloomsbury Academic, London (2011).

138.

Winiarska-Brodowska, M.: Political communication in the EU: Civic potential of new media (case study: Poland). Central European Journal of Communication. 8, 235–246.

Zelizer, B.: Resetting journalism in the aftermath of Brexit and Trump. European Journal of Communication. 33, 140–156 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760318.