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GLOBALIZATION AND MEDIA IMPERIALISM: A CASE STUDY OF THE
SLOVAK REPUBLIC'S TELEVISION MEDIA STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

by

Katarina Kuruc, Hon. B.A. University of Toronto, 2003

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Katarina Kuruc

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Media Structure and Content

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Abstract

An increase in the global circulation of symbolic commodities allows for both new and older forms of mass media to re-construct the ways in which individuals identify with themselves and with their own cultures. The goal of this project was to employ former communist Slovakia as a case study in order to examine the global circulation of symbolic commodities, specifically television programmes. This paper outlines Slovakia's television media structure and its development from the communist era to its current form. Secondly, it employs content analysis and articulation theory as methodologies in order to place Slovakia's television into context with two cultural theory theses; the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis. It was found that the as a result of several historical and political changes, the current conjuncture of Slovakia's television media includes a large number of American entertainment programmes, some domestic productions and a European structure of broadcasting.

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Introduction

With an increase in the global circulation of symbolic commodities, it is evident that both new and older forms of mass media are re-constructing the ways in which individuals identify with themselves as well as with their own and other cultures. As stated by sociologist John Thompson (1995:4), in this new global landscape it is important to understand the ways in which the use of communication media “involves the creation of new forms of action and interaction with the social world, new kinds of social relationships and new ways of relating to others and to oneself”. In the fields of international development and cultural studies, the rise of the worldwide circulation of symbolic commodities such as television programmes has been observed and documented. However, although research concerning notions of globalization and its impact on local cultures has been published most of it has focused specifically on third world and developing nations; few have focused on former communist nations such as former Czechoslovakia. It is problematic that former Eastern Bloc countries’ development, in terms of the global circulation of media products, has not been widely documented as these states can also be considered as ‘developing’ in their own right. After all these nations were virtually shielded from the rest of the world for over four decades and only recently has both the Czech and Slovak television become privatized and part of the Western market-driven system. Having been born in the former communist state and seeing first hand the transformations that a former communist country has undergone in the last two and a half decades, I became fascinated with the way that television media has transformed alongside political changes. In particular, after the fall of the communist regime and the separation of Slovakia from the Czech Republic,

I began to notice significant differences in the content and structure of television programming in Slovakia. I also become aware of what seemed like an increase in foreign programming, predominantly American television shows, on local stations. This observation initiated numerous questions regarding the television landscape in Slovakia. Are foreign programmes a predominant source of television entertainment in Slovakia? If so what nations' programmes are mostly broadcast within the country? Furthermore, I was also interested in seeing what types of programmes were popular and what kind of shows were being produced domestically. However, all of these questions needed to be placed within a theoretical framework. As a result, the objective of this project is two-fold; first this thesis is designed to outline Slovakia's television media structure and its development from the communist era to its current form; secondly, this project employs articulation theory as a methodology in order to place Slovakia's television landscape into context with two cultural theory theses; the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis.

Brief Literature Review and Background

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate both the globalization and media imperialism thesis using Slovakia's television media landscape as a case study. A great deal of literature has been written on both theses, however most focus on developing and third world nations and very little has been documented concerning the former Eastern Bloc countries. The media imperialism thesis states that a one-way flow of Western cultural products exists and media commodities are being exported to developing and 'Eastern' nations (see Banerjee, 2002 and Chadha and Kavoori, 2000). An important aspect that is usually associated with the media imperialism thesis maintains that there is

an “extensive penetration (of non-Western nations) by Western media content, typically in the form of advertising and film and television programming” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 415). Furthermore, the theorists in support of the media imperialism thesis assert that the iniquitous flow of cultural production from Western nations to developing countries results in a situation whereby the media of the advanced capitalist economies are able to substantially influence, if not actually determine, the nature of cultural production and consumption within non-Western nations (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 416). In short, the media imperialism thesis suggests that a ‘cultural homogenization’ of non-western nations is occurring as a result of the one-way flow of Western cultural commodities into non-western cultures (see Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: Banerjee, 2002: Schiller, 1969). Although this thesis is considered outdated by some (see Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: Banerjee, 2002), my initial observation of the television content in Slovakia indicated that this may in fact be the case. As a result, I have employed content analysis to empirically test the number of foreign and domestic programmes that are currently being broadcast in the Slovak Republic in order to determine whether or not the media imperialism thesis, despite the fact that it is considered outmoded, may in fact be relevant to the case of Slovakia.

As discussed, the media imperialism thesis has been criticized “for its reliance on the so-called hypodermic needle model of media effects and its implicit assumption that media content has a direct, unmediated impact on audiences” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 416). As a result of these criticisms, a newer theoretical model has been developed: the globalization thesis. The globalization thesis proposes that “the reception and appropriation of media products are complex social processes in which individuals [...]

actively make sense of messages” (Thompson, 1995:173). Furthermore, the globalization thesis signals a departure from the notion that the West is simply infusing other cultures with media products, instead the theory maintains that the “current global media environment is characterized by a plurality of actors and media flows” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 416). Therefore, some scholars believe that unlike the newer globalization perspective, the media imperialism thesis’ over-deterministic view of the western dominance of non-western cultures is insufficient for the evaluation of the global circulation of media products.

Due to the fact that cultural commodities, especially in the form of television programs, include a multitude of dimensions and are fundamentally connected to economics, politics and development, it is important to study their impact on local cultures. The argument follows that the various products, icons and myths of western pop culture, which are being widely circulated in the rest of the world, have an enormous effect on both the global economy as well as the individual cultures that reside within it (see Kroes, 2000 and Schiller, 1969). It is especially important, therefore, to evaluate the relevance of these theories in the case of the former communist bloc because “western culture has had a seductive attraction in the late Soviet and immediate post-communist period, as it offered a liberating alternative to Soviet-style socialism and responded to consumer and popular culture fantasies” (Forrester et.al. 2004: ix). Moreover, it is imperative to assess the role of television in this case because television has the “capacity to create a common symbolic reference system across large and diverse nations” and it is seen as a “powerful tool, which could be used for the cultural production of a national identity” (Banerjee, 2002: 525). Therefore, this thesis will discuss Slovakia’s past and

present television media landscape and place its content and structure in context with one or both the theses discussed. Furthermore, the nation's political history and its policy framework will be examined as both are intricately tied to Slovakia's media development. Content analysis will be used as a primary empirical methodology in order to ascertain the amount of foreign and domestic content that is currently being broadcast within Slovakia. Finally, articulation theory, as developed by Hall, Laclau and Mouffe will be utilized as a qualitative methodology for determining why and how television media has developed into its current form.

Articulation theory can be understood and utilised as a way of characterizing social formations at specific conjunctures, which help to map out how certain events have occurred and how these may have impacted the current cultural landscape of a particular society. Furthermore, articulation theory allows for various social forces to be examined “in a particular configuration or formation at a particular time, called a *conjuncture* [emphasis added] to produce the structural determinants of a given practice, text or event” (Hartley, 2002:10). The concept originally derives from Marxist analysis, “where it refers to the articulation of different modes of production” (ibid). However, the use of the term has been expanded within the discipline of cultural studies to include articulations of various other cultural phenomena. As Jennifer Daryl Slack (1996:112) maintains, “articulation theory is critical for understanding how cultural theorists conceptualise the world, analyse it and participate in shaping it”.

Cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, has been credited with the expansion of ‘articulation’ as a theoretical framework for cultural studies. Hall (1996) defines articulation in several different ways. Firstly he sees articulation as the “form of the

connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions” (53). However, the meanings that exist and become prevalent as a result of a certain articulation are not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time (ibid). Hall claims that one has to ask: “under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made?” because “the so-called unity of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct, elements which can be re-articulated in different ways because they have no necessary belongingness” (ibid). Therefore, as maintained above by Hall, no ultimate connection of meanings exists within the articulated discourse: but rather relations and links can be re-arranged, or re-articulated, in order to derive different and new meanings.

In addition to articulation’s double meaning, it can also be utilised as a method for conducting cultural analysis. Slack (1996:112) states,

On the one hand, articulation suggests a methodological framework for understanding what cultural study does. On the other hand it provides strategies for undertaking a cultural study, a way of ‘contextualizing’ the object of one’s analysis.

Articulation, as a methodology, provides a way of thinking about structures “of what we know as a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, as fragments in the constitution of what we take to be unities” (ibid). Politically, articulation is away of centering and understanding power relations between the dominant and subordinate. Finally, strategically articulation provides a system for shaping intervention within a particular social formation, conjuncture or context (ibid). Essentially, articulation as both a theory and as a methodology helps to identify and analyse various levels of interaction within a culture at a specific conjecture.

Laclau and Mouffe claim that articulation acts as a link between various concepts and provides an “analysis of any concrete situation or phenomenon which entail the

exploration of complex, multiple and theoretically abstract non-necessary links” (quoted in Slack, 1996: 119). Fundamentally, in the same way that culture is not a linear formation of simplistic relations, theorizing culture cannot be done in reductionist terms. An analysis of any culture must take into account the various complex structures, histories, and relations that are present, as well as the links that bind these elements together. Articulation theory examines these unities; however it does not take for granted that these combinations are constant and permanent. Lawrence Grossberg (1996:157) claims: “culture is never merely a set of practices, technologies or messages, objects whose meaning and identity can be guaranteed by their origin or intrinsic essences.” Therefore, articulation theory is an important tool for analysis as it aims to examine specific cultural phenomena and treats these phenomena as organic and changing entities.

Articulation theory, because it maps out specific historical, cultural and political conjunctures, will be utilized as a theoretical framework in order to determine why and how Slovakia’s television environment developed to its current form. Furthermore articulation is used in order to examine the various hegemonic powers that have been employed within the nation. In order to investigate such phenomena, however, it is important to examine Slovakia’s past and present.

Brief Outline of Slovakia’s History and Current Television Media Landscape:

Historically the Czech Republic and Slovakia have a unique political past that is intrinsically intertwined with, and plays a significant role in, the development of both nations’ current media structure and therefore in order to make assertions about the present state of the media, it is imperative to examine its past. Slovakia and the Czech Republic officially gained independence from one another on January 1st, 1993. Prior to

this date, both countries, Slovakia in particular, have been dominated by powerful political entities such as the Magyars of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the sovereigns of the Habsburg Empire, and during the Second World War, the Nazis of Germany (Mannova, 2000: 187). During World War II, for a brief period of time, Slovakia and the Czech Republic became independent, and both became protectorate states of Nazi Germany. This was a result of the Munich Agreement of September 1939, when several Western nations (Great Britain, Germany, Italy and France), without the participation of any Czechoslovak representatives, “dictated Czechoslovakia’s new frontiers with Germany” (Liptak, 2000: 257). After the war, between 1945 and 1947, both democrats and Communists along with numerous representatives of other political parties held several important political positions; a federation government ruled the nation and a free press existed (276-277). During these years however, a political struggle between the democrats and communists ensued and on February 1947, the Soviet-backed communists gained political power over Czechoslovakia. Aside from the brief “thaw” period of Prague Spring in 1968, the new regime instituted over forty years of communist dictatorship during which the Czechoslovak communist party, who operated under the Soviet Communist hegemony, ruled the country.

Shortly after the 1989 Revolution that signaled the fall of the Communist regime, Czechoslovakia once again separated into two autonomous nations: the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic (Slovakia). During this time, both countries have attempted to create a democratic system of government modeled after the West. One of the most significant changes in both nations has been within their media sector, with the introduction of a free market system that established several commercial television and

radio stations in both Slovakia and the Czech Republic. In May 2003, both nations were accepted in the European Union and several different transformations have been occurring in both countries' political and media sectors as a result. For example, in Slovakia a new Act (Act 308) was created as a result of the nation's new EU membership, which dictates and regulates all audiovisual programming within the nation. Similarly, new laws have been legislated by the EU in both countries that impact the way broadcasting in particular is governed.

In 2001, it was estimated that around 98.9 percent of all Slovak households owned a Television set and about 93 per cent of citizens watch broadcast television in Slovakia (Skolkay, 2004: 207-208). As a result of the considerable access, television remains the most popular medium for the attainment of news, information and entertainment within the nation. Five national channels operate from within the territory of Slovakia, these include: Slovenska Televizia Jednotka (STV1), Slovenska Televizia Dvojka (STV2), Televizia Markiza, TV JOJ and an all-news channel, TA-3. Originally, Czechoslovak Television, which later separated into four different stations (STV1 STV2 and CTV1 and CTV2), was state –run and controlled; however after the fall of the communist regime all four stations were transformed into public service broadcasters. For example, STV1 and STV2 are defined as public television because both are financed by fees, state subsidies, and advertisements as well as by their own “limited business activities”, which include the sales of programming videos (208). STV1 covers 97.3 percent of the Slovak territory and 95.8 percent of the population while STV2 covers 89.4 percent of the territory and 88.7 percent of the population (Skolkay, <<http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/slovakia.html>>). Markiza and JOJ, on the other hand cover less of the

Slovak territory and population: Markiza covers 79 percent of territory and 94 percent of population while TV JOJ covers around 65 percent of territory and 61 percent of population respectively (207). All four channels are terrestrial stations, meaning they do not require cable or satellite connections. Conversely TA-3 is only accessible with cable connection or via digital satellite; as a result its coverage remains low with only 35 percent coverage and 12-14 percent audience share (ibid).

Markiza has been broadcasting in Slovakia since August 1996. Its majority shares are owned by Central European Media Enterprises (CME B.V., Netherlands), which is an American company. CME has the minority 49 percent share of the company while the majority is owned by Slovak shareholders (Skolkay, 2004: 208). TV JOJ is the newest broadcaster within the Slovak television landscape. Since its inception in March 2002, JOJ has increased its coverage and as a result the broadcaster is also becoming a serious competitor to the popular Markiza. JOJ is co-owned by Česká Produkční Invest (Czech Republic, 20 percent), Grafobal Group (Slovakia, 50 per cent) and Vladimír Komár (Czech Republic, 30 percent) (Skolkay, <<http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/slovakia.html>>). TA-3, the all-news broadcasting station has a similar style of programming to CNN and BBC World and has been in operation since September 2001. Its majority owner (60 percent) was the domestic J&T Finance Group, however as of 2002 TA-3 is officially owned by the British company, *Millennium* (208).

As indicated by the statistics provided above, television is an important source of information for the Slovak Republic. As well the media form is, and has been in the past, the primary tool for the dissemination of news, national and cultural knowledge as well as propaganda, especially while Slovakia was under communist rule. Furthermore, due

to the audiovisual nature of television, and the fact that even foreign programmes can be made accessible through dubbing and the use of subtitles, television is an accessible form of entertainment for the masses. It is for these reasons that this project focuses primarily on television media.

Chapter Outlines:

Chapter one acts as a summary for the theoretical framework that this project will utilize for the analysis of Slovak television media. In the first part of this chapter, the body of literature that concerns both the globalization and media imperialism thesis is discussed in detail alongside some of the literature that deals with the media and cultural development of Slovakia. Both the strengths and weakness of both theses are discussed and their relevance to the topic of Slovak television media is considered. In the latter part of the chapter the methodology of articulation is examined and reasons for its usage are discussed.

Chapter two analyses the history of former Czechoslovakia especially in terms of the nation's media development. Three specific historical eras are examined and their media structures are analysed. The three historical periods include; communist Czechoslovakia, Czech and Slovakia after the split (1990's) and finally Slovakia as a current member of the European Union. This part also examines some of the problems that both the Czech Republic and Slovakia's television media faced after the fall of the communist regime. For example, the first Czech private television station, NOVA, is examined in terms of the difficulties the station underwent as a result of the transformations from a state-run media system to a market-driven structure. The same is examined for Slovakia's private broadcaster Markiza.

In addition to a discussion of globalization, media imperialism and Slovakia's history, chapter three uses content analysis as an empirical base in order to guide the research. Content analysis is used to examine the amount of foreign and domestic content shown on television in Slovakia. As Sreberny-Mohammadi maintains,

Content analysis (is) an important component in the armory of studies of international media flows, carried out within wider debates and concerns about a New World Information and Communication Order and about cultural imperialism, development communication and transnational information and image flows (quoted in: Hansen et. al., 1998: 93).

The data for content analysis was gathered from a Slovak publication, *Televizia*, which is similar to the North American *TV Guide*. An important reason for the use of content analysis in this project stems from the fact that the method is a good tool for establishing a quantitative base for the project. The findings from content analysis will enable me to determine whether foreign programming or domestic programming dominates the television broadcasting landscape.

Chapter five examines in depth the policy framework of Slovakia's current television-broadcasting landscape in order to determine the various laws and policies put in place by the European Union. Specifically, ACT308 of the Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission (*Rada Pre Vysielanie a Retransmisiu*) is analysed as this is the newest policy document mandated by the European Union, which governs Slovakia's Television and Radio broadcasting laws. In addition, several different EU and government programs, which help to aid indigenous production in the country, are discussed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. Historically, television media has been impacted greatly by the various political transformations of both the Czech Republic and Slovakia yet it remains one of the most popular forms of media in both countries. As

a result of its significance, this chapter examines how political and regulatory changes have and will impact the television broadcasting landscape specifically in the Slovak Republic.

Finally, chapter six examines Mouffe, Laclau and Stuart Hall's articulation theory as a theoretical context for this research but also as a methodology for the project. Three historic and political conjunctures are identified, which include the communist regime, the fall of communism and the separation of Slovakia from the Czech Republic and finally Slovakia's current European Union status. The prevalent discourses in each conjuncture are identified and their contribution to the development of the nation's media landscape is examined. Lastly both the globalization and media imperialism theses are evaluated in terms of their validity to the case of Slovakia's television media.

Academic Contributions and Conclusion

As a result of the ongoing transformations in both nations, one of the main objectives of this thesis is to test the validity of the two theses discussed; the media imperialism thesis and globalization thesis, especially with regards to their applicability to the example of Slovakia. Although debates surrounding the circulation of media commodities are relevant within the topic of cultural studies, most of these debates are structured around the third world and developing nations. Very little has been written about the Czech Republic and Slovakia's television media development specifically, therefore this project will contribute to this small existing body of literature and provide a different perspective to the globalization and media imperialism theses. Because both nations share a unique political and cultural history, where both politics and the media are closely intertwined, the Czech Republic and Slovakia provide a significant case for the

study of media changes as a result of political transformations. Furthermore, due to the fact that both Slovakia and the Czech Republic have only recently adopted a free-market media system, the nations present a case for analysis that is both new and significant to the current debates on media development. Therefore, an additional objective of this thesis is to add a unique perspective and case study to existing literature that focuses on topics regarding the media development in non-western but also non-third world nations.

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Introduction

The rise of the mediated world, in which different communication technologies play a central role in articulating cultural and societal characteristics of various cultures, has brought about varying debates regarding the effects that certain media have on the development of various nations and societies. Television in particular has inspired discussion mainly because of accessibility and form but also because it is a powerful medium with the ability to inform, entertain and unite different cultures throughout the world. Marshal McLuhan (1962) was one of the first communication theorists to assert that television has a greater impact on populations than the material it communicates because it allows viewers to see themselves as “participants” in a global village (Danesi, 2004: 245). It is for these reasons that television is the central focus of this thesis. Furthermore, due to the fact that former Czechoslovakia has experienced significant changes to its television media landscape as a result of numerous political changes, this case, specifically Slovakia, will also be the focus. It is important to examine television on a global scale due to its ability to impact local as well as global cultures. The main objective of this chapter therefore is to outline and examine the theoretical debates that surround the development of television media in the Slovak Republic. Two theories in particular, the globalization theory and the media imperialism theory, have come to the forefront of academic debate regarding the rise of global circulation of goods, including television programming. In this chapter both theories and the literature surrounding them, will be explained and evaluated in order to determine which can be applied to the case of Slovakia.

For the reason that very little has been written about Slovakia's television media development, this paper also aims to contribute to the existing small body of literature that focuses on the nation's television media landscape. As well, this chapter will outline the methodological and theoretical framework that guides this research. In particular, articulation theory, as developed by Mouffe and Lacau and Stuart Hall will be outlined and discussed.

Czech and Slovakia's Literature

Most of the available literature that discusses the development of Czech and Slovak's media and culture focuses predominantly on both nations' transformations shortly after the fall of the communist regime (see Krainak:2004, Houston:2004, Forrester:2004). Very little deals with how both countries' television media is currently transforming. More importantly, only a small amount of literature focuses on topics that concentrate on the implications of the global circulation of goods within former communist Czechoslovakia especially with regards to the globalization and media imperialism theses. The majority of literature that concentrates on the globalization and media imperialism theses tends to examine developing Asian and African nations and their corresponding media structures (see Banerjee: 2002 and Chadha and Kavoori: 2000). As a result, the importance of examining post-communist bloc countries, such as Slovakia and the Czech Republic, resides in the fact that as a result of their long isolation from the rest of the world these nations are just as vulnerable to the potential effects of the global circulation of goods as are many third-world or developing nations in Asia and Africa. As Forrester (2004: ix) claims; "the East, formerly closed towards the West, have

opened to all the excesses of Western-style multinational capitalism, as well as to new freedoms and re-definitions of self and nationality”.

The existing literature which focuses on the post-communist bloc tends to concentrate primarily on how each country transformed as a result of the fall of the communist regime. Jones (2001), for example, discusses how journalists had a hard time adjusting and adapting to the changes that were brought about by the dissolution of the communist government. He claims that although the nation was liberated, Czechoslovakia was so far behind the West in terms of cultural and technological development that it was not prepared for the transition. For example, journalists were unfamiliar with the plurality of the Western media; therefore, instead of learning the media model of the West, individuals attained an idealized image of the West. Journalists, for the most part, failed to understand that a “pluralist debate and not mere anti-Communism is the basis of Western democratic society” (629). After decades of exposure to only communist censorship and propaganda, it was difficult for journalists to get accustomed to doing anything other than the dissemination of ideology. While the new ideology that was forming among the populace was different from the Communist ideals, journalists were not reporting, but rather criticizing Communism. Jones writes,

After the fall of Communism many journalists simply switched sides- where they once generated propaganda for the Communist regime- they now uncritically supported the anti-Communist government” (ibid).

Urban (1999:23) delves further into this phenomenon and claims that “the media started to do politics instead of reporting information” and the press “turned everything into ideology and offered only preformed opinions, instead of objective presentation of facts and context”. These practices became problematic as many journalists believed that they

were adopting a seemingly ‘democratic’ Western system of broadcasting however very few were critical of its short-comings.

In addition to having to adapt to press transformations within the nation, Czech and Slovak media content began to alter as well. Sokolova (2004), for example, discusses how the representations of sexuality began to surface in the post-communist Czechoslovak media. She claims that during communism, official discussions of sexuality on television “focused almost exclusively on reproduction and family planning [...] and was either represented through officially sanctioned channels or not represented at all” (253-254). As a result, once the iron curtain was dissolved and people were not constrained by its rules, sexual content on television became predominant. Sokolova states that as a result of the changes in the media landscape and structure “television competed to draw in potential audiences, using images and themes previously forbidden under communism was the most successful way to grab viewers’ attention,” this included advertisements that depicted provocative images of women and television programmes that discussed and displayed sexual acts (253). Furthermore, she claims that “almost all representations of sexuality were taken as novel and as expressions of freedom”, since prior to 1989 official discussions of sex and sexuality were deemed as inappropriate (ibid). The newfound ‘sexual freedom’ in the media brought about new ways in which television content was produced and broadcast.

Forrester et.al. (2004: ix) discusses the ways in which the East was perceived by the West after the fall of the Communist regime. She claims that the “the greater freedom of public discourse in Eastern Europe has allowed shifts in values and cultural alliances to emerge clearly.” Furthermore the “interchanges between East and West, once cramped

by diplomatic stiffness or the finalities of emigration have grown more fluid” (ibid).

Although for the most part these changes are considered as positive, Forrester argues that many of the Eastern Bloc nations are still struggling to adapt to the new market-capitalist system while at the same time these nations are also trying to shed a certain image of themselves that the West has awarded them. She suggests that “the system (communism) that denied its citizens political or moral adulthood” has been “cast into the world of market capitalism” where the only new knowledge may be a consumer good or merely a political idea (14). This was particularly seen during the early 1990’s with “an unprecedented rise of mass-produced images, especially pornography and violence, which reached the East, previously circumspect in such matters” (20). Furthermore, due to the fact that the East was virtually closed off from the rest of the world insinuates that Communist Bloc nations did not develop intellectually, economically and technologically alongside the West. As a result these countries are perceived as “pre-modern and a drag on the continents’ (Europe) progress” (12). Because of the image that the East has been awarded as a result of its political and historical circumstances, “the real challenge of East-West discourse lies in finding a common point of reference” rather than “suggesting that the East should learn Western norms” (16).

Media Imperialism- An Outline

It is hard to ignore that as a result of the increasing availability of new information technology, there is also a rise in the distribution of various cultural commodities; what remains unclear however is how various cultures are adopting and adapting to the proliferation of foreign content and symbolic goods. Although on one hand it would seem that the flow of information and goods throughout the world is

repressing indigenous cultural production, another tenet remains that there are benefits to the world-wide accessibility of global cultural products. The media imperialism thesis suggests the former and points out that the growing influx of particularly Western commodities is problematic in the sense that it impedes indigenous production and propagates Western ideals of consumer consumption. In short, the media imperialism model argues that:

the one-way flow of media products and services from the industrial countries (...) undermined their (other) cultures, morals and values (...) The central argument of the cultural imperialism thesis is that cultural domination of the West is established and reinforced through its increased dissemination through the mass media (Banerjee: 2002:519).

The advocates of this theory view the disparity of cultural flows as a project of Western domination over the rest of the world. Furthermore, media imperialism claims that “globalization leads to an increasing hegemony of particular central cultures which bring along all other cultures into their ambit through the diffusion of specific values, consumer goods and lifestyles” (ibid). Essentially, this view holds that Western cultural products, specifically media commodities, are displacing local production and creativity.

According to Tomlinson (1997), the media imperialism theory is based upon three “historical politico-economic arguments and empirical observations” (as quoted in Banerjee, 2002: 520). Banerjee summarizes these observations as follows: firstly, there seems to be increasing evidence that the information and messages that Western media is circulating are initiating an increased interest in Western style consumerism and tastes. In turn, it “becomes evident that the practices and values of the culturally dominant nations are increasingly influencing our everyday lives” (519-520). The concentration on Western ideals indicates the uneven distribution of power “where influence flows from the centres of cultural production to the peripheries” (ibid). The second argument for

media imperialism stems from colonialist theory. Because the West has a long history of colonization of the developing world, it follows that this has been extended to modern society as well. Banerjee argues that because of the West's colonialist past, its history serves as an important base for understanding contemporary issues of media domination.

She suggests:

This historical relation (colonizing West) provides a strong basis for understanding the cultural as well as politico-economic globalization. The uneven- and even dramatically lopsided- power geometry of globalization thus supports the hegemonic foundations of cultural imperialism thesis (ibid).

Lastly, it is assumed that cultural practices are intrinsically connected to capitalism; for this reason it is believed that “culture is inextricably linked to the expansion of a capitalist production system and market” (ibid). Due to the fact that there seems to be a relationship between culture and capitalism it follows that cultural dominance of the West is an extension of its economic dominance. Banerjee expands on this and claims that the “order of capitalist transnational practices is not only seen to threaten the political and economic autonomy of nation states but also their cultural sovereignty, identity, and value systems” (ibid). Banerjee's adaptation of Tomlinson's three observations and arguments act as the backbone for the media imperialism thesis and provide support for the implications of the widespread movement of media information and messages.

Herbert Schiller (1969) suggests that media imperialism is largely a result of the “growing dominance of American power in the international arena” that has been on the increase since the Second World War (as quoted in Thompson, 1995:165). Schiller points out that the increased supremacy of American power in the global market is based on two important factors: economic strength and the innovative initiatives of communication technology development within the US. He believes that these two important factors have

enabled the United States communication structure and content to emerge as a model for developing nations (93).

Schiller (1969: 85) argues that the American commercial system of broadcasting not only disseminates consumerist notions to local cultures, but also sets the tone for television programming throughout world. This is problematic because local cultures become reliant on American styles of broadcasting and also on the structures and content that these models provide. “The result is an ‘electronic invasion’ which threatens to destroy local traditions and to submerge the cultural heritage of less developed countries beneath the flood of TV programmes and other media products emanating from a few power centers in the West” (Thompson, 1995: 166). This argument seems plausible especially when one considers that entertainment in the form of movies and television programming is a significant US export¹ (see Grant and Wood, 2004). Schiller claims that “the United States is by far the most important of the few states capable of exporting television material” mainly because “the program suppliers are willing to distribute their wares at lower than production costs” (111). As a result of this practice, referred to as “dumping”, Schiller argues that this “further discourages domestic program production in all but the richest countries” (ibid). As Thompson proposes, “Schiller’s argument brings sharply into focus the enormous financial constraints faced by [developing nations] seeking to develop their own communication systems” (166). For example, in 1983 the British Government Home Office and Department of Industry, (Noam, 1993: 42) outlined an argument that explained the economics behind opting for American programming as opposed to domestic programs. The document supported the notion that

¹ “American movies have typically commanded 80% (and often much more) of world big-screen revenue; US television fiction programmes a 70% share” (Grant and Wood, 2004: 32).

American programming is significantly cheaper and therefore more attractive for nations to purchase because the creation of indigenous television productions is considerably more expensive. It states:

...an hour of original material can range from 20,000 pounds for a current affairs programme to 200,000 pounds for drama (or even more in the case of prestige product). Purchased material from the USA, where production costs have already been largely if not wholly recovered from the domestic market, can be obtained by the broadcasters for as little as 2,000 pounds an hour (quoted in Noam, 1993: 42).

These economics, in turn, make the purchase and importation of cheaper American programming seem more attractive.

Although Schiller brings forth some valid claims regarding notions of media imperialism, Thompson (1995) points out that Schiller's analysis is economically deterministic and contains unwarranted assumptions regarding audience and cultural reception of foreign programming. Firstly, Thompson suggests that "Schiller's argument was originally developed at a time when American hegemony in the global system seemed -at least to some observers- to be self-evident and secure" (167). Although relatively powerful in the global arena of communication technologies, the dominant position of the US is slowly being challenged by some nations in Western Europe and Asia, such as countries like Japan, as these are also developing their own unique media products. For example, although it seems obvious that American particularly Hollywood, films dominate the market, very few realize that a number of 'American' films are financed by outside interests, are not made within the US and sometimes even the crews and the actors are not of American origin (Braman, 1996: 26).

Thompson (1995:167) further asserts that Schiller's arguments do not take into account other forms of control such as symbolic power. Symbolic power, according to

Thompson “stems from the activity of producing, transmitting and receiving meaningful symbolic forms” (ibid), therefore symbolic institutions include cultural institutions such as schools, churches etc. Thompson claims that Schiller ignores this type of power in favour of economic forms of domination as the main driving force behind America’s imperialism of the rest of the world. He argues that since the post Cold War period “relations of political, coercive and symbolic power” (ibid) have shifted and become more complex than Schiller’s initial analysis allows. For example, the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc and the disintegration of the communist regime in Eastern Europe, have produced a new environment in Europe in general. Thompson claims that as a result of the collapse of Soviet hegemony over Eastern Europe, “supranational bodies such as the United Nations and the European Commission are playing an increasing role in international affairs” (ibid). Moreover, with the inauguration of the European Union, European coalitions are exercising more power within their own domain - power that has an impact in the rest of the world.

Correspondingly, Roudometof and Robertson (1998) claim that the meanings that are derived from these altered forms of foreign culture, although articulated differently across societies are nonetheless infused with Western ideologies, which are not inherent to these cultures. They maintain:

American capitalism involves a colonisation of the ‘imaginary’, that is a particular ordering of the ways in which actors think about the world and themselves... Therefore, the social transformation of local societies, their transition from their own tradition to their own particular modernity, becomes a matter of experiencing and acting out in an American way” (188-189).

In essence, both Schiller (1969) and Roudometof and Robertson suggest that although it is important to acknowledge that cultures are not simply mindless masses (which some theories of globalisation would have us believe) it is also imperative to understand that

when powerful foreign bodies enter the local environment that environment may in fact be transformed. Nevertheless, Thompson (1995:168) maintains that the media imperialism thesis is “simply too rigid and one-dimensional to do justice to a global situation which is in considerable flux”.

Schiller’s initial work on media imperialism comes out of an era where American world domination seemed inevitable and although much has changed his recent writings persist with this line of thought. Schiller (1991) suggests that while the economic power of the US has changed in the last few decades, the world-wide influence of American cultural and media products has not been weakened. In fact, Schiller refutes Thompson’s criticism of the European rise of power and suggests that with the decline of communism in Eastern Europe combined with the failure of UNESCO-based attempts to create a new information order, American hegemony has become even more prominent (169). Although Schiller recognizes the shifts in economic power away from the US, he is adamant that American media imperialism is a powerful source for the cultural domination of other countries. In fact, he insists that American media imperialism has become a form of “transnational corporate cultural domination” (120).

An additional criticism of the media imperialism model is its assumption that global audiences are passive. The thesis assumes a “hypodermic needle” approach, which stipulates that mass media are so influential that they can 'inject' messages into their audiences. The model assumes that an audience is passive and will assimilate all messages in the same way regardless of culture or individual circumstance (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 416). The media imperialist model, with its reliance on the ‘hypodermic needle’ approach, presupposes a one-way flow of products from the West to the rest of

the world: a world in which audiences do not produce their own meanings from the various messages which are broadcast, but accept all information without question or critique. As a result, a number of theorists agree that the media imperialism thesis treats “cultural processes as simplistic, linear, unidirectional conceptions” (Banerjee: 2002: 520- 521).

Along with the assumption that the West simply infuses passive audiences with their own messages and meanings, it has also been argued that the media imperialism thesis presumes that developing nations, at one point, had an authentic and indigenous culture (Thompson, 1995: 169). Schiller (1969:109) explains this notion further by stating that as a result of an ‘electronic invasion’ of information from the West, “the cultural integrity of weak societies whose national, regional, local or tribal heritages are beginning to be menaced with extinction by the extension of modern electronic communications, television in particular”. However, Thompson argues against this point and suggests that the intervention of Western cultures through the media is not as straightforward as Schiller would like us to believe. He states that the interaction that occurs between the West and other nations involves a “complex process of adaptation and incorporation whereby extraneous values and beliefs are adapted by new conditions, selectively appropriated by indigenous populations and gradually interwoven with pre-existing traditions and practices” (170). Furthermore, Thompson claims that there is no such thing as a pure and untainted culture to begin with and different cultures always interact with each other; therefore American media alone cannot be blamed for the contamination of local cultures in other countries (170). Braman (1996) extends this

important point and asserts that the imperialism thesis is problematic on many accounts.

She states:

The cultural imperialism argument, which understands the diffusion of cultural products as globalizing exercises of particular nation-states, is such an analysis of dynamics of capital accumulation within specific industries that *only* (emphasis added) focuses on the negative effects, including the destruction of local cultures and values and the homogenization of cultural forms (26).

Although the media imperialism thesis presents an interesting perspective on the topic of global exchange of cultural commodities, it is also important to consider to what *extent* foreign cultural products are impacting a particular local culture. As Banerjee (2002) asserts, some cultures have been active in both adopting and adapting various American cultural commodities (specifically television programs) and have created their own hybrid versions. This has been viewed as an empowering practice for nations that have been inundated with US popular cultural products. The alternative argument for the implications of the worldwide exchange of goods, the globalization thesis, is outlined below.

Globalization- A New Perspective

As a result of the shortcomings of the media imperialism thesis, cultural theorists believe that another, less deterministic theory is needed in order to theorize the implications of the increasing global circulation of media products. More recently, a theory known as the cultural globalization thesis has gained popularity in its challenge of the 'rigid' cultural imperialism perspective. In essence, the cultural globalization model stipulates that cultures are not static entities which simply absorb foreign media commodities without any critical consideration for the outcome, but rather they are fluid, adaptable and questioning entities that freely re-arrange and re-combine the bits and pieces of outside culture that are imposed upon them (Kroes, 2000: 282). Lawrence

Grossberg (1996: 157) maintains that cultural practices are signifying practices, where meanings are not imbedded in the texts themselves, but they are the active products of the texts' social articulation, and "of the web of connotations and codes into which it (meaning) is inserted". Therefore, it follows that every culture, individual and group within a specific culture, will articulate their experiences differently based on their social position and historical and personal background. For the cultural globalization thesis, this is an important consideration when analyzing various cultural practices because ignoring local articulations of global foreign imports can render an analysis biased and incomplete. The media imperialism model argues for a one-way flow of media products in which media commodities from the west are displacing, and in some cases diminishing, local production and local cultural practices. The globalization thesis on the other hand claims that local negotiation of meaning and production is occurring within cultures, thus even displacement of media production does not imply an erasure of local practices. In this approach, globalization is viewed as a dialectic phenomenon in that it entails the interpretation of "particularism and universalism rather than the supposed triumph of Western universalism over local particularisms" (Roudometof and Robertson, 1998: 187). Banerjee (2002: 521) states that with this approach "cultural processes are considered as a dialectic, which involves simultaneously globalizing tendencies and local involvement, cultural practices and dynamics".

Thompson (1996: 173) suggests that it is necessary to develop an alternative framework which "takes into account both the structural character of global communication and the conceptualized, hermeneutic character of the reception process". Consequently, as the globalization theory suggests, it is imperative to analyze the

interaction between the ways that global communication operates and the local environment in which messages are integrated. Thompson states:

The appropriation of media products is always a localized phenomenon, in the sense that it always involves specific individuals who are situated in particular social-historical contexts, and who draw on the resources available to them in order to make sense of the media messages and incorporate them into their lives (174).

Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996:2) expands this point and maintains that unlike the media imperialism thesis, which does not account for complexities within cultures, the theory of globalization is multidimensional and “implies both actual changes in the real world, as well as a new theoretical conception of that world” that views the exchange of commercial and media products as a dialectical relationship.

Appadurai (1996) also proposes that the increased diffusion of global goods must be viewed as a complex process of exchange as opposed to a one-way flow between the West and the rest of the world. Appadurai (1996: 32) maintains that the main problem with the global exchange of commodities resides in the creation of “tensions and disjunctures” that happen “between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization” and “most often the homogenization argument subspecies into either an argument about Americanization or an argument about commoditization”. The problem that arises as a result is reflective of “a fear of cultural absorption by politics of larger scale” (ibid). Appadurai further argues that the “new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order” that should examine “certain fundamental disjunctures between economy, culture and politics” (32-33). As a result, he proposes a framework for the globalization thesis, in which he outlines five “scapes” of global interaction: the ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape, mediascape, and ideoscape (ibid). Each of these scapes contributes to the explanation of how foreign information is

disseminated and appropriated within a culture. “For Appadurai, their (the scapes’) interactions create conjunctures and differences” within a given society and outline the circumstances under which messages are dispersed (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996: 7). Appadurai expands and explains these scapes in more detail in order to provide a clear understanding of what each scape is and how it contributes to the complex process of globalization. For example Appadurai describes the technoscape means the “the global configuration of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (34). The mediascape, on the other hand, refers to both the “distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information and to the images of the world created by these media (35). All of these scapes contribute and influence the ways that messages and foreign content is distributed, understood and appropriated. For instance the ethnoscape, which consists of individuals travelling and migrating from one culture to another allows for a variety of experiences and ideas to circulate freely; these experiences and ideas influence the ways in which messages are understood and have “contributed to the emergence of new theoretical perspectives” within a given culture (Banerjee, 2002: 522). Furthermore, the notion of an ethnoscape signifies that not only are media messages being exchanged on a global scale, but ideas and information from various people are also impacting cultural development. In short, Appadurai’s contribution to the globalization thesis outlines the various complex elements that have to be taken into account when analysing the multifaceted process of global information exchange.

Banerjee (2002) demonstrates the importance of looking at globalization as a complex system of exchange. She states:

By situating the complex interconnections between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals at the centre of its construct, globalization theory challenges established beliefs and ideas in social, cultural and political theory (522).

Although Banerjee agrees that “the global market for commodities has been characterized by profound imbalances in global cultural flows and in the world trade in cultural commodities” (517), she argues that the implications of the current media landscape “are not as damaging for local and national cultures as many theorists have claimed” (ibid). By making specific references to television media systems, Banerjee outlines three main arguments against the media imperialism thesis. Firstly, she claims that “recent critical and theoretical analyses of media and their culture reveal that cultural change has to be understood as a dynamic articulation between local and transcultural forces” (158). Subsequently, the one-way flow model inherent in the media imperialism thesis is insufficient because it does not take into account the complex and multifaceted interactions within a culture. Secondly, Banerjee argues that cultures are “far more resilient” because “they find numerous ways to diffuse and rejuvenate themselves” (ibid). Finally, Banerjee argues that “recent developments in broadcasting across the world²” have made it clear that there is also an increase in the growth of “local and regional television production and programming over the past few years” (ibid). The three explanations outlined above provide a framework for Banerjee’s argument that audiences in different cultures are not simply being infused with Western information without

² In this article Banerjee focuses solely on Television media within Asia, therefore the last of her arguments does not necessarily apply to the case of Slovakia. It is my intention to determine whether local and regional markets are emerging within Slovakia in this thesis.

critically examining the messages that are disseminated. On the contrary, Banerjee challenges the notion that audiences are passive recipients of foreign programming and emphasizes the essential function that audiences have in the consumption, reception and understanding of global cultural content. She states that although the issue is still open to debate, “various audiences interpret the same media messages in fundamentally different ways” (522). The reason behind the varied reception and appropriation of foreign messages stems from the fact that “media users tend to selectively assimilate media messages and this process of selection and interpretation is deeply influenced by any audience’s or individual’s own specific cultural perceptions and experiences” (ibid).

In order to investigate which of the theses, globalization or media imperialism, is applicable to the case of Slovakia an investigative framework was needed in order to evaluate both theories. As a result articulation theory as a methodology is employed in order to map out various significant conjunctures in Slovakia’s past and present in order to assess which of the two theses is applicable.

Articulation Theory- An Overview

In order to investigate articulation theory as a possible theoretical framework and methodology, it is imperative to define the concept and explore its relevance and significance within the topic of globalization. The concept originally derives from Marxist analysis, “where it refers to the articulation of different modes of production” (Hartley, 2002:10). However, the use of the term has been expanded within the discipline of cultural studies to include articulations of various other cultural phenomena. Articulation theory was developed in order to break free from older essentialist and reductionist theories, such as the media imperialism debate, which no longer provide

adequate explanations of cultural events. Jennifer Daryl Slack maintains, articulation theory “is critical for understanding how cultural theorists conceptualise the world, analyse it and participate in shaping it” (Slack, 1996: 112).

Articulation can be defined in several different ways. Linguistically it is a word that refers to the ability one has to clearly express and verbalise certain concepts or ideas. Within cultural studies, however, this term has adopted a separate significance. The cultural studies adaptation of ‘articulation’ as a theoretical construct originated as a metaphor from a British vehicle known as the ‘articulated truck’. The articulated truck is a British automobile where the front can, but need not necessarily be connected to one another. Essentially “the two parts, front and back, are connected to each other, but through a specific linkage that can be broken” (Hall, 1996:141). Therefore, articulation (the word) suggests a joining of parts to make a unity (Slack, 1996: 115). However, this unity is not necessarily permanent or indestructible but rather it is one in which different elements can be attached and joined together in order to create new combinations and meanings. Expanding this notion further, “articulation is then, not just a thing (not just a connection) but a process of creating connections” (114). Hence, within cultural studies the concept of articulation can be expanded to both theorising about various cultural phenomena, and used as a methodological tool for conducting research.

Stuart Hall (1996) has been credited with the expansion of ‘articulation’ as a theoretical construction for cultural studies. Although Hall was not the first thinker to use the notion of articulation in his work, my research will mainly focus on his adaptation of the concept. Hall defines articulation in several different ways. Firstly he sees articulation as:

The form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made? The so-called unity of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct, elements which can be re-articulated in different ways because they have no necessary belongingness (53).

Therefore, as maintained above, no ultimate connection of meanings exists within the articulated discourse: but rather connections and links can be re-arranged, or re-articulated, in order to derive new and different meanings. More importantly, in addition to the term's double meaning (linguistic and theoretical), articulation can also be utilised as a method for conducting cultural analysis. Jennifer Daryl Slack (1996:112) states,

On the one hand, articulation suggests a methodological framework for understanding what cultural study does. On the other hand it provides strategies for undertaking a cultural study, a way of 'contextualizing' the object of one's analysis.

Furthermore, articulation functions at different levels and in different forms and it can be subdivided into three different planes: epistemological, political, and strategic.

Epistemologically, articulation provides a way of thinking about structures "of what we know as a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, as fragments in the constitution of what we take to be unities" (ibid). Politically, articulation is a way of centering and understanding power relations between the dominant and subordinate (ibid). Finally, strategically articulation provides a system for shaping intervention within a particular social formation, conjuncture or context (ibid). Essentially, articulation as both a theory and as a methodology helps to identify and analyse various levels of interaction, as opposed to only enabling the examination of simplified one-to-one associations.

Ernesto Laclau has also made significant contributions to the development of articulation theory. Laclau claims that articulation acts as a link between various concepts

and an “analysis of any concrete situation or phenomenon entails the exploration of complex, multiple and theoretically abstract non-necessary links” (quoted in Slack, 1996: 119). Fundamentally, in the same way that culture is not a linear formation of simplistic relations, theorising culture cannot be done in reductionist terms. An analysis of any culture must take into account the various complex structures, histories, and relations that are present, as well as the links that bind these elements together. Articulation theory examines these unities; however it does not take for granted that these combinations are constant and permanent. Lawrence Grossberg (1996:157) claims: “culture is never merely a set of practices, technologies or messages, objects whose meaning and identity can be guaranteed by their origin or intrinsic essences”. Therefore, a theory that aims to examine a specific culture must treat it as an organic and changing entity.

Articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come to cohere together within a discourse, as well as a way of asking how these separate elements become articulated at specific points in time (Hall, 1996: 141). Thus, when applying articulation theory to a specific cultural analysis, an examination of the connections between different practices is considered. Grossberg (1996: 157) maintains that cultural practices are signifying practices, where meanings are not in the texts themselves, but they are the active products of the texts’ social articulation, and “of the web of connotations and codes into which it (meaning) is inserted”. Therefore, every culture, individual and group within a specific culture, will articulate their experiences differently based on their social position and historical and personal background. This aspect of cultural observation is imperative and ignoring it can render a cultural analysis

incomplete. To take this idea even further, Hall (1996:137) maintains that within postmodernism an ultimate signified is no longer present and therefore:

We are in a period of infinite multiplicity of codings. We are in the middle of this multiplicity of readings and discourses and that has produced new forms of self-consciousness and reflexivity.

Consequently, in a world where there is no one supreme signified, only a fusion of signifiers, definitive meanings also become replaced with a multitude of representations and articulations. As a result, when a cultural analysis occurs, it is no longer possible to examine meanings using a “hypodermic needle” approach. Instead, various local and cultural articulations have to be analysed in order to derive their significance.

Articulation and Hegemony

Closely tied to the concept of articulation is Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony. Gramsci’s construction of hegemony can be defined as a process whereby the dominant classes maintain their power over the subordinate groups by presenting their own definitions of reality in such a way that it is accepted as common sense by the masses. In other words, as stated by Williams (1977:110), hegemony is “a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole living; it is a lived system of meanings and values, constitutive and constituting”. Therefore, hegemony “refers to a situation in which a provisional alliance of certain social groups can exert total social authority over other subordinate groups” (Hebdige, 1979: 16). However, the way in which hegemony is established and imposed is through consensus rather than through force and its authority over subordinate groups is effective *not* as a result of “coercion or by direct imposition of ruling ideas” but rather by “winning and shaping consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural” (ibid). According to Gramsci (1971: 52-53), the struggle of subaltern groups to establish a dominant position is

virtually impossible on the basis that ruling classes manipulate public opinion and establish it as *common sense*. As a result, any group who attempts to create an alternative view within dominant discourse becomes marginalized. Essentially, the totality and power of hegemony is such that it is rarely perceived as control, but rather it is considered to be normal.

Similarly to the construction of articulation, in which the struggle over the creation of meaning is constant, hegemony is also an active construct; meaning it continuously has to be re-articulated and renewed in order to be sustained as a form of dominance. Hall (1996:161) maintains that in order to understand the notion of hegemonic rule, it is important to observe “the domain of cultural forms and activities as a constantly changing field” and to examine “the relations which constantly structure this field into dominant and subordinate formations”. By looking at the practices by “which these relations of dominance and subordination are articulated” one can then place “at its centre the changing and uneven relations of force which define the field of culture” (ibid). Due to the fact that hegemony is an ever-changing phenomenon it is difficult to predict the emergence of new forms of cultural power. Furthermore, although Gramsci emphasizes the need for the creation of an alternative hegemony, Williams (1977:110-114) saw the difficulty in defining and illustrating counter-hegemonic forces because he believed that in practice, they are part of the overall hegemonic process, which is constantly re-inventing and re-articulating itself. Consequently, the power of the dominant classes resides in their ability to renew and at the same time preserve and retain hegemony in such a way as to gain the subordinate groups’ consent to cultural domination. In contemporary society, this is usually accomplished through the use of the

media because the media is a place for the competition between rival social forces, while at the same time it serves as a channel for the proliferation of dominant ideology.

According to Gramsci it is important to consider that there is never a single dominant class but rather a varying alliance of social classes that assert their hegemony onto varying subordinate classes. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:47-48) insist that although struggles between various class ideologies do exist, “which occur when different identities mutually exclude each other” and “can be found where discourses collide,” these are usually “dissolved through hegemonic interventions”. As a result of particular articulations at particular historical moments, “certain discourses can seem natural and be relatively uncontested” (47). In the case of communist Czechoslovakia, for example, due to the fact that the media (which in this case includes television, print etc.) was owned and controlled by the state and was both the most popular and powerful tool for the dissemination of ideology, hegemonic intervention was used in order to achieve a particular set of fixed meanings which catered to the communist ideology of that period. As Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:48) suggest, “hegemonic intervention naturalizes a particular articulation” in such a way that “one discourse is undermined from the discursive field from which another discourse overpowers it, or rather dissolves it, by re-articulating its elements”. In this sense, the ruling group (the communists in this case) articulated their own conceptions of ‘common sense’, a communist hegemony, through the media and for a long period of time these conceptions remained for the most part unquestioned.

Conclusion

Within the theoretical discourse that surrounds the global circulation of media products and commodities, two diverging theses exist. The media imperialism model maintains that global circulation of symbolic commodities involves a growing homogenisation of local cultures, “a trend closely related to capitalism on a global scale, and the concomitant subordination and erosion of local difference” (Roudometof and Robertson, 1998: 187). On the other hand, globalization is viewed as a dialectical phenomenon in that it entails a “dialectic, which involves simultaneously globalizing tendencies and local involvement, cultural practices and dynamics” (Banerjee, 2002: 521). More specifically, globalization materialises in different forms and in different settings and although it renders different effects within these sites, how each culture articulates meanings vary from society to society. Therefore, although Western values can be adopted, appropriated and infused with local meaning within a culture, the meanings derived from Western commodities can be articulated in various different forms. In essence, articulation, in its role in globalization, joins the global (usually Western) and local into a new configuration. This new construction is reconciled within the local space, but it is a local space that has been altered by the globalizing force. Furthermore, when using the theory of articulation as a framework and a methodology, it is important to be aware that the meanings that are articulated and derived may not be indigenous ones. Rather these meanings have been appropriated and adopted from an outside source, “as globalization involves the reorganization of human experience” (Roudometof and Robertson, 1998: 184). In addition, an examination of local articulation can uncover the connections that are made between original indigenous meanings and re-

articulated foreign content. Within this project, articulation methodology will be used in order to analyze the hegemonic meanings that have constructed various social, political and historical circumstances that have been instrumental in creating the current media structure and content. As well, the two theories discussed will be evaluated in terms of their significance to the case of Slovakia.

Chapter Two: Historical Analysis

Introduction

Harold Innis (1972) has argued that media plays a fundamental role in shaping culture and that those who control the media also have the power to influence knowledge and the ways in which culture takes shape. From 1948 to 1989, during the communist regime, all forms of media in Czechoslovakia were controlled by the state. This signified that the majority of information accessible to people was in the form of communist propaganda. The Soviet media model, which the Czechoslovakian Communist government adopted, produced “a justification for a rigidly centralised, rigidly controlled, wholly politicised and entirely propagandist media” (Sparks, 2000. p.38). The collapse of the communist regime in Eastern Europe signified a collapse of the centralised control over communications by the state and “the media systems that have emerged over the past decade, therefore have been fundamental to defining post-communist politics and culture” (Giles et.al., 2001: xiv). This chapter examines the transition of former Czechoslovakia from the communist era to the current post-communist condition. It explores the role that the West played, and presently plays, in the structuring of media models for both Slovakia and the Czech Republic. I argue that the shift towards the free-market model of both the Czech and Slovak media systems has been problematic and as a result of their membership into the European Union both nations’ media are still in the process of change.

In 1992 Czechoslovakia separated into two autonomous countries and these two nations’ media systems developed independently of each other; as a result of this change the latter focus of this chapter is on the separate development of television media in both countries. It should be noted that in order to effectively analyze the progression of the

television organization in Czechoslovakia, a historical analysis of both countries' general media structures is imperative for establishing how and why certain changes have occurred.

Brief History of Czechoslovakia before the Communist Regime

Prior to 1918, Slovakia was a province of the Hungarian empire and had never experienced an independent state status or freedom from Hungarian control. However, the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 and the “declaration of the Slovak National Council” on October 30th, 1918 signified Slovakia’s “will to separate from the old kingdom of Hungary and created a common state with the Czechs” (Liptak, 2000: 241). In 1928 the dissolution of the old governing structure and the re-organization of the public administration, enabled the establishment of a provincial system in Slovakia. As a result, Slovakia became a province of Czechoslovakia; a political and administrative entity represented by a provincial office which was presided over by a provincial president (246-248). This form of government existed until the Second World War when Nazi Germany gained control over the nation and Slovakia officially became Nazi territory. As a result of its geographical location, Czechoslovakia was a target for Germany. On September 29th, 1938, the leaders of Great Britain, France, and Italy, without the participation of Czechoslovakia itself, signed the Munich Agreement in order to prevent another war between the mentioned nations and Germany (257). The Munich Pact “dictated Czechoslovakia’s new frontiers with Germany, which made the state defenseless against Hitler” (ibid). The Munich pact created a number of problems, specifically it meant “the end of a system of parliamentary democracy in the whole state” (ibid). Furthermore, because the state was “faced with the threat of being divided between Germany, Poland, and Hungary, the Slovak government as a result decided to

withdraw from the federation and declare its own independence” (Polonsky & Kralik, <<http://www.slovakia.org/history6.htm>>).

On March 14, 1939, the first independent Slovak Republic was established. However the independence of Slovakia was not long-lived as after the end of the war the Republic of Czechoslovakia was re-established. Furthermore, after the war between 1945 and 1948, the nation was governed as a democratic federation; however a number of communists held significant positions within the government (Liptak, 2000: 277). As a result of the clashing communist and democratic ideologies, on February 1948 the Communists took over the government in Prague and under the leadership of Gustáv Husák Czechoslovakia officially became a communist state.

Iron Curtain: 1948-1968

In 1945, after the end of the Second World War, Czechoslovakia suffered a period of political uncertainty. A struggle for power was played out between the Democratic and the Communist Parties until February of 1948. It was during this time that the Communists used force to seize full control of the state, “opening the way for more than forty-one years of dictatorship” (Liptak, 2000: 278). After the communist takeover in 1948, Czechoslovak Radio and Television media were nationalised. This meant that for the next four decades the media in Czechoslovakia were to serve “the people and the Communist Party” (Krupicka, <<http://www.radio.cz/en/article/49702>>). Between 1948 and until 1968, the Communists instituted an inspection agency within the Ministry Of Culture (Ministerstvo Kultury) to monitor all literature, newspapers, television, and radio broadcasts. The Ministry of Culture was therefore responsible for the administration and supervision of all radio, television and news broadcasts. In terms of television broadcasts, the office was in charge of the three state-run channels including Czechoslovak

Television (Ceskoslovenska Televizia); a station that was actually divided into two separate broadcasters, one that catered to the Slovak region and the other to the Czech region. A national channel also existed and was accessible throughout the whole of Czechoslovakia. A third station was broadcast from the Soviet Union, as this nation held the overall communist control over Czechoslovakia and it was also accessible for the entire Czechoslovak nation (Skolkay, 1997:66). From 1953 until 1966, the government established a policy which mandated that all press was expected to perform the act of 'pre-censorship' (Jones, 2001:621). This meant that any broadcast or news story had to be inspected prior to being published or transmitted to the public. During this time, the state gained sole control of all media systems and introduced laws that forbade any press agent, published or televised, to "question policy, criticise the government economic plan or discuss any military matters" (ibid). However, this mandate was so broad and undefined that virtually any criticism of the state was deemed unacceptable and subject to strict penalty. Patrick O'Neil (1997:1) states:

Under socialism, it was generally accepted that the media served as a 'transmission belt' - not from the masses to the party, in a democratic-centralist fashion, but rather from the party to the people, as an important form of control over information and society.

The communist regime relied heavily on the media in order to disseminate information to the public; therefore it is not surprising that the state went to great lengths to ensure that only the proper (communist) information was conveyed to the masses via the media. As Milton (1997:15) suggests; "the press in the communist period was an organ of the state, completely reliant and subservient to the communist party".

In 1953 the Central Authority of Press Supervision³ (Centralny Urad na Sledovanie Tlace) was established and mandated to conduct media censorship for both radio and television media (Skolkay, 1997: 62). The CAPS was directly run by government officials dedicated to the current regime and therefore the media content during this time catered strictly to communist ideology. As Skolkay claims:

Directors of central radio and television channels were nominated by the central government, while directors of regional radio and television channels in Slovakia (and Czech) were elected by the presidium of the Slovak (or Czech) parliament on the proposal of central directors. In this way overlapping lines of control were established not only from central institutions but also through local communist structures (ibid).

This division of electoral power ensured that only members of the communist party could dictate appropriate media content. Systematically, the Czechoslovak peoples' access to information and freedom of expression was stifled, if not completely abolished.

Representatives of the Communist party strictly monitored the press and publishing houses, and in addition, the jamming of radio waves and foreign television broadcasts became a common practice. Restrictions on typewriters were also put into exercise.

During this time, the state executed a "one plus ten rule", which forbade anyone outside the communist party to copy and distribute any kind of written material. This rule stated that only "one original and ten copies of any text typed on a typewriter were the legal maximum that one was allowed to have at home without being accused of a criminal act" (Urban, 1999:17). This meant that,

when Czechoslovak dissidents needed to print something in a larger volume, the manuscript was smuggled across the mountains into Poland, and the entire run, at most a few hundred copies, was then carried back across the mountains in the knapsacks of brave young couriers (ibid).

Because this endeavour was both dangerous and inefficient, it is not surprising that very few people were willing to participate in the operation. Anyone suspected of distributing

³ Referred to as CAPS within this paper.

material which was deemed subversive was placed under arrest. As a result, virtually no substantial alternative press, broadcasts or publications developed during this period.

It has been argued that the central aim of the Communists was to dissolve all alternative discourse in society and replace it with ideological clichés (Jones, 2001: 626). This was demonstrated by massive purges of literary work that were considered anti-state or anti-Communist, which were instituted across the nation. Millions of books were destroyed as a result. Jones argues that “the regime went culturally on the offensive; it only published work by liked authors” (627) which meant that the majority of permissible literature was only a mere reflection of the propaganda that the state disseminated. Barbara Jancar (1971:21) argues that “by virtue of this monopoly, the ruling group assumed the right to govern its citizens’ beliefs, to decree what is right and wrong,” therefore “all that was published, painted, filmed, spoken, broadcast or televised, was approved for release depending on how the particular piece of art or broadcast served the interest of the ruling group”. Moreover, due to the fact that the press and the rest of media were both state-owned and governed, almost all external information was virtually impossible to obtain. For example, in 1953 all foreign correspondents within the nation were expelled, Western news agencies were closed, and a network of jamming transmitters was built in order to block broadcasts from foreign nations; even private mail underwent systematic inspection (Taborsky, 1961: 63). Essentially, the government went to great lengths to isolate the country from the outside world. The only way in which media and culture were allowed to develop was in accordance with the state.

The control over knowledge was sustained by the ruling group, who “maintained its monopoly of ideology and culture through its control of mass communications, one of

the most important monopolies” (Jancar, 1971: 21). Additionally, because the material and apparatus used by mass media was strictly state-owned, it was virtually impossible for anyone outside of the government to launch an effective alternative form of media that would provide any kind of substitute viewpoints. Anyone that publicly attempted to express alternative views which did not conform to the state’s ideology, was reprimanded or arrested. The communist monopoly over the media, in combination with the strict state enforcement of media laws, continued until the late sixties, when in 1968 a brief “thaw” period was introduced in the nation.

Prague Spring

As early as 1962, internal political resistance within the communist party began to emerge. The state attempted to suppress these uprisings of independence by creating the Central Publishing Administrative Office (Centralny Vydavatel'sky Urad) that prohibited any distribution of information concerning the internal politics of the state. However in 1968, with the appointment of Alexander Dubcek as the secretary of the Communist party, it became evident that the communist system was about to undergo a transformation; thus began the period referred to as the “thaw”, or in Dubcek’s words, “socialism with a human face” (as quoted in Liptak, 2000: 287). During this time censorship was nearly eliminated and many journalists were given the freedom to publish and broadcast views that did not necessarily coincide with the communist party. Furthermore, many journalists, writers and other dissidents were released from prison. This signified both a literal freedom of individuals alongside a symbolic freedom of ideas and creativity specifically within the media. Additionally, the blocking of both radio and television broadcasts was brought to an end and the information that these provided

stimulated academic and political discussions as well as student demonstrations all over the country. Although mass media systems remained under state rule, the new regime's control over them was far looser than the previous government's had been and for the first time in decades the people of Czechoslovakia were publicly allowed to exchange ideas relatively freely without fear of punishment.

In April 1968, the Dubcek government released a public document that contained the *Communist Party Action Programme*, which underlined the party's agenda regarding censorship:

The working people who are no longer being dictated to by a class of exploiters, cannot arbitrarily be told from above, which information should or should not be available to them. Scholarly Journals and Scholarly debates must *not* [emphasis added] be subject to censorship. The arts must *not* (emphasis added) be subject to censorship (as quoted in Jones, 2001: 628).

The document re-affirmed the party's dedication to aid cultural and media development by abolishing communist censorship. The new administration reasoned that communist censorship inhibited creativity and therefore stunted cultural growth. Only a month after the document was released, the Central Authority of Press Supervision was abolished and independent journalists began to surface, something that was forbidden prior to Dubcek's leadership. Czech Author Milan Kundera spoke about the reforms and how they enabled a 'dying culture to breathe again' (Jones, 2001:628). However, aside from a few instances of alternative press, Czechoslovakia's media organisations remained under state control.

"Normalisation"

The period of Dubcek's 'socialism with a human face' was short-lived however and by late June 1968, the Soviet regime became suspicious of and uneasy with Czechoslovakia's newfound freedoms. The Russians feared that a large-scale revolution might follow, which may lead to the loss of Soviet power over the nation, and in August

1968, Russian forces invaded and regained control over the nation (Liptak, 2000: 289). Gustav Husak replaced the Dubcek administration and the Russian political campaign known as “normalisation” began. Essentially, “the whole state passed from the euphoria of the ‘Dubcek era’ to the resignation of Husak’s normalisation” (ibid). The period of normalisation re-introduced the harsh communist censorship of television, radio, press and literary media.

After the events of Prague Spring, a new kind of communist censorship was enacted. During this time regional offices for the supervision of the press were re-established in order to monitor the media actions of the Czech geographical region and the Slovak geographical region separately. In addition the act of ‘post-censorship’ was performed by these supervising offices (Skolkay, 1997: 64). Post-censorship enabled the government to monitor information that was already distributed by the media but it also ensured that “top offices had broad legal powers that included not only financial sanctions but also the ability to suspend the publications (or broadcasts) for up to three months” (ibid). Moreover, directors of television stations were mandated to be regular participants in the Communist Central Party (Komunisticka Strana) committee meetings. Skolkay claims that “in this way top communist leaders were able to use the chain of authority to control the mass media directly: such actions were particularly evident in the area of television” (ibid). The primary goal of the renewed communist system was simple: “(to) control the mass media in a unified manner and to make sure that information, which is in conflict with the interest of the state, is abolished” (Jones, 2001: 628). Anyone who did not comply with the rules and standards set up by the new regime

was automatically dismissed, regardless of status or seniority. As a result, many academics, authors, publishers and journalists lost their jobs.

During the period of normalisation, wherever possible, people tuned in to Western broadcasts such as the BBC, Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. Due to the high proliferation of state-controlled radio jamming networks however, this activity was only limited to a few. Consequently the roles of both dissident culture and the Western radio broadcasts in stimulating broader public debate was minute and as a result people did not strongly oppose the communist regime. Television broadcasts were also limited. A small number of Western movies and television shows were allowed to filter through, but these were considered harmless by the state because they offered only sources of entertainment and no political content of consequence. The majority of domestic television broadcasts also included programmes from other countries within the Soviet Bloc. For example, as aforementioned, television broadcasts within communist Czechoslovakia included only three domestic channels all of which were controlled by the communists: a national channel that catered to the whole country, a regional channel, designed to provide information to Slovakia and the Czech Republic separately and finally a broadcast from the Soviet Union which reached all of the Soviet Bloc countries (Skolkay, 1997:66).

In 1988, which became a turning point for the nation, the jamming of the American funded Radio-Free Europe was stopped by orders from the Soviet Union (Jones, 2001: 629). A large number of people started to listen to the broadcasts, which provided a significantly different perspective on Communism on a wide scale. The diverse Western broadcasts sparked powerful debates and instigated large anti-Communist demonstrations around the country (Urban, 1999: 20). Further to the

demonstrations, this new wave of freedom enabled the emergence of a few independent journalists from within the country (both radio and television based), who began to report on the various dissident movements that were springing up around the nation. For example, on November 17, 1989 during a student demonstration, Czech journalist, Petr Uhl published an article that has been widely credited with instigating the fall of the regime. Uhl broadcast a report that during an anti-communist demonstration police had beaten a student to death (ibid). This news story was made available throughout the nation and shocked the people of Czechoslovakia, “sparking sit-ins and strikes at universities and theatres, that later grew into a general strike and led to the collapse of the regime” (ibid). This story represented a change in broadcast content within the media because for the first time in decades the public was allowed a glimpse into the affairs of the communist party.

Post-Communist Era: 1989- Present

In December 1989 libraries opened, films were released and a wave of publications by banned authors swept through the nation. After the long-standing repression that the people endured for over four decades, the nation finally obtained its long-awaited freedom from communist dictatorship. However, with the advent of the nation’s liberation the people faced a new challenge: adapting to the changes of a new political environment. Urban (1999) suggests that although the nation was liberated, Czechoslovakia was so far behind the West in terms of media and technological development that the nation was not prepared for the new free market system of media governance. The assumption was that “the transition to democracy and a market economy would happen naturally and that this would be accompanied by ‘Westification’”

(Jakubowicz, 2001: 59). However, the notion of ‘Westernizing’ Czechoslovakian media was not simple, mainly because people were unfamiliar with the free market model of the Western media. Consequently, instead of learning the media model of the West, individuals had an idealised image of the West. Sokolova (2004: ix) claims that “western culture had a seductive attraction in the late Soviet and immediate post-communist period, since it offered a liberating alternative to the Soviet-style socialism and responded to consumer and pop culture fantasies”. As a result of the changes which were occurring, the public as well as journalists had a difficult time adjusting to the new political landscape. For example, journalists failed to understand that a “pluralist debate and not mere anti-Communism is the basis of Western democratic society” (Jones, 2001: 629). After decades of exposure to only communist censorship laws and propaganda, it was difficult for journalists to get accustomed to doing anything other than the dissemination of more propaganda. While the new ideology that was forming among the populace was different from the Communist ideals, journalists were not reporting on, but rather criticising Communism. Jones writes,

After the fall of Communism many journalists simply switched sides-- where they once generated propaganda for the Communist regime- they now uncritically supported the anti-Communist government” (ibid).

Urban (2001:23) suggests that at this time “the media started to do politics instead of reporting information”. After the fall of Communism, the press “turned everything into ideology and offered only preformed opinions, instead of objective presentation of facts and context” (ibid). It became evident that after four decades of complete monopoly over the media by the state, people did not know how to produce or decipher alternative discourse. As a matter of fact, Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Polish-American political scientist, warned that the transition from propagandist to free market media systems could take as

long as the communist regime lasted- meaning close to forty years in the case of Czechoslovakia (as stated in: Jakubowicz, 2001: 60).

In the last decade since the fall of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, “the evolution of print and electronic media has been central to the larger process of political and cultural restructuring” (Rubin, 2001:69). In 1992 the nation separated into two autonomous countries: Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Alongside cultural and technological developments, both nations have undergone slow but distinct alterations in their media organisations. During the first years after communist rule both countries, “struggled with the absence of legal and administrative codes concerning the media” and as a result, “journalists habituated to censorship” (ibid). Furthermore, the expectations of media change were not only problematic but also unrealistic. Mainly, the evolution of media systems in the nations was based on the plans of the 1980’s dissident goals, which expected unrealistic far-reaching and instant democratisation of media organizations (Jakubowicz, 2001: 60). The dissidents expected immediate empowerment of civil society and a guarantee of justice and equality in communication for all and many felt great disappointment when this goal was not realised instantaneously (ibid). Many citizens did not realize that these objectives were unrealistic for a nation that was under totalitarian rule for almost four decades.

Media change will occur alongside cultural change and this can take decades in a nation where a sufficient amount of time is needed for the public to gain trust and confidence in their media outlets. Milton (1997:15) argues that media transformation, particularly legal reform, must follow a two-phase pattern of change. The two-phase

system includes: the dissolution of the existing communist system and the on-going reconstruction of new media laws and organizations. Frank Kaplan suggests:

The immediate concern by the new government, following the revolutionary changes of November, 1989, was to eliminate the most constraining aspects of the existing law and to begin thinking about formulating a totally new media policy future (as quoted in Milton, 1997: 15).

Jakubowicz (2001:61) also argues that after the fall of the communist regime, post-communist countries were undergoing a period of “trial and error” and democratic public-service broadcasting could not fully develop within a weak civil society where public interest and public service is overshadowed by political interest. As a result of the lengthy communist regime, both the Czech Republic and Slovakia still seem to be adjusting to transformations within their media landscape.

The Czech Republic’s Media Organisation in the 1990’s

The Czech Republic, unlike Slovakia, initiated policies concerning commercial broadcasting almost immediately after the fall of the communist regime. In March 1991, the government, which was now “dedicated to a model of free-market media, had passed legislation concerning licensing and as a result regional television and broadcasting had commenced” (Rubin, 2001: 72). Steven Kettle (1997:42) suggests that a mix of commercial pressures from foreign investors, combined with sporadic purges of original staff and the recruitment of others by commercial media, resulted in the ‘amalgamations and closures (of various television stations) following the mushrooming of media outlets in the early years of the decade [1990’s]).’ While governments “scrambled to establish precedents and infrastructure, foreign capital from Western Europe and the US flowed over borders and laid claim to this new media landscape” (Rubin, 2001: 70). In October of 1991 the Law on Radio and Television Broadcasting was adopted by the Federal Assembly which abolished the state monopoly over broadcasting and enabled the

development of a dual system in which both public and private operators could coexist (Kettle, 1997: 48). The commercialization of television broadcasting altered the media landscape and had a dramatic impact on the style of broadcasting. The Czech Republic faced a wave of cheap foreign, primarily American, programming such as soap operas and prime time dramas. Although many found the new style of television broadcasting to be an improvement, a number of citizens were shocked and “feared that the country’s airwaves and newsprint were being overrun by trivial and aggressive advertising” (42).

The separation between Slovakia and the Czech Republic did not largely impact the media structures of both nations mainly because “each of the newly independent states already had its own well-developed media sector” (Kettle, 1997:43). During the early 1990’s, for example, the federal television station, Czechoslovak Television (Ceskoslovenska Televizia), was already broadcasting separate programming to cater to both republics therefore the separation of the station was in name only (Czechoslovak Television became Slovak Television and Czech Television as a result of the separation). In the mid-nineties private television stations also began to broadcast within the Czech Republic. The most significant change to the previously state-owned television broadcasts happened in 1994, when the American-funded TV NOVA went on air in February and altered the face of Czech television media. In the beginning, government officials strongly objected to a commercial television station, however regardless of their concerns NOVA went on air as planned and was an immediate success. Druker (2001:81) claims,

Almost overnight, the first private television station in Central and Eastern Europe grabbed an enormous market share. Using glitzy marketing to promote a line-up built on American films and television serials, NOVA easily attracted audiences away from Czech public

television (CT), the successor to communist-era Czechoslovak Television.

NOVA television was nothing like the state-run television stations of the past. Its programming included sensationalist news coverage, similar to American broadcasts such as CNN and FOX, a large quantity of popular American serials such as *Beverly Hills 90210* and *Dallas* as well as some self-promotional programming. Due to the fact that an American company largely funded NOVA, it was easier for the station to obtain and broadcast American programming⁴. Furthermore, because Western programming was such a novelty at the time, the popularity of NOVA soared. As a result of its difference, “six months after its February debut, NOVA already had twice the viewer-ship of public television.” (Druker, 2001: 82). The following is breakdown of the various television broadcast companies that operated within the Czech Republic, their audience distribution (as of 1995) and their sources of revenue.

Table 1:
State/Public & Commercial Television in Czech Republic

Company	Channel	Audience (1995)	%	Revenue Source
CT	CT-1 (public)	22.5		License/Advertising
CT	CT-2 (public)	3		License/Advertising
CET-21	NOVA TV (private/commercial)	70		Advertising
PTV Premiera	Prima TV (commercial)	2		Advertising
RTV Gemma	Galaxie (commercial)	n/a		Advertising
Nethold	Multichoice (commercial)	n/a		Advertising

< http://www.unesco.org/webworld/wcir/en/pdf_report/chap16.pdf >

In addition to its success in ratings, “in less than a year, NOVA was generating profits- making its launch one of the most successful in television history world-wide” (ibid). The immediate success of NOVA established new standards in television

⁴ Although CET21, a company headed by Czech entrepreneur Vladimir Zelezny, owns the licensing rights for NOVA. The majority of the stations financing comes from the Central European Development Corporation (CEDC) whose major investors include the American business man and philanthropist Ronald Lauder and former American ambassador Mark Palmer (Kettle, 1997).

programming for the nation and as a result other public-funded Czech television stations dropped significantly in ratings and popularity. For example, CT2, a public funded television channel that runs culturally and intellectually oriented programming, only achieved ratings in the high single digits (83). Furthermore, as a result of the fact that NOVA was a commercial station this allowed the broadcaster an increased percentage of airtime to be dedicated to commercials⁵. This was a significant allowance considering “Nova’s income from advertising alone was estimated at three billion crowns,” which is on par with the overall income of the (state-funded) Czech Television (Kettle, 1997: 57). In essence, NOVA had the freedom to broadcast virtually anything in order to make a profit.

The station itself has been problematic and many criticise it for its seemingly lowbrow content. Specifically, the station’s use of imported programming such as soap operas, game shows and sensationalist newscasts and talk shows, to draw in its viewers is a point of debate among intellectuals and critics within the Czech Republic. Due to the fact that people seem to be drawn to the glamour of NOVA’s melodramatic news programming, as opposed to CT’s intellectual news coverage, critics feel that the station is contributing to the general ‘dumbing-down’ of the nation (Druker, 2001:87). Druker suggests that the reason for NOVA’s popularity stems from the fact that “news on public television is competent but uninspired, providing a staid alternative to NOVA’s gloss” (ibid).

One show in particular that came under criticism was the weekly show called *Volejte Reditely* (Call the Director). During this program the director of the station,

⁵ NOVA is permitted to use 10% of air time for commercials, while CT1 is only allowed 1% and CT2 only 7% (Kettle, 1997: 56).

Vladimir Zelezny, would appear for thirty minutes to talk to the audience about certain programming decisions and accept questions from viewers. However, Zelezny also used the show in a manipulative way, “as a soapbox to rail against the station’s regulators” (which included the Czech Radio and Television Council, a board that has chastised NOVA for a series of infractions) (Drucker, 2001: 83). In addition, Zelezny has manipulated the program in order to bitterly criticise the competition, including the publicly financed station, CT (ibid). Because the majority of the population was not accustomed to programming of this manner, especially one that freely criticised state-owned television, people were drawn to its style. On the other hand, many critics believed that the show was not only controversial, but also highly manipulative and immoral. Jan Culik, an expert on Czech media from the University of Glasgow writes,

The purpose of ‘Volejte Reditely’ is to mesmerise the ordinary Czech viewer and to manipulate him into absolute submission. It is a self-promotional program, where Zelezny will say anything, often absolute manipulative rubbish, in an attempt to increase the viewing figures for his station (as quoted in: Druker, 2001: 83-84).

Similarly, Zelezny was criticised for using the station to propagate his own agenda. In 1998, for example, he appeared on NOVA News in an attempt to defend his son, who was a convicted rapist (ibid). These examples demonstrate that after almost forty years of censorship, the people of the Czech Republic were not prepared for the full impact that private media had on their society. The example of early broadcasts from a station such as NOVA demonstrates how managers of the private station took full advantage of their freedom and used it for their own means. As a result, television media did not rid itself of political propaganda but rather one type of propaganda was replaced by another.

Many critics agree that the Czech media landscape has been drastically altered as a result of projects like NOVA. Druker (2001:85) claims that, “NOVA’s success has

remade the media scene, contributing to the creation of a dual system of commercial and public television broadcasting-something that has yet to be established in most other countries in the former Soviet Bloc”. In addition, the commercial American-style programming broadcast by NOVA demonstrated the success of the “Westernization” of television programming in post-communist Czech Republic. However, NOVA’s popularity did not reflect the plurality and neutrality that was expected from a new non-communist system. In fact a recent poll (2001) found that although eighty-nine percent of the population realise the importance of the press for a well-functioning democracy, less than fifty percent felt that the current media provide them with relevant information (87). “The same research also showed that most people believe that public radio and television provide far more accurate and reliable news than commercial stations” (ibid). It seems that even with the privatisation and loss of communist state-control over media in the Czech Republic, the nation is still struggling with issues of media trust, specifically within their private commercial television systems. Jan Culik summarises,

The Czech parliament wished to have an intelligent, semi-commercial television station which would not be dependent on foreign interests. It ended up with a foreign-owned, extremely powerful, down-market broadcaster, operating forcefully in an unregulated environment. Instead of assuring that commercial television would partly fulfil a public service role--not too much to ask for a license worth hundreds of millions of dollars given away or free--government officials let NOVA go strictly for profit (As quoted in: Druker, 2001: 89-90).

During the 1990’s the American Corporation CME (Central Europe Media Enterprises Group) became involved in negotiations to purchase NOVA. The future of the station remains unclear to this day as CME is also currently in a legal battle with Zelezny over corruption within the station. If CME purchases the station, there is concern that the percentage of American broadcasts will rise and that the control over programming will largely reside in the hands of foreign investors.

Slovakia's Media Organisation in the 1990's

Slovakia, unlike the Czech Republic, has opted for a combination of state-controlled as well as public media organisations. Since its separation from the Czech Republic in 1992, the Slovak government has passed legislation to allow for limited privatisation of their television, radio and press media (Rubin, 2001: 78). However, public media seems to be the dominant source of information within the nation. The percentage of foreign-owned media is not as extensive as that of the Czech Republic, but the Slovak nation has also experienced significant changes to their television media and broadcasting.

The majority of legal changes that have occurred since the fall of communism in Slovakia are evident in the changes to the constitution, the criminal and civil codes as well as within the law of the press (Skolkay, 1997: 65). The main modifications stipulate that private broadcasts and foreign capital investments within television are no longer deemed illegal and are, in fact, encouraged. However as Skolkay suggests; “despite the technical provisions for open communication and a free press, the level of state influence in the Slovak media is high” (66). In 1991 the Slovak government passed its own legislation which stipulated that Slovak Television and Radio both became public entities. However, no documentation was found that defined the term ‘public’ and therefore the transition of television broadcasting from a communist state-run entity to a ‘public’ medium has been problematic (68). For example, while the Czech Republic made a conscious move towards a more privatized style of television broadcasting, this development has been hindered within Slovakia due to constant state intervention that occurred throughout the 1990's. It was not until 1996 that Slovakia established its first privately licensed commercial television channel, Televizia Markiza; before then the

country's audiences were mainly dependent on the publicly funded Slovak Television (Slovenska Televizia Jednotka and Slovenska Televizia Dvojka). However, Slovak Television broadcasts were also problematic because of the high state-influence that the channel experienced. Due to the long history of state intervention, media neutrality and independence was not well defined so "while the new government promised to create public-service and news institutions that were more independent of federal authorities," the "first post-communist government of Slovakia did not pass any new legislation on public broadcasting institutions" (67). At the same time the state also argued that television media was an imperative tool for the dissemination of information by the state, which created a conflict of interest within the media sectors. So while the federal government "declared its support in favour of media diversification" it also maintained that it was necessary to "keep control over state radio and television broadcasting" because it was an "important democratic tool in realizing the information needs of the state and society" (67-68).

One key event that established state intervention of media happened in 1992, when the political party HZDS came into power. One of the main changes the party instituted consisted of a simplified process for the election of board members to the Slovak Television and Radio supervisory board (Rade Slovenskej Republiky pre Rozhlasové a Televízne Vysielanie), whereby the party had control over who was dismissed and elected into the council. Skolkay (1997:69) suggests:

Political influence by the parliament was firmly established over state-run television and radio, given their ability to control the supervisory boards and the power of the boards to propose to parliament the dismissal or election of directors of both broadcasting institutions.

This change in policy allowed the government to easily control the content of media broadcasts within the nation by maintaining power over journalists and staff.

During the early 1990's both foreign investors and other applicants for broadcast licensing demonstrated interest in the Slovak market, however due to a lack of infrastructure and jurisdiction in this area, Slovakia was slow in developing a private electronic media. More specifically, shortly after the fall of the communist regime, "these applications were handled at the national level through a special committee of the federal government," however in 1992 this process was transferred to the Council of the Slovak Republic for Radio and Television (Rade Slovenskej Republiky pre Rozhlasové a Televízne Vysielanie) (Skolkay, 1997:68). Due to the fact that the council was newly established it took some time to coordinate and organize itself. Furthermore, as a result of the power shift, although many regional cable television stations began to emerge, they had little to no impact at the national level mainly because their broadcasts were limited to specific local regions and areas.

In 1995 a national satellite television station, V.TV, began to broadcast throughout the country. V.TV's broadcasts "varied little from the previous state-run Slovak TV due to its close alignment with the ruling HZDS (Movement for the Democratic Slovakia) party" (Rubin, 2001: 78). In fact, HZDS displayed obvious disdain for independent broadcasting and during the 1998 elections the party actively denied independent reporters equal access to information. "The party went so far as to amend the country's election laws to allow only state-funded media the right to broadcast reports of political activity" (ibid). Although the party did not win the election, the experience signified the evident corruption within Slovakia's television media system. In 1998, a company

closely aligned with HZDS bought the commercial and privately-licensed *Televizia Markiza* and the political party has been supporting the popular station since (ibid). The following chart is an analysis of the Slovak television media systems, their audience distribution and sources of revenue as of 1995.

Table 2: State/Public & Commercial Television in Slovakia

Company	Channel	Audience (1995)	%	Revenue Source
Slovak TV	STV-1 (public)	59		State/Advertising
Slovak TV	STV-2 (public)	26.6		State/Advertising
Markiza Slovakia	TV Markiza (commercial)	65.2		Advertising
Vasa Televizia	VTV (satellite)	10.2		Advertising

<http://www.unesco.org/webworld/wcir/en/pdf_report/chap16.pdf>

Unlike the Czech media landscape, as evidenced by the above chart, Slovakia's audience has been more evenly distributed. Furthermore, it is also evident from the above chart that Slovakia, unlike the Czech Republic, has relied more on state funding rather than foreign investment. As a result of the extensive state intervention, Slovakia's television media as well as the country's attempts at developing private and commercial television systems was hindered.

Conclusion

After almost four decades of communist dictatorship that was accompanied by strict censorship, restriction of freedoms and state-control of media, both the Czech Republic and Slovakia's media have developed a combination of public and privately funded television broadcasters. However, despite the transformations from a communist-based style of broadcasting, there continue to be significant problems regarding the television media organisations in both nations. Problems such as high state-intervention and corruption from within the ownership structure of some broadcasting stations seem to

be prevalent within both the Czech and Slovak television media environment.

Furthermore, issues such as massive privatisation, manipulation, and political influence are all highly problematic. The example of Czech's television station NOVA exhibits some of the problems that a fully commercial and foreign-owned television station encounters within a post-communist environment. Furthermore, Slovakia's politically influenced media systems also exhibit the complexities and difficulties that are apparent in a state-owned media environment. As is evident, these problems occurred as a result of the fact that the media that emerged out of the ruins of the Soviet Bloc were not fully prepared for a free-market media structure. Therefore, although it seems that the Czech Republic and Slovakia are progressing towards a free market system of their media, as evidenced by both nations, this process is both arduous and lengthy.

Chapter Three: Content Analysis of Slovakia's Television Schedules

Introduction

The methodology of content analysis can be used for the systematic examination of communications content where the main goal is to study how various media productions reveal various social and cultural concerns and phenomena. Content Analysis can be defined as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952: 18).

Furthermore, the use of content analysis helps to “identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristic and dimensions of texts” so that a researcher can make inferences about the “messages, images or representations of various texts and their wider social significance” (Hansen et.al. 1998: 95). In this chapter content analysis is employed as a primary research method and applied to the examination of Slovakia's television schedules. Content analysis as a methodology is used in order to determine the amount of foreign and domestic programming that is shown on television in the Slovak Republic; however the method is also used to determine the type of programming that is being broadcast on television within the country. The use of content analysis is especially applicable to this paper because it allows for deductions to be made which can then be corroborated using alternative methods of data collection and analysis, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

Although content analysis is not restricted to textual analysis and can be utilized for the examination of various other media, such as radio and film, in this research the method is used for the analysis of printed television schedule texts known as *Televizia*. In summer 2005, I obtained issues of *Televizia* totalling to about one years' worth of

publications. The weekly schedules are in print format and resemble the North American publication of *TV Guides*. *Televizia* includes the broadcast listings for both cable and satellite television and is considered as the main commercial publication that outlines the broadcasting schedule for the Slovak Republic on a weekly basis. *Televizia* does not originate from Slovakia; rather it is a publication of *Ringier Slovakia, a.s.*, which is a Switzerland-owned publishing house that publishes eight other titles within Slovakia, including a national newspaper.

Televizia includes the programming schedules for forty-nine different channels that are accessible in Slovakia through either cable or satellite television. These channels are not all indigenous to Slovakia, however, and include broadcasts from all over Europe including Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Britain. Because of the large number of broadcasts that occur in the nation and due to the nature of this project, the focus was narrowed down to four main domestic stations that originate and televise from within the nation⁶. These channels include: STV1 (Jednotka), STV2 (Dvojka), Markiza, and TV JOJ. STV1 and STV2 are state-owned and both are considered public service broadcasters because they are financed by fees, state subsidies, and advertisements as well as by their own “limited business activities” which include the sales of programming videos (Skolkay, 2004: 208). The two other television stations, Markiza and JOJ, are privately-owned commercial stations. STV1, although it is considered a public service broadcaster, exhibits mostly commercial and entertainment

⁶ There is a fifth television station broadcasting within the nation, TA3. However it was not included as part of the content analysis because it is an all-news station which is only accessible with cable connection or via digital satellite; as a result its coverage remains low with only 35 % overall coverage and 12-14 % audience share (Skolkay, 2004: 207).

programming, whereas STV2 focuses mainly on information, cultural and educational content.

The introduction of commercial TV in the 1990s transformed the Slovak broadcasting environment and brought foreign media groups onto the media landscape. As a result of the distribution in ownership a fragmentation of audiences occurred. For example the “public broadcaster Slovak TV (STV) lost its dominant position, seeing its audience share shrink from nearly 75% in 1995 to less than 20% by 2000, while the private broadcaster, TV Markiza claims the lion's share of the audience” (BBC news <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1108491.stm >). In terms of coverage, STV1 covers 97.3 % of the Slovak territory and 95.8 % of the population while STV2 covers 89.4 % of the territory and 88.7 % of the population (Skolkay, <<http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/slovakia.html>>). Markiza and JOJ, on the other hand cover less of the Slovak territory and population: Markiza covers 79 % of territory and 94 % of population while TV JOJ covers around 65 % of territory and 61% of population respectively (Skolkay, 2004; 207). All four channels are terrestrial stations, meaning they do not require cable or satellite connections. As aforementioned, of the four main stations Markiza seems to have the most popularity and as of 2002 the station had 74% of the viewer-ship in the nation (Herzog, <<http://www.eavi.org/reports/Slovakia.pdf>>).

The programming organization for an average week day is similar to the North American standard, where the programming day is introduced with information programming such as news casts and light-hearted talk shows. JOJ actually has a programme that is similar to City TV's *Breakfast Television*, called *Ranajojky* (a linguistic play on the word “ranajky” which means ‘breakfast’ in Slovak). The

programming schedule continues with educational and children's programming into the noon hours when it is replaced by soap operas and family series as well some action series of a more light-hearted nature. Later in the afternoon the programming continues with various talk shows, game shows, and news and information programmes. In the early evening various music and variety shows, as well as Reality TV shows in some cases, are broadcast. Finally in the later evening, movies or drama and detective series are shown followed by newscasts. In some cases, as will be discussed below, adult content shows are broadcast later on in the night. The described programming schedule is consistent with three of the television stations, STV1, Markiza and JOJ. STV2, due to the nature of the station, has a slightly different broadcast schedule and is more reliant on news and information programming.

I hypothesize that the content analysis will show that the majority of programming will be either foreign programming or semi-domestic programming that has been adopted for Slovak television. I also theorize that the majority of movies, sitcoms and series that are shown on Slovakian television originate in the United States. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the programmes that are categorized as semi-domestic programmes will for the most part be Reality TV programmes modeled after the British and American formats. On the other hand, I theorize that the programming shown on STV2, because this is for the most part a national, educational station, will be largely indigenous and will consist mainly of news and information broadcasts. My hypotheses are based mostly on the research conducted while I was in Slovakia and are also reflective of the content that was observed on television while I was in the country.

Methodology

Due to the large quantity of schedules that were acquired, the sample was chosen as follows: one day per week was selected for twelve different weeks within a ten-month period. This period occurred between September 2004 and June 2005. The sample was chosen for reasons of consistency, as well as for obvious time constraints. Because I was not able to obtain issues for the months of July and August, these months do not appear in the overall sample. Also included within the overall sample, is an analysis for one full week; the week examined was Saturday March the 19th to Friday March the 25th 2005. The reason for selecting a full extra week was to compare the consistency of the overall results. More specifically, I wanted to ensure that the results for chosen days were consistent with the results of a full week's worth of scheduling.

The coding mechanism used for this project consisted of the division of the scheduled programmes into thirteen different categories. These categories were based on the programming that was broadcast on the four television stations in discussion. (Please see appendix 1 for full list of programming categories). The thirteen categories mentioned were further divided into three different sections of origin: Domestic, Foreign and semi-domestic. These categories enabled the analysis of several different things; most importantly they facilitated an analysis of the origin of specific programmes. 'Origin' in this case was defined as the region or country of the world where a certain programme or movie was produced and created and whether the director, cast and programme crew was foreign. For example, a 'domestic programme' was defined as any programme that originated in Slovakia, was filmed in Slovakia and contains cast and crew who are also Slovakian. For instance the results indicated that the majority of the

news and information programmes were domestic. The second sub-category of origin was identified as 'foreign'. Foreign in this case was defined as any programme that did not originate in Slovakia, or was filmed elsewhere and in which the cast and crew were of a different origin other than Slovakian. The foreign programmes were further subdivided into place of origin⁷. For example, if the movie *Terminator* was shown on a specific night, this was classified as an American production because the film was created, written and directed in the US, and consists of a largely foreign cast and crew. *Televizia* made the process of distinguishing between foreign and domestic programming more accessible because for the majority of the programmes listed, the publication already indicated the origin of the programme. For those cases that were not identified this information was accessed through the various television station web sites.

The content analysis was also designed to facilitate the analysis of whether domestic producers are using foreign programmes as models for their own television programming. I wanted to determine what types of broadcasts are being modeled after foreign programming and which formats were the most popular. For this reason the third category of origin, termed 'semi-domestic', was developed. A semi-domestic programme was defined in several different ways. Firstly, if a programme was a co-production between Slovakia and another country the programme was identified as a semi-domestic production (some movies were identified within this category). In addition, if a programme was created in another nation but Slovak television bought the rights to the programme, this was considered as a semi-domestic broadcast. For example, the game show *Who Wants to be a Millionaire? (Millionar)* is being shown on television in

⁷ Note that in this case the programme may have more than one place of origin in the case if it was co-production between two nations.

Slovakia. Although the show's format has been adapted for the nation (the language, the host, the prizes etc.) this programme would be classified as semi-domestic because, the format and/or the concept originated elsewhere (Great Britain). Lastly, if a programme has been filmed and created in Slovakia but the content is largely foreign this was also considered as semi-domestic. For instance a number of music shows are filmed in Slovakia that contain cast and crew that are indigenous to the country but the majority of the content is foreign (music videos, entertainment news etc.). It is important to make the distinction between fully domestic programming and semi-domestic programming because a large number of the television broadcasts that seem indigenous may in fact be copies of foreign programmes for which the producers have paid copyright fees for. All programmes that were identified as semi-domestic also had an explanation for their identification included in the coding sheet (see Appendix 1). This was done for the organizational purposes in order to keep track of the type of semi-domestic programmes that are popular in Slovakia. The overall classification system helped to determine where the majority of programming came from and what types of broadcasts were predominantly foreign.

The following discussion is an examination of the findings as rendered by the content analysis. The analysis is divided into four categories that correspond to the four main television stations that were analyzed. This was done solely for organizational purposes.

Analysis of results:
STV 1 (Jednotka)
12 day selection

As aforementioned, the public broadcast provider, Slovak Television operates two different channels, STV1 and STV2, both with varying programme schedules. Due to their differences in programming each station will be analysed separately. STV1 includes within its daily schedule a significant number of entertainment programming in the form of series, game shows, talk shows and movies. The regular day schedule follows the North American standard as discussed above. Weekend scheduling is also similar to the North American standard, where the morning schedule caters to children; some educational and teen programming is shown during the day followed by an afternoon movie and evening broadcasting of shows and more movies. During the daily schedule, several news and information programmes are shown throughout.

The content analysis for the day selection showed a few interesting trends in the programme scheduling for STV1. For example, all sport, news and information programming were found to be indigenous to Slovakia. However of the 39 talk shows that were shown throughout the 10-month period, 41% were considered domestic and the remaining 59% were considered semi-domestic. The distinction was largely based on the fact that although the content of these shows was considered indigenous (the cast, crew and some of the topics) the larger set-up of the programmes was modeled on North American standard talk shows. For example the programme entitled *Vadkertí Talkshow*, shown daily on weekdays, is set-up with a live studio audience, guests and a host and includes topics which are similar to those shown on Canadian and American television: for example, topics that have been featured on the show included: child celebrities,

transplants, psychics etc. The format of this particular programme is not completely indigenous and therefore it was classified as semi-domestic. Similarly to the talk show category, the game show category produced comparable results. Of the 16 game shows that were shown during the given timeframe, 68.75% of the game shows were domestic and the remaining 31.25% were considered semi-domestic. Unlike the talk show category, however, the game shows were a little bit easier to classify, as most were direct copies of foreign standards. *Tipos Bingo*, for example is a BINGO game that did not originate in Slovakia, although it does have cast, crew and audience members that are indigenous to the country.

Another interesting result that was derived from the content analysis pertained to the amount of foreign sitcoms that were shown on television. Exactly 100% of all the sitcoms shown (N=20) all originated in the US. Furthermore, of the 32 movies shown during this period, only 3 movies were domestic while the remaining 90.6% were dubbed foreign productions. The foreign distribution of the films matched my original hypothesis where the majority (62%) of the movies originated in the US. The resulting breakdown of foreign films included productions from Germany, Great Britain, Australia, Italy, Spain, Czech Republic, Canada and Russia; each of these nations consisted of 3.45% of total films broadcast or one film per each nation. Of the total four domestic films that were shown during this broadcast period three were short films (about 35 minutes each) and only one was a full feature-length presentation.

Although the amount of educational programming that was shown was not significant to the overall programming breakdown for STV1, it is important to note that of the three shows broadcast none of these were domestic. Two of the three programmes

originated in New Zealand while one originated in France. The children's programming consisted of more variety in terms of origin where of the twenty-six programmes shown six were domestic, nineteen were foreign and one was considered semi-domestic (a reality television show for children). The domestic children's programmes were in the form of children's talk show-type programmes and some children stories. The majority of the foreign children's programming originated in the US (57.90%) and consisted of mostly animated cartoons. The remaining shows were French (10.53%), German (15.79%) and Canadian (10.53%). One programme that was broadcast was a co-production between Canada and the United States.

During the timeframe in discussion, there was a significant number of series that were broadcast on STV1 (N=79). Of these seventy-nine series only six originated in Slovakia. As predicted the majority of the series were appropriated from the US (52.05%); however a significant number of series also originated in Germany (17.81%) and Great Britain (15.07%). Other nations' programmes included series from Australia (1.37%), Czech Republic (2.74%) and France (2.74%). In addition two different series were co-productions between Canada and the US and between Great Britain and the US. The genres of the series shown varied however the majority of the shows were classified as drama, for example the American programme *Party of Five* which was shown daily and detective shows, such as *Prefikana Banda* (original title not available), which originated in Britain. Of the six domestic series that were shown on STV1 most were documentaries while one programme was a drama series entitled *Parisky Mohykani* ('Parisian Mohicans'), however this show was only listed once during the timeframe.

Further to the series that were listed for STV1, a number of Reality TV programmes were also shown during this period. Of the ten shows that were listed, all were considered as semi-domestic. In particular, the semi-domestic classification of the Reality TV show listed was due to the fact that the show was a Slovak version of *American/ Canadian Idol*; entitled *Slovensko Hlada Superstar* ('Slovakia is looking for a superstar'). The rights to this show originally belong to Britain. As a result the show cannot be classified as domestic even though the contestants and the judges, as well as the crew are Slovak. On the other hand, some of the music and variety programmes that were listed were considered as domestic. Of the nineteen shows broadcast, eight were considered domestic while eleven were classified as semi-domestic. The reason for the semi-domestic classification resulted from the fact that the programmes consisted of largely foreign content such as music videos and celebrity gossip. Moreover, although the hosts, cast and crew were Slovak, the set up for the majority of the programmes were modeled after foreign formats.

Finally, in the category of Soap Operas the results indicated that of the thirty-four soap operas shown, all were considered foreign. Interestingly, however was the fact that all the programmes in this category originated in South American nations, including Venezuela (44.12% of total shown), Argentina (41.12% of total shown), and Brazil (14.71% of total shown).

STV 1 (Jednotka) **1-week selection**

The findings for both the twelve-day sample and the one-week sample for the television schedules of STV1 are consistent. The results have indicated a large number of foreign programming predominantly for the categories of film, series, children's

programming, soap operas and sitcoms; however there is also evidence of a number of domestic programmes, primarily newscasts and information programmes. Game shows, Reality TV programmes as well as talk shows indicate some semi-domestic origins that include domestic cast and crew but high foreign content or, in the case of Reality TV, the purchase of foreign copyrights⁸. Interestingly, all of the sitcoms which were shown (N=12) during the week were all classified as American in origin. This was consistent with the 12-day results discussed above. In addition, twenty-seven movies were broadcast during the week in question, of those three were considered domestic, while the remaining twenty-four movies were foreign. Of the twenty-four foreign movies the breakdown consisted of predominantly American films while the rest of the films originated in Western European nations including France, Italy and Britain. This was again consistent with the result discussed above.

The series that were shown during the week were also found to be predominantly foreign in origin. Of the total forty-five series shown, only three were domestic while the remaining forty-two shows were classified as foreign. Once again the majority of the series originated in the US with a total of nineteen shows. Similar to the results for the 12-day sample, the remaining series originated from Great Britain, Germany and the Czech Republic. Children's programming for the week also produced consistent results to those found in the twelve-day sample. Of the eighteen programmes listed only three were domestic and fifteen were of foreign origin. Lastly, the findings for the category of Soap Operas were similar to the findings for the twelve-day sample discussed above, where all of the programmes shown originated from South America. All the above results indicate consistency between the schedules for the 12-day sample and the one-week sample. Most

⁸ Please see Appendix 2 for full result details.

remarkable are the results that indicate that the majority of foreign entertainment programming originates from the United States because this is reflective of my original hypothesis.

STV2 (Dvojka) **12 day selection**

The programming schedule for STV2 includes primarily political debates, educational programming and news and information programming. For instance, a total of 176 news and information programmes⁹ were listed during the twelve-day sample obtained, all of these were classified as domestic programmes. Similarly, six sport shows were aired during this period; five of the six were domestic while one programme originated in Sweden. Furthermore, a total of seventy-seven talk shows were listed for this period, of this total seventy-four were domestic, two were considered foreign and only one programme was categorized as semi-domestic. The two foreign programmes both included Hungarian political talk shows, while the semi-domestic classification consisted of foreign content in the form of celebrity gossip. Game shows did not play a significant role in the overall scheduling for STV2; only two programmes were shown one of which was classified as domestic and the other as semi-domestic.

An interesting result indicated that no sitcoms were listed during the twelve-day period; this was unlike the programming schedule for STV1. However, a total of twenty-one movies were broadcast during this time frame. Of the total movies shown, over half were considered domestic (57.14%). Most of these were short films, some as short as twenty-minutes. However they were classified as films in the *Televizia* publication therefore I retained that categorization for purposes of consistency. Moreover, the

⁹ The classification of these programmes included one-hour full newscasts as well as shorter (5- 15 minute) broadcasts about traffic, weather and news bulletins.

domestic films broadcast were not of a commercial nature, rather they consisted of documentary style content and dealt primarily with national issues and personalities. One film shown was considered as semi-domestic because it was collaborative effort between Slovakia and Canada. Lastly, eight foreign films were listed for this time period. Of these, 75% were American; one film originated in Sweden and the remaining film (12.5%) was a French and British production. Although STV2 broadcasted domestic films, the foreign breakdown of movies was similar to that for STV1, which indicated a significant amount of US films.

Educational programming played a significant role in the broadcast schedule for STV2. A total of fourteen educational programmes were shown during this period, eleven of which were categorized as domestic and two of which were considered semi-domestic. The remaining foreign programme originated in Spain. The two semi-domestic programmes consisted of English language learning lessons; as a result of the content these programmes were classified as semi-domestic. The broadcast schedule was also comprised of a considerable number of Children's programmes; twenty-eight in total. Of these, half were classified as domestic, while twelve were foreign and the remaining two were considered semi-domestic. American children's shows comprised the majority of the foreign category with a total of eleven (out of 12) programmes. A Canadian children's programme completed the foreign programme schedule. The two semi-domestic children shows were English-language learning shows and were therefore classified as semi-domestic.

A total of fifty-five series programmes were broadcast fifteen of which were domestic and the remaining forty were classified as foreign. The foreign programmes

comprised of series from; France (25%), Canada (2.5%), Britain (17.5%), Australia (2.5%), Germany (20%), the US (22.5%), the Czech Republic (2.5%) and Italy (2.5%). In addition, one programme was a co-production between Germany and the Netherlands while another was a production involving both Canada and the US. The foreign series were predominantly documentary-style programmes; however the breakdown of the foreign series category is similar to that of STV1 for the same grouping. STV2 did not include any Reality TV or Soap Opera listings; however nine music and variety shows were included in the schedule. Of the nine shows listed, eight were classified as domestic while one was Czech in origin and was therefore classified as foreign.

STV2 (Dvojka) **1-week selection**

The one-week sample for STV2 indicated similar results to the outcomes for the twelve-day section. For example, the scheduling did not list any reality TV programmes, sitcoms, or game shows for the week in discussion. Similarly, of the ninety-two news and information programmes shown, ninety-one were domestic and one broadcast was a French information programme. As analysed in the previous section for STV2, political talk shows play a significant role in the overall broadcast schedule for STV2. One of the main reasons for such a high volume of this type of programming is due to the fact that STV2 is predominantly an information-based channel that broadcasts national, educational, political and ‘cultural’ programming¹⁰. For example, during this week, a total of twenty-seven talk shows, predominantly political in nature, were aired. Of the total, twenty-five were domestic while the remaining two were Hungarian political talk shows.

¹⁰ STV2 is a similar broadcaster to the Canadian TVO station.

Movies also comprised a significant portion of the scheduling for this particular week. Overall, twenty-three films were broadcast and thirteen of these were domestic productions. However, unlike its sister station STV1, STV2 mainly broadcasts historical and documentary-style films. Furthermore only three films originated from the US, while four films originated from France, and one film each was shown from Canada, Britain, and Germany. A total of eight educational programmes were shown during the week of March 19th, 2005. Seventy-five % (6 of 8) of the programmes were domestic, while the remaining twenty-five % (2 of 8) were categorized as semi-domestic because these were English-language learning programmes which contained non-Slovak content. An additional observation indicated that a large portion of the programming consisted of children's shows (16 of total); seven of which were domestic, eight foreign and one semi-domestic.¹¹

The broadcast of series also played a significant role in the TV listings, where a total of twenty-one series episodes were shown during this time. However only seven of the total twenty-one series were domestic, while fourteen were categorised as foreign. The distribution of the foreign programming consisted of mostly British shows (42.8% of total) while the remaining foreign programmes included shows from the US (21.43% of total), the Czech Republic (14.29% of total), Britain (42.86% of total), France (7.14% of total) and Australia (21.43% of total). Similar to the twelve-day sample, most of the series were documentary-style programmes. These results were similar to the results found for the one-week sample for STV2. Through this analysis it is evident that STV2 does not predominantly broadcast commercial-entertainment programming like that of its

¹¹ The semi-domestic categorization of the children's programme was based on the fact that the show was an English-language learning programme, which could not be classified as fully domestic due to its content.

sister station, STV1. The majority of the programmes included news and information programmes as well as documentary-style films and series. It is important to note, however, that American productions are significant contributors in the foreign categories for STV2.

Markiza 12 day selection

Markiza, as aforementioned, was the first successful privately owned and operated station in Slovakia after its separation from the Czech Republic. Markiza has also enjoyed high ratings and seems to be one of the most popular television stations in the country. The majority of Markiza's broadcasts are commercial in nature, and the station includes a significant amount of films, series and entertainment programming within its broadcast schedule, a large number of which are foreign in origin. Similar to the results for STV1 and STV2, however, all news and information programming listed for Markiza were classified as domestic. Therefore, all fifty-three listed news and information shows were considered Slovak in origin. On the other hand, of the two sport programmes listed only one was considered as domestic while the other programme was classified as semi-domestic due to the content of the show. The sport programme contained foreign content concerning extreme sports from all over the world; similarly the set-up of the show closely resembled that of America's *Ripley's Believe it or Not* programme, and for this reason could not be considered as indigenous to Slovakia. The television line-up for Markiza also consisted of a total of thirty-two talk shows. Of the thirty-two talk shows, thirty were considered as domestic and the remaining two were considered as semi domestic based on the way that the show was set-up and the content that the show exhibited. *Televizia* also listed twenty-five game shows in total for

Markiza's line-up during the twelve-day sample. Interestingly, the results indicated an almost equal distribution of domestic and semi-domestic game shows for the sample; of the total twenty-five game shows shown, thirteen were domestic programmes while the remaining twelve of the programmes were considered as semi-domestic. The reason for the semi-domestic classification resulted in the fact that the copyrights for the game shows in question were bought from Britain. The semi-domestic game show programmes were the Slovak equivalent to *Who Wants to be a Millionaire (Millionar)*, a show that originated in Great Britain and has become successful in a number of countries around the world.

Similar to the results found for STV1, all sitcoms (N=23) broadcast on Markiza were all American. Furthermore, another interesting result showed that all the films shown on Markiza were classified as foreign. In total twenty-eight films were broadcast on Markiza during the twelve-day sample. Of these films twenty-one originated in the US. The rest of the films shown were distributed among the following nations: Czech Republic (7.14%), Germany (10.71%), France (3.57%) and one collaborative project between France and Italy. Although no domestic films were listed in the schedule for Markiza, of the three educational programmes shown, all were indigenous to Slovakia.

Markiza's broadcast schedule did not consist of a large number of children's programmes. For example only six children's programmes were broadcast during the sample timeframe; of the six programmes, two were domestic programmes, while of the remaining four programmes two were American and two were French Canadian. While children's programming did not play a significant role in Markiza's scheduling, the number of series broadcast was significant. A total of sixty-two series programmes were

shown during the twelve-day period. Of these sixty-two shows, only five were domestic while the rest were foreign programmes. American series contributed the majority of the programmes with an overall 71.93% of the series programming. Great Britain, Germany and France all had two shows each listed. In addition Markiza also aired five programmes that originated in the Czech Republic and one programme that originated in Canada. Lastly, two programmes shown were a co-production between Canada and Australia.

During the twelve-day sample Markiza aired a total of thirty-two music and variety shows. Of these, twelve were considered domestic and twenty were classified as semi-domestic. The classification of semi-domestic programmes in this category was based on the fact that although the programmes did include Slovak hosts, cast and crew a lot of the content shown was foreign (music videos for example). Correspondingly, of all the Reality TV programming shown (9 in total), all were considered as semi-domestic. The shows were based on dating game shows which are not considered domestic and follow a North American format.

Lastly, a total of twenty-five soap operas were shown during the timeframe. All were foreign soap operas and similar to the results for STV1 in this category, most originated in South America. For example, two soap operas originated from Argentina, while the remaining twenty-four programmes were co-productions between different countries including Mexico and Spain (60% of total), Columbia and Spain (12% of total), and Venezuela and Spain (16% of total). In addition, one soap opera was listed as a co-production between the US and Russia, however this particular show only appeared once in the overall programming schedule. Overall these results were consistent with the results for a one-week analysis discussed below.

Markiza

1-week selection

The one-week selection showed similar outcomes as the twelve-day selection discussed above. For example, no sport programmes or educational programmes were scheduled for the chosen week. However, all twenty-seven newscasts listed were classified as domestic. The results for the analysis of talk shows revealed consistent results with the twelve-day sample. A total of thirteen talk shows were listed, out of the thirteen, eleven were domestic while the remaining two were considered semi-domestic. No foreign talk shows were listed during this timeframe. The content analysis for game shows also demonstrated similar results: of the eleven game shows in total that were shown, three programmes were considered domestic and eight were considered semi-domestic. As mentioned above, the semi-domestic categorisation was a result of the game shows being adopted versions of the British game show *Millionair*.

A significant finding indicated that similar to the results for STV1 and the 12-day sample for Markiza, all sitcoms listed (N=8) were American in origin. A total number of twenty-seven movies were shown during the week in question. Although none of the movies broadcast during this timeframe were considered as domestic, one was a co-production between Slovakia and Germany and was therefore classified as semi-domestic. The resulting twenty-six films were foreign in origin and consisted of a majority of American productions. The broadcast schedule for Markiza also indicated a large number of series; thirty in total. This was consistent with the twelve-day sample for Markiza. Of the thirty series shown, only two were domestic while the remaining twenty-eight were foreign programmes. Similar to the results for the 12-day sample, the foreign series category consisted of mainly American series, three British series, one French

series and one programme originating in Germany. Moreover, one programme was a co-production between US and Canada while four other series were a combined effort between Canada and Australia.

Similar to the results found for during the twelve-day sample Markiza, all of the reality TV programmes listed (N=8) were classified as semi-domestic due to the reasons outlined above. On the other hand, the variety and music shows that were broadcast during the week (N=14), eight were classified as domestic, while the remaining six were classified as semi-domestic due to the nature of their content and format where the music featured in the majority of the shows consisted of foreign music videos. A significant result indicated that all of the soap operas shown for the week in discussion were all foreign, primarily South American in origin. This is consistent not only with the results for the 12-day sample for Markiza but also with the two STV1 samples as well. For example, of the total ten soap operas shown, six were co-productions between Spain and Mexico, three were co-productions between Spain and Venezuela and one originated in Venezuela.

The results for both the twelve-day sample as well as the one-week sample demonstrated that the Markiza programming schedule consists of a high number of foreign programmes, especially in the categories of movies, sitcoms, series and children's programming. Domestic programming prevails in the newscast and information categories as well as the talk show and music and variety programming. However, reality television programmes consist of mostly semi-domestic programmes because these are usually based on foreign formats or contain mostly foreign content in the form of music videos. Soap operas also all originate from foreign nations; predominantly from Spanish-

speaking countries such as Mexico and Venezuela. The content analysis for Markiza has shown consistent results for both samples; moreover the sample has also indicated similar results to those for STV1.

JOJ

12 day selection

The television station JOJ has been broadcasting since March 2002 and is co-owned by *Ceská Produkční Invest* (Czech Republic: 20%), *Grafobal Group* (Slovakia: 50%) and Vladimír Komár (Czech Republic: 30%), *Ceská Produkční Invest* and Vladimír Komár are personally connected (Skolkay, <<http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/slovakia.html>>). For the twelve-day sample, it is important to note that no educational programming was listed. Furthermore, all sports programmes (N=45) were classified as domestic, all newscasts and informational programming (N=52) were also considered domestic and lastly all talk shows (N=14) were classified as domestic. This is consistent with that the broadcast schedules for STV1 and Markiza. However, in this case no talk shows were considered semi-domestic. On the other hand, of the total eighty-eight game shows that were listed during this timeframe, fifty-four were categorized as domestic while the remaining thirty-four were classified as semi-domestic. A number of game shows were modeled after Czech formats that were originally developed for the Czech broadcaster, NOVA.

The content analysis indicated that all of the sitcoms (N=14) that were broadcast during this period originated in the US. These results are significant because they are identical to the results found for both STV1 and Markiza listings. Furthermore of the thirty-four movies that were listed only three films were classified as domestic while the remaining thirty-one films were of foreign origin. The majority of the movies originated from the US. Other films that were included in the sample originated from Great Britain

(3.23% of total), Russia (3.23% of total), France (3.23% of total) and Italy (3.23% of total). Listed, however, were also co-productions between US and Great Britain (6.45% of total) as well as a co-production between America and Canada (3.23% of total). Once again, this breakdown was similar to the samples for both Markiza and STV1.

Children's programming made up a considerable portion of the programming schedule for JOJ with a total of sixteen programmes, only four of which were domestic. The foreign children's programmes consisted predominantly of American programmes (66.67% of total), but also included two shows from France and Japan. Series programming also formed a significant portion of the entire programming schedule for JOJ. A total of seventy-four series programmes were listed for the twelve-day period, four of which were domestic. The remaining seventy programmes were foreign in origin and the majority of shows originated in the US (54.29% of total). The remaining programmes included shows from Germany, Great Britain, France and three shows each from Australia, Canada, and the Czech Republic. In addition several series were a collaborative endeavor between Germany and Austria, France and Canada, as well as, the US and Canada.

The reality TV category for the listings of JOJ consisted of only one semi-domestic programme which was based on the American Reality TV show *So You Think You Can Dance?* entitled *Milionovy Tanec*. In *Milionovy Tanec*, a panel of judges auditions dancers for a prize. The format of the show is very similar to the American format, and therefore the programme was not classified as domestic but rather as a semi-domestic production. In addition, of the twenty-five variety and music shows that were broadcasts during this time period none were considered domestic. Three shows

originated in the Czech Republic and were classified as foreign in origin while the remaining twenty-two were considered semi-domestic due to their format and foreign content (such as music videos). It should be noted that one show in particular, entitled *Ranajoky*, was classified as semi-domestic because the show is based on a North American format of breakfast television.

Lastly, the category of soap operas showed consistent results with that of STV1 and Markiza. Twenty soap operas were broadcast during this timeframe, all of which were categorized as foreign. Of the twenty soaps, seventeen originated in Mexico, two originated in Columbia and one originated in Brazil. It is interesting to note that these results are almost identical to those found for STV1 and Markiza, where all soap operas listed for all three stations also originated in primarily the same countries.

JOJ

1-week selection

Although TV JOJ is a privately owned company and its investors are predominantly foreign, results indicated that all newscasts and information programming (34 in total) was domestic. Also, the seven talk shows that were broadcast during the week the majority (six) were considered domestic while only one was considered semi-domestic. The content analysis demonstrated that during the one-week period all sitcoms that were aired on JOJ (N=5) were foreign and all were American in origin. Interestingly, these results are consistent with the results in the same category for both STV1 and Markiza. The selection of movies that was broadcast during the week showed a more equal distribution than those of the sitcom category; however these results are also similar to those found for both STV1 and Markiza. For example, twenty-five movies in total were broadcast during the week; two were domestic while the remaining twenty-

three were foreign. American films were the primary contributors to this category, with a total of seventeen films aired during the week. In addition, three British films were shown along with two films from France and one film that was a co-production between Germany and Canada.

Similar to JOJ's results for the 12-day sample, children's programming played a significant role in the overall programme line-up for the week, with a total of twenty-one shows aired. Three programmes were domestic while the remaining eighteen programmes were foreign. Half of the children's programmes shown were American while seven originated in France and two originated in Japan. Series programming also played a considerable role in the over all scheduling, with a total of thirty-seven series broadcast during the week. Four of the series were domestic, thirty-two were classified as foreign and one semi-domestic programme was also shown. The semi-domestic programme shown was a collaborative project between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Similar to the results for the 12-day sample the majority of series programmes originated in the US. As aforementioned, these results are similar to those found for the twelve-day sample and are consistent with the schedules for STV1 and Markiza.

Discussion of Results

The original hypothesis for this project predicted that the majority of entertainment programmes, such as films and series programming would be foreign in origin, specifically American. The content analysis has demonstrated this hypothesis, specifically with the results found for STV1, Markiza as well as JOJ where the majority of movies and series shown were predominantly American. The only broadcaster that did not conform to this standard was STV2, which was a result of the fact that the station is

mainly dedicated to 'cultural' programming that consists primarily of national, educational and information-based programmes. A significant observation indicated that all of the television stations in question all broadcasted domestic newscasts and political programming. Regardless of the amount of foreign movies or other entertainment programming, these results indicate that local audiences prefer domestic news programmes. Furthermore, although most movies and series programmes were bought from other nations and dubbed, all variety shows, talk shows and game shows, although sometimes based on foreign formats, were adapted to suit the needs of a Slovak audience. Therefore, although the formats and in some cases the content was foreign in origin, the shows utilized the national Slovak language, its own casts and crew and in some cases modified the topics to suit the cultural needs of its audience. This was especially evident in the game show category where the various topics and questions of the game shows were reflective of Slovak culture as opposed to the original nation from which they were adopted. The reality television programmes shown during the time frame also indicated similar results between the three channels, STV1, Markiza and JOJ, where all of the shows within this category were semi-domestic. The most obvious example was STV1's *Slovensko Hľadá Superstar* (*American/Canadian Idol*), which the station bought the rights for and is now broadcasting with its own Slovak crew and talent. However, the results indicated that some of the reality TV programmes were not necessarily direct copies of foreign shows. For example, the JOJ production of *Milionový Tanec*, although loosely based on the American *So You Think You Can Dance?* included some original plot lines and prizes. This result indicates that some of the Slovak television producers

are creating their own versions of reality TV, which has not simply been purchased from other nations.

Both films and series programmes were mostly dubbed versions of the originals and the majority of these originated in the US and in other Western European nations. These results indicated that Slovakia is producing very few movie and series productions and the population therefore has little viewing alternatives to the western programmes. Although these results were mainly consistent with the programming schedules for STV1, Markiza and JOJ, STV2 also exhibited the same trend and the station broadcast a large portion of American programming in the form of movies and series. Furthermore, this was also the case for soap operas where none of these types of shows were indigenous productions. Interestingly the majority of shows in this category originated in Spanish-speaking countries such as Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico. This would indicate that regardless of the foreign content that is exhibited by these shows, broadcasters feel that this does not impede the amount of viewers that tune in and the stations continue to televise such programmes.

Lastly children's programming seemed to compose a significant portion of the programming schedule for all four stations, primarily during the weekend and in the earlier hours of the weekdays. For the most part, the results indicated that some indigenous children's productions were being aired on all four stations (specifically on STV2), however a large number of foreign programmes was also being shown. The analysis also indicated that the majority of children's programming that was aired on STV2 was educational in nature and Slovak in origin, while the remaining stations showed mainly entertaining programmes which were predominantly American in origin.

This demonstrates that the producers in Slovakia are perhaps more cautious of producing educational children's programmes that include national content.

Overall, the most significant finding that was observed through this analysis was that Slovakia seems to be importing a great number of programming from the US. This seems to be a common trend among all four of the nation's major television broadcasters and therefore audiences are left with few alternatives to the foreign programming that is being broadcast within Slovakia. In addition, younger audiences are also being exposed to a significant number of foreign, mainly American programming, as most of the entertainment-based children's programmes are being imported. On the other hand, as noted, all of the nation's news sources and political debates originate from within the nation and these results were consistent with all four television stations. Lastly, it is important to note that for three of the four stations the television scheduling does not vary significantly, only STV2 has a different television schedule and this is a result of the nature of its programming mandate.

Conclusion

The content analysis has demonstrated some consistent results for the four major television stations broadcasting within Slovakia. STV1, Markiza and JOJ showed similar results in terms of their breakdown of programming. All three stations included mainly commercial and entertainment programmes including a significant number of series, films as well as some children's programming. It is significant to note that all three stations included only sitcoms that originated from the US. Furthermore, the stations exhibited a number of domestic and semi-domestic talk shows, variety and music shows as well as some game shows; some of which have been modeled based on foreign

formats into their Slovak equivalents. For both the twelve-day sample as well as the one-week selection, very few (if any) educational programmes were aired on STV1, Markiza or JOJ; the public broadcaster, STV2, televised most of the educational programming listed. The news and information programmes, along with the majority of sport programmes that were shown on all four channels were all classified as domestic in origin; this result was consistent throughout the sample. As is demonstrated by the above analysis, the majority of the results have been consistent, primarily between the broadcast listings for STV1, Markiza and JOJ. Moreover, the analysis indicated that American programming dominated the television schedule; however British, German and French programmes also played a significant role in the overall broadcast schedules for Slovakia. STV2 was the only station that did not indicate consistent results to the rest of the three stations; however this is due to the nature of the station which, as aforementioned, is dedicated to serve a predominantly informative, cultural and nationalistic function in the overall television landscape. Additionally, as aforementioned the station is not a significantly popular broadcaster and does not include a large number of commercial-entertainment programming. Overall, the results of the content analysis have been consistent with my initial hypothesis, which stated that the Slovak television landscape is dominated by foreign, largely American, programmes. It is evident that Slovakia is creating few indigenous productions, aside from various informative programmes. As a result of the lack of media production Slovak audiences have little opportunity to view domestic entertainment programming.

Chapter Four: Policy Issues and the Current TV Broadcasting Landscape Of the Slovak Republic

Introduction

Since its separation from Czechoslovakia, Slovakia's television media landscape has undergone several transitions in terms of its policies, laws and legislative mandates. In the past and under communist rule, television broadcasting was governed, monitored and administered strictly by the state; this signified that private and foreign broadcasters were forbidden to freely televise within the nation, and only certain audiovisual material was allowed as part of the television broadcasting environment. With the transition from communism to a capitalist market system, television laws and policies had to be altered and amended in order to meet the demands of the new political and economic structure. Slovak television struggled in the wake of its new political situation but also as a result of its separation from the Czech Republic in 1992. The existing and old policies and laws needed to be amended in order to provide a new environment in which television broadcasting could flourish. In 2003, a new and momentous transition occurred when Slovakia was signed under the European Union constitution as one of its new members. Once again television media laws had to be revised in order to suit the needs of another new power governing the country. In a nation that has undergone considerable reforms in less than two decades, it is imperative to examine Slovakia's reformed policies and laws, which govern and monitor the country's television broadcasts, in order to determine its current media environment. Therefore, in this chapter I examine in detail the various legislative policies and laws that are in place which govern Slovakia's television broadcasts. Specifically, the focus of this part of the project is on the newest act (ACT308), as commissioned by the EU, which is outlined and examined for the purpose

of establishing the current television media landscape and structure of Slovakia. In addition, several policies are examined in order to provide background for the current conjuncture in which television functions and how this impacts the content of broadcasting. Finally, some of the programs that are designed to aid television production will be examined in terms of how these affect television content in the country.

Legislative Bodies for Television Broadcasting in the Slovak Republic

The Slovak Ministry of Culture (*Ministerstvo Kultury Slovenskej Republiky*)¹² was established in 1969 while the nation was under communist rule and still part of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. Although the ministry's duties and responsibilities have changed in the last decade and a half since its separation from the Czech Republic, television media is among the many areas that remain under its jurisdiction. Other responsibilities include radio broadcasting and retransmission, copyright laws and policies for both electronic and print media as well as the protection of Slovak audiovisual and cinematographic property. Its mandate states:

The section for media and audiovisual broadcasting together with the Ministry of Culture ensures by general law and international treaties, its responsibility in the area of media, periodic publications, audiovisual media, cinematography and copyright laws (Kuruc (trans.), <www.culture.gov.sk/index>)

Although all of the above-mentioned sectors fall under the ministry's jurisdiction, separate overseeing councils have been devised in order to ensure that laws and policies set out by the Ministry are fulfilled and maintained.

In 1992, after the separation of Slovakia from the Czech Republic, *The Council of Slovak Republic for Radio and Television Broadcasting (Rada pre Vysielanie Radia a Televizie Slovenskej Republiky)* was created in accordance with the Act Nr. 294/1992 of

¹²For practical purposes, from this point forward the Ministry of Culture of Slovakia will be referred to as the Ministry.

Coll. in order to confer responsibility to a main legislative body for developing and maintaining policies and legislative mandates specifically for radio and television broadcasting <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. This act dictated all laws and policies that dealt with specifically Slovak television and Radio broadcasting. Prior to the separation of Czechoslovakia, the Ministry governed both the Czech and the Slovak policies for radio and television broadcasting together, as the nation was technically considered as one entity. On October the fourth, 2000, however, two new Acts; Act Nr. 308/2000 of Coll. on broadcasting and retransmission and Act Nr. 195/2000 of Coll. on telecommunications, were developed in order to fully harmonize Slovak law with the European legislation in the area of broadcasting <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. The new Acts were designed to abolish previous national Acts, which regulated radio and television broadcasting <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. Further to this change, the council's name was changed to *Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission (Rada pre Visielanie a Retransmisiiu)*.¹³ Although RADA-RTV is responsible for several different aspects pertaining to broadcasting, the Ministry of Culture has the right to dispute RADA-RTV on issues pertaining to broadcasting and retransmission'(Act. 308. Sec. 14).¹⁴

As outlined by Act 308, in 2000, RADA-RTV is comprised of nine elected members who are both elected and recalled by the *National Council of Slovak Republic* and who cannot hold a function in a political party or a political movement. Act 308 was designed to outline and delineate the duties of the *Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission*. The document was adopted by the *National Council of the Slovak*

¹³ For practical purposes, from this point forward the Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission will be referred to as RADA-RTV

¹⁴ Act 308 for Broadcasting and Retransmission was accessed from:
http://www.culture.gov.sk/english/doc/act_broadcast.pdf

Republic as a matter of national legislation, which is meant to serve as a foundation for the responsibilities of RADA-RTV as well as the broadcasters and operators of retransmission. As stated: “the Act shall govern the status and competence of the Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission;” as well it shall outline the “rights and duties of the broadcaster, retransmission operator, legal persons or natural persons” (Act 308, Sec. 1). RADA-RTV’s main objective is to ensure that any policies and regulations pertaining to broadcast media are enforced, and it is the responsibility of RADA-RTV to manage any public concerns involving television and radio programming. Officially, the central goal of RADA-RTV states:

The objective of RADA-RTV for Broadcasting and Retransmission is to enforce the interests of the public and the exercise of the rights to information and freedom of speech and the rights of access to cultural values and education and to perform state regulation in the areas of broadcasting and retransmission <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>.

Moreover, RADA-RTV must also ensure the maintenance of plurality within news programs while at the same time supervising the compliance of broadcasters with state legislation governing broadcasting and retransmission (Act. 308. Sec. 4, Par. 2). RADA-RTV is also responsible for performing any mandated state administration in the areas of broadcasting and retransmission.

Council and Broadcaster’s Rights and Duties as outlined by ACT 308

Section five, paragraph one, of ACT 308 outlines the basic responsibilities and competences that RADA-RTV is responsible for. These include:

1. Deciding on licenses for broadcasting.
2. Deciding on the registrations for retransmission.
3. Deciding on the suspension of retransmission of a program service.
4. Deciding on further frequencies to public service broadcasters.
5. Granting agreement to a public service broadcaster or broadcasting by satellite.
6. Supervision of the fulfillment of duties according to law and special regulations.
7. Imposing sanctions on a broadcaster.

8. Participating in the creation of laws and other generally binding legislation in the area of broadcasting and retransmission.

(Act. 308. Sec. 5, Par. 1)

Furthermore, part three of Act 308, section 15 delineates the basic rights and duties of both broadcasters and operators of retransmission. The document states that a “broadcaster shall broadcast programs freely and independently” and there can be “no intervention (of the state) into their content, only on the basis of law and its limits”, the same applies to the operators of retransmission (Act. 308. Sec.15). The basic duty of broadcasters, as outlined by Act 308, includes the instruction that a broadcaster must ensure the universality of information and plurality of opinion within the broadcast program service (Act. 308. Sec.1). Within this legislation, however, the main objective of a broadcaster and a public service broadcaster differ, where a public service broadcaster’s main intention states:

The main objective of a public service broadcaster shall be to serve the public and other social interest, to contribute to the development of a democratic society, to create space in the broadcast for plurality of opinions without favouring the interest of any one political party, political movement, group or part of society of religious confession or faith, and to support the development of artistic creation, culture and education (Act. 308. Sec. 18, Par. 1).

Additionally, the basic duties of a public broadcaster are separate from those of a private broadcaster. In part four, paragraph 2; section 18, the special duties of a public service broadcaster are outlined. These include a number of clauses that pertain to the broadcast of programs with the availability of subtitles; “the public service broadcaster shall be obliged to ensure by hidden or open subtitle at least 25% of all broadcast programs on each program circuit, within five years of this law coming into effect” (Act. 308. Sec. 18, Par.2a). Paragraph 2d further delineates the duties that a public broadcaster must ensure in terms of the content of the programming shown. The Act states that, “the public

service broadcaster must ensure a heterogeneous selection of programs, a great majority of which being programs in the *public interest* (emphasis added)” (Act. 308. Sec. 18, Par. 2d). However, this section of the Act is ambiguous because the term ‘public interest’ is not defined within the framework of the policy. As a result the public service broadcaster does not have a clear outline of what a program that caters to public interest should include.

Act 308 includes further clauses that outline policies regarding the protection of human dignity and humanity. For example, paragraph 2a of section 19 states that a program service and all of its parts must “not propagate violence and in a hidden or open form instigate hatred on the basis of gender, race, colour of skin, faith and religion, political or other thinking, national or social origin, membership in a national or ethnic group”(Act 308. Sec. 19, Par. 2a). All clauses within these outlined sections attempt to define how broadcasts are to be televised, RADA-RTV’s duties pertaining to television broadcasts and what is appropriate and inappropriate within the broadcasting of television programmes.

Act 308, Part 6: European works and Independent Production

Part six of Act 308 outlines policies regarding the content of television programs and defines the amount of programming that must be in the form of European and independent works. Firstly, section 22 of the clause defines the term *European Works* as originating from: “one of the Member States of the European Union, one of the European States which is a contracting party to the European Convention on Transfrontier Television and fulfils the conditions under paragraph 2 (discussed below)” or “one of the European States, which is not referred to in letters A and B but does fulfill the conditions under paragraph 3 (discussed below)” (Act 308, Sec. 22.

Par. 1a-1c). Paragraph two and paragraph three of section twenty-two, further outline the conditions that must be met in order to fulfill the category of 'European Works'.

Paragraph two states:

The works, referred to in paragraph 1 letter a) and b) are works mainly made by authors and employees residing in or having a long-term stay in one or more States of the European Union. Or in one or more States which are contracting parties to the European Convention on Transfrontier Television. If they are made by one or more producers with headquarters in one or more of these States, or production of the works is controlled by one or more producers with their headquarters in one or more of these States. Or the contribution of co-producers of these States in the total co-production costs is preponderant, and one or more producers established outside of these States do not control the co-production (Act 308, Sec. 22. Par. 2a-2c).

Furthermore, as outlined by paragraph three in section twenty-two, European works are also "works made by producers established in one or more European States which are not referred to in paragraph 1a and 1b and with which the European Union has concluded agreements relating to the audiovisual sector" (Act 308, Sec. 22. Par 3).

Moreover, if the works in question are made predominantly by authors and employees residing in one or more European States or the works are made in co-production with producers having their headquarters in one or more Member States of European Union, this constitutes the work as a 'European Work'.

Finally, paragraph four of section twenty-two provides a final circumstance in which a work can be classified as a 'European Work'. The paragraph states that "European works are also works, made within the framework of bilateral co-production treaties concluded between the Member States of European Union and third States" but only if "the co-producers of the Member States of European Union remunerate most of the total costs of the production, and their production is not controlled by one or more producers having their headquarters outside the territory of

the Member States of European Union” (Act 308, Sec. 22, Par. 4). Essentially, this clause dictates that any co-productions with other non-EU nations, such as Canada or the US for example, must be mainly funded by nations within the European Union in order to be considered ‘European Works’.

Section twenty-three of Act 308, states that “the broadcaster shall reserve a *majority* (emphasis added) proportion of his broadcasting time for European works, excluding the broadcasting time appointed to news, sport events, games, advertising, teletext services and teleshopping” (Act 308, Sec. 23, Par. 1). Before adopting the new Act in the year 2000, the content of programming was determined by the terms of the individual license that was agreed upon by individual broadcasters, therefore as stated by RADA-RTV: “this obligation was established on the basis of an individual license procedure” <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. However with the new Act in place, all broadcasters must follow the procedures outlined in Act 308, part six.

One of the problems with the new Act, part six, is the lack of clarity provided in some of the outlined clauses. For example in the above paragraph (Sec. 23, Par.1), which dictates that the *majority* of programming must be European productions, the term *majority* is not clearly defined in terms of set numbers and percentages, and therefore the clause remains ambiguous. RADA-RTV, which governs and enforces Act 308, states within its website that the annual broad share of European production in 2002 was 56%; although this is more than half of the programming, the Act does not specify whether or not this is considered a majority. In addition, RADA-RTV claims that the way in which ‘European Work’ is defined is also problematic because it is considered too broad and general. RADA-RTV states:

It (the definition of “European Work”) is rather wide and it does not comprise only film and serial production, but also other programme types such as current affairs, documentaries and parts of entertainment programmes (except for news, entertainment games, sport undertakings, advertising and teleshopping) <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>.

The following outlines the average of broadcast shares of European productions for 2002, as they appeared in the four main television stations:

*Table 3: Annual Average Broadcast Shares of European Productions: 2002 (in %)*¹⁵

Name of TV station	STV	TV Markíza	TV JOJ
Average 2002 (%)	78.2	56.17	55.81

<<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>¹⁶

The total share of Slovak domestic productions is included in the total share of European Works. However, the Act does not specify an amount of broadcasting time that has to be reserved for Slovak domestic production. Although the transmission of domestic content is not officially established or enforced by law, the share of broadcast original domestic production reaches approximately 25 - 30% annually <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. Although the results indicate that broadcasters are not finding section 23 of Act 308 difficult to abide by, it is imperative to note that “in general, TV broadcasters use night broadcasting to keep the assigned so-called European quotas, stating that over half of the broadcasted hours shall be dedicated to European production” (Ulman, 2004: 25). This is problematic when looking at the ratings (discussed below) of various television programmes, because although broadcasters claim that the majority of their programmes are European in origin, if these programmes are broadcast at a time when few people are watching the resulting quotas become irrelevant.

¹⁵ STV1 and STV2 are both included together under the heading STV.

¹⁶ Data in brackets create the share of European independent productions as part of the total share of European productions.

In terms of distribution and broadcasting of film and series programmes, Act 308 does not outline any policies concerning the necessary amount of broadcast content for this type of programming. As a matter of fact, in January 2003, RADA-RTV, in cooperation with commercial broadcasters Markiza and JOJ, administered a list of televised films and series based on their origin, which were broadcast on both stations (please see Appendix 2).

As was indicated by the statistics, both Markiza and JOJ reserve a large portion of programming for film and series broadcasts. Commercial television broadcaster Markiza televises approximately 12 hours of films and series productions daily, of this a significant portion (47.3% of total time) originate from the USA <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. The private broadcaster TV JOJ broadcasts approximately 11 hours of film and series productions daily <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>, while more than 50% of these are American in origin. In this case the actual broadcasting results and section twenty-three of Act 308 are not consistent with each other because as the results indicate European production creates only 35.4% share of the overall film and series programming, which is not the majority for such a significant type of programme category.

Further to the discussion of Section 23 of Act 308, paragraph 2 includes a “high degree of in-built flexibility, which gives the Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission the possibility to set up lower percentages of European production” for several cases <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. For example, the RADA-RTV can assign a smaller share of European works in broadcasting for a broadcaster who has been granted a license for the first time and for a broadcaster who establishes a monothematic programme service (for example, an all-news TV station) (Act 308, Sec. 23, Par. 2).

However, as stated by RADA-RTV, since the inception of the Act on October the fourth, 2000, RADA-RTV has not received any application petitioning for a decrease in European production share <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>.

Section twenty-four of the broadcasting Act outlines the provisions for the amount of content that must be reserved for independent European producers. An independent producer is defined by the Act, as “a legal person or natural person dealing with production or sound track of audio-visual works intended mainly for television programme service broadcasting, acting willingly, in line with his own trade policy and working for different broadcasters” (Act 308, Sec. 24, Par. 1). Moreover, an independent production is “a programme made by an independent producer with the aim of presenting it in broadcasting; in its production are used authorial, creative and technical capacities acting separately from the broadcaster” (Act 308, Sec. 24, Par. 2). News programmes, the live broadcast of sport events, entertainment games, advertising, teletext and teleshopping are not included in the definition of an independent production.

In addition to section twenty-four, section twenty-five dictates that a broadcaster must reserve at least 10% of its programming time for European works created by independent producers. Moreover, “A broadcaster shall be obliged to ensure that European independent production represents at least 20% of broadcasting time on each programme circuit” (Act 308, Sec. 25, Par. 1). Similar to section 23 and 24, the overall calculation of the total broadcasting time of independent European productions excludes the time appointed to news, sport events, entertainment games, advertising, teletext and teleshopping programmes. As seen with the results indicated by the RADA-RTV (Appendix 2), most of the statistics provided already include the 10%

portion of European works by an independent producer and therefore the quotas set out by Act 308 do not seem problematic for broadcasters to obey.

Act 308, Part 8: Broadcasting of Advertisements, Teleshopping and Sponsored Programmes

Part seven of Act 308, outlines all broadcasting duties that pertain to the televising of advertisements, teleshopping programmes and sponsored programming. Section thirty-two, paragraph one, outlines the definition of what falls under the category of advertising. The Act states:

Advertising for the purpose of this law means any public announcement broadcast in return for payment or any similar counter-value including self publicity with the aim of supporting the sale, purchase or lease of goods, services, including real estates, rights and obligations (Act 308, Sec. 32, Par. 1).

Supplementary to this definition, the Act outlines guidelines for the broadcasting of commercial and teleshopping material which includes various prohibitions and restrictions on certain kinds of advertisements and teleshopping programmes. For example in paragraph fourteen, the Act states that all subliminal advertisements and teleshopping shows are prohibited, while section thirty-three, paragraph one states that all forms of television advertising and teleshopping for tobacco products are also prohibited (Act 308, Sec. 32 & 33, Par. 14 & 1). The prohibition includes using brand names, trademarks, emblems or other marked signs of these products during broadcasting time. The policies that govern the broadcast of advertisements and teleshopping are included in the Act in order to govern and limit the amount of advertising content shown on television, but also in order to remain consistent with the television programming style of other European Union nations.

An important area of this clause delineates the structure in which various advertisements must appear on television. Unlike the North American format, where advertisements are typically inserted into actual programmes, in Slovakia the law dictates that all television advertising and teleshopping programmes must be incorporated *in between* individual programmes (Act 308, Sec. 35, Par. 1). Therefore, the Act dictates that all advertisements and teleshopping programmes must be recognizable and clearly separated from other parts of televised programmes, so that advertisements do not seem interchangeable with other parts of broadcasting services (Act 308, Sec. 35, Par. 2). In addition, advertising and teleshopping during the broadcasting of television programmes must be transmitted in separate blocks and divided from other programme services (Act 308, Sec. 35, Par.2). Paragraph three of the same section, maintains that during the broadcasting of audiovisual works (excluding series, entertainment programmes and documentary programmes that exceed a 45 minute duration will allowed one interruption, through the insertion of advertising or teleshopping for each period of 45 minutes (Act 308, Sec. 35, Par. 3). However, news broadcasts, current affairs programmes, religious programmes, programmes for minors and televised religious services shall not be interrupted by advertising or teleshopping segments (Act 308, Sec. 35, Par. 4). This clause ensures that a European format is followed as opposed to the North American format in terms of advertising content. However, as a result of the fact that commercials must follow the EU structure set out by the Act impacts the way that imported North American programmes are viewed, since these were designed with the North American advertising format in mind.

Act 308, Part 11: Licensing Procedures for Television Broadcasters in the Slovakia¹⁷

A broadcasting license for nationwide televising in Slovakia is approved on the basis of RADA-RTV's proposal on an application to the National Council; a license is only granted after the approval by RADA-RTV (Act 308, Sec. 45, Par. 4). Paragraph two and three, for example delineate who is eligible to apply for a broadcast license. This includes any legal person or natural person who has a legal corporation, with a head office or organizational unit within the territory of the Slovak Republic (Act 308, Sec. 45, Par. 2). Paragraph three, further stipulates that a natural person may be granted a license if he/she has permanent or long-term residence in the Slovak Republic and if the license is granted to a natural person (Act 308, Sec. 45, Par. 3). Essentially, the clause is designed to ensure that any broadcaster who wants to televise within the nation is also familiar with Slovakia's economic and cultural rules and customs, by living or having a business in the country this knowledge is therefore attained.

Several different aspects are taken into consideration when granting a broadcasting license within Slovakia. For example, RADA-RTV takes into account prerequisites for the observance of plurality of information and medial content, transparency and credibility of funds designated for the financing of the broadcasting, the proportionality of the proposed programme structure in relation to the existing selection of programme services in the area (Act 308, Sec. 47, Par. a- d). Also evaluated by RADA-RTV is the contribution of programmes for public interest by the applicant, as well as the fact that if the applicant is a legal person with foreign capital,

¹⁷ Parts 9 and 10 of Act 308 discuss policies that are out of scope of this paper. Part 9 deals primarily with policies set out which govern programme services devoted exclusively to self-promotion or teleshopping. Furthermore, section 10 of Act 308 focuses on the plurality of information and transparency of property and personnel relations in broadcasting.

it is necessary for him/her to ensure adequate capital participation of Slovak persons and their representation in bodies within the company (Act 308, Sec. 47, Par. e-g). This policy tries to ensure Slovak participation within the broadcasting sector in situations involving foreign broadcasters and investors.

Act 308, Part 13: Sanctions

In case of violation of any of the above outlined duties concerning broadcasting, RADA-RTV has the right to impose sanctions on a broadcaster. Sanctions are imposed in a number of circumstances including if broadcaster has breached his/her duty to keep statistics on various broadcast programmes, programme types and the mandatory share of European works <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. In addition, sanctions are also enforced for any violation to the responsibility of submitting data concerning the origin of broadcasts that impact televised content. Lastly, if a majority proportion of broadcasting time is not reserved for European works, a broadcaster is also reprimanded <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. The sanctions on broadcasting and retransmission operate on a three-level scale. The first violation of any of the policies outlined by Act 308 is met by a warning to the broadcaster by RADA-RTV. The second infringement is an imposed financial fine on the broadcaster; however this occurs in a case where a number of unanswered violations have occurred <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. Act 308, section sixty-seven outlines that a fine can range from 5000 to 1,000,000 SKK (180 -35,000 EURO); however the fines reserved for the violation of any of the European Work policies are sanctioned by the lowest fines as they are considered “administrative defaults” <<http://www.rada-rtv.sk/>>. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the RADA-RTV maintains that since Act 308 has come into force in 2000, it has not discovered any infringements of the outlined duties and responsibilities

concerning the mandated content percentages of programmes and as a result RADA-RTV has not been obliged to impose any sanctions.

MEDIA Programme: MEDIA Desk Slovakia

As part of the mandate based on Act 308, as well as part of Slovakia's obligations to the European Union, an annual report on the audiovisual situation in Slovakia must be compiled. This responsibility is mandated to RADA-RTV however an EU program, entitled the MEDIA Programme also publishes an annual report. The MEDIA Programme became operative in January 2001 and its main objective is to strengthen the competitiveness of the European audiovisual industry, which includes radio broadcast productions, television productions as well as film and cinematographic productions. As stated:

The MEDIA Programme supports the distribution and broadcasting of audiovisual works (fiction, documentary, animation, interactive programmes) and of European films in movie theatres, on video, on DVD and on television. It also provides support to networks of cinema presenting a common strategy for the promotion and marketing of European films<http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/media/distr_en.html#2>.

The Slovak Republic joined the MEDIA Programme and signed the *Memorandum for Understanding* between the *European Commission* and the Slovak government which came into effect from January the 1st, 2003; the Slovak *MEDIA-Desk* office¹⁸ became officially operative on April 1st, 2003 <www.mediadesk.sk>. *MEDIA Desk Slovakia* is a part of the *Slovak Film Institute* and is financed by the *Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic* and the *European Commission*.

Within Slovakia, the MEDIA-Desk programme ensures support in several different fields, all of which relate to the development and strengthening of the European audiovisual sector. The initiatives included as part of the MEDIA programme include: the

¹⁸ MEDIA-DESK is the official title for all sub-divisions of the MEDIA program.

training of professionals within the audiovisual field, the development of production projects and companies, the distribution of cinematographic works and audiovisual programmes, the promotion of cinematographic works and audiovisual programmes, the support for audiovisual festivals and the support for pilot projects within the country <www.mediadesk.sk>. Media Programme is divided into two spheres both of which operate based on the necessary support that is needed specifically by independent European companies operating in audiovisual production. The two spheres of the MEDIA Programme include the *MEDIA Plus Programme*, which deals primarily with the development of film and television projects, distribution of non-national European films, promotion, support of the audiovisual festivals and the support of pilot projects. Secondly, the *MEDIA Training Programme* facilitates further education for professionals within the audiovisual industry <www.mediadesk.sk>. Within television, the call for proposals by MEDIA is aimed specifically at:

European companies whose activities contribute to the promotion and the movement of European television programmes produced by independent companies within and outside the Community by encouraging cooperation between broadcasters on one hand and independent European distributors and producers on the other hand
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/media/distr_en.html#2> .

The programme financially encourages independent producers to create television works in several different genres including, fiction, documentaries as well as animated movies, however series and dramas are not mentioned under the support scheme for MEDIA. In terms of financial support, MEDIA Plus assistance may cover up to 12.5% of the production budget for fiction and animated films and 20% of the production budget for documentary films. The maximum financial contribution awarded does not exceed EURO 500,000 per work <http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/media/distr_en.html#2>. All financial provisions

however, are based on the approval of proposals determined by the group. In 2004, for example Slovakia received financial support in the sum of EURO 222 153 (8 663 967 SKK) from MEDIA; this was a significant economic contribution for the Slovak audiovisual sector (Ulman, 2004: 9)¹⁹.

As a result of the infused financial support from the MEDIA Programme, in 2004 the first reality show, *The Girl For A Million*, appeared on Slovak Television (broadcasted by TV JOJ) which was produced primarily by Slovak scriptwriters, script editors and other TV professionals (Ulman, 2004: 24). Prior to this, Slovakia did not produce any reality television series. In addition, in the spring of 2004, Slovak Television (STV) announced the purchase of the license rights for the reality show *Slovakia is Searching for a SuperStar* (*Slovensko Hlada SuperStar*)²⁰. Interestingly, since the show's October 29, 2004 premier, *SuperStar* has reached the record ratings and market share (Ulman, 2004: 24). For example, the average ratings of all three parts of the show reached almost 30%, and the third part received 32.60% which represents 1.5 millions viewers; the third part of the programme established a record in market share with 65.70% overall share of viewers (Ulman, 2004: 24).

In terms of other television programme productions, the results indicate that very few films and series programmes have been produced by Slovak broadcasters. For example, in 2004, although STV claimed to have produced 16,008 programmes, the data did not indicate exactly what genre of television programming this included. What is known is that fictional movies and series shows were not largely produced as part of 16,

¹⁹ All information taken from the *Report on the Slovak Audiovisual Situation in 2004*, compiled by Miroslav Ulman and edited by Vladimír Štric and Silvia Klasová. Found on: http://www.obs.coe.int/online_publication/reports/sk_av_report_2004.pdf

²⁰ *Slovakia is Searching for a SuperStar* is the Slovak equivalent to *American/Canadian Idol*. From this point on only referred to as *SuperStar*.

008 programmes made (Ulman, 2004:25). Furthermore, STV received a significant number of approved and settled scripts for original fiction production and as a result the broadcaster opened a competition to fund an original TV film production (Ulman, 2004:25). Out of one hundred and fourteen entries, in May 2004 a special committee selected fifteen proposals and suggested to include them for further production (Ulman, 2004:25). As a result of the competition, the production of one film was granted a budget of 10 million SKK (EURO 256 410) and began production on March 31st, 2005 (Ulman, 2004: 25), the project has yet to finish production.

Although no Slovak films within the animation or drama category were produced during 2004, the public TV broadcaster did participate in the production of a fairytale entitled *The Golden Voice (Zlaty Hlas)* and a full-length documentary *Love Your Neighbor (Miluj Blizneho Svojho)*. However the documentary was later declared as unfinished and was only broadcasted as part of a talk show (Ulman, 2004:25).

Nonetheless, the results indicate that the MEDIA support programme is providing financial support for the production of both films and television programmes. However as a result of the fact that the programme is fairly new, the results of the support scheme remain incomplete.

Finally, despite the fact that MEDIA Desk has made efforts in initiating domestic production within Slovakia, statistics maintain that the majority of film and series productions (which remain the most popular genres among viewers) are largely imported foreign broadcasts (Ulman, 2004:24). For example, in 2004 TV JOJ broadcasted 1,205 film titles, of which 797 were American, 354 European, 7 Slovak and 47 films of other origin (ibid). The five films with the highest ratings from October 15th, 2004 to December

31st, 2004, were all-American productions. Similar results have been found for Markiza, where of the 1,002 films broadcasted; 642 were American, 316 European, 11 Slovak and 33 were of other origin (ibid). The films with the highest ratings²¹ included ten movies of which six were American and only one was a Slovak fairy tale made during the communist era.

As demonstrated by the data provided, the various programmes set-up by the European Union are designed to aid indigenous television and film production within the Slovak Republic. Although efforts have been made within the nation to produce more programming, statistics indicate that the majority of film and series programmes continue to originate from foreign sources predominantly the US. Furthermore, the few new domestic productions that have received financial aid from Media Desk have either remained unfinished or have yet to be seen. Either way, currently the popularity of fictional programming remains with American productions.

Conclusion

Since Slovakia's inception into the European Union in 2003, a number of changes have been made in order to harmonize the nation with its new political structure. For example Act 308 was designed by the European Union to ensure the plurality of programming within the Slovak nation while furthering its own participation within the European audiovisual sector. While part six of the mandate attempts to make certain that European productions comprise the majority of programming on Slovak broadcast networks, the policies outlined by the act fail to acknowledge the production of Slovakia's own television programmes. It seems that the new European Union policies also only cater to the larger European network of countries rather than to the individual

²¹ Ratings were recorded between October 15th, 2004 and December 31st, 2004.

nations that are members of the union by clustering media productions into one category of “European Works”. It is also evident that in order to harmonize Slovakia with the rest of the EÜ, the nation must structure its television programming according to a European standard. This is demonstrated by part eight which dictates the structure that commercial programming must abide by in order to meet the EU standards and which is significantly different from the American format.

Although the statistics provided by the *Council for Broadcasting and Retransmission*, as well as the *MEDIA Programme* indicate a high percentage of European production, the fact that most broadcasters reserve night-time slots to keep their mandated quotas is of significant consequence since most European works are shown during late night or early morning time slots. As indicated by the ratings for 2004, almost all programmes, specifically films which are popular, are of American origin. In addition, it appears that Slovakia is taking advantage of the support provided by the MEDIA Programme and is producing some of its own programming, however for the most part the results of the program still remain to be seen. It seems that the European Union is taking an active part in attempting to control the content and structure of Slovakia’s television media landscape; however it is also evident from the discussion above that Slovak broadcasters are finding ways to subvert the various policies set out by Act 308.

Chapter Five: The Articulation of Slovak Television in the Communist, Post-communist and European Union Conjunctures

Introduction

Slovakia has undergone a significant number of changes within its media landscape in the last four decades. The Slovak television environment, which was once under complete control of the state, has in the last decade transformed into a combination of both private and state ownership that allows a significant amount of foreign material to be broadcast. Furthermore, with the nation's acceptance into the European Union, several different political and economic structures have also altered the television media setting. As a result of these considerable transformations, television broadcasting content in Slovakia has also undergone some significant alterations. Drawing from the results of the content analysis, the policy and regulatory mandates, as well as the historical analysis described in earlier chapters, this paper uses articulation theory to identify and examine specific conjunctures and how different hegemonic ideologies within each conjuncture transformed the television media landscape. Furthermore, this chapter concentrates on an analysis of the Slovak television content and determines why certain types of programmes are predominant and how this has changed as a result of transformations within various conjunctures in Slovakia's past and present.

I begin this chapter by briefly outlining the concept of articulation theory as it was developed by Stuart Hall, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. This discussion is then followed by an examination of each conjuncture, specifically in terms of Slovakia's media landscape. In the case of Slovak television three main conjunctures will be discussed, these include: the communist era, the post-communist period as well as Slovakia's current position as a member of the European Union. In addition this chapter

also explores some reasons why Slovakia's television content includes such a significant portion of certain foreign, predominantly American, programmes. As well various reasons are also explored that deal with the popularity of particular television programmes.

I argue that as a result of its communist history, the popularity of American programming in Slovakia can be linked to various images of freedom that US broadcasts portray. Furthermore, I argue that the transitions in political and economic structures also play a significant role in Slovakia's overall television broadcasting landscape. Therefore, combining my earlier research regarding the historical analysis of Slovakia, as well as the content analysis and policy framework, this chapter will examine the context under which television texts circulate but also possible reasons for why and how certain texts come to appear as they do. I conclude my discussion with an evaluation of the two theses discussed earlier, the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis, and I place Slovakia into the context of both of these.

Articulation Theory-An Outline

Articulation theory views the social world as a 'fluid entity in which meaning can never be completely fixed. As a result of the constant struggle between different forms of definitions regarding social and cultural phenomena, articulation allows for the "whole social field to be understood as a web of processes in which meaning is created" (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002: 25). Therefore, the goal of articulation is to find points of conjuncture in which the struggles over meaning become fixed and where a specific definition is solidified at a given point in time. As aforementioned, Slovakia is a nation that has undergone several different transitions in its economic, social and political

structures and as a result its media landscape has also been greatly transformed. In this sense articulation theory is an important tool for analysis because it outlines how all economic, political, social and cultural elements come together in order to produce meaning. As Trimbur (1993, <<http://jac.gsu.edu/jac/13.1/Articles/3.htm>>) maintains, “the meaning of articulation offers both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated at specific conjunctures.” In this sense, it is important to note that articulation theory’s main goal is to map out the various discourses that occur within a conjuncture in order to provide possible reasons for certain phenomena.

Stuart Hall (1996) recognized the notion that within society there is a need to fix meanings through binary oppositions: by placing signs into relationships with other signs in order to determine their significance. However, as Phillips and Jorgensen (2002: 25) maintain “this practice is ultimately impossible because with every concrete fixation the sign’s meaning is contingent; it is possible but not necessary”. Because social phenomena are never completed and meaning is never fixed, “this opens up the way for constant social struggles about definitions of society, and identity with ‘rustling’ social effects” (24). Therefore, by examining how various discourses, structures and ideas are articulated at particular conjunctures within a social formation, “Hall has sought to define those linkages and how they articulate, at specific times and places, interests, subjectivities and social forces” (Trimbur, 1993, <<http://jac.gsu.edu/jac/13.1/Articles/3.htm>>). The procedure of articulation is “simultaneously discursive and social” since articulation identifies those “historical moments at which certain ideas are uttered and combined into material forces” which determine specific social phenomena at specific historical, social and cultural

conjunctures (ibid). This becomes especially relevant in the examination of Slovakia's media structure because the nation's media landscape has always been directly impacted by various historical, political, economic as well as social circumstances. Therefore, when attempting to fix meanings within the discourse of television in Slovakia, it is important to look at the conjectures in which these meanings are being created because these will provide a basis for why certain discourses are more predominant than others.

Similar to Hall's theory, Laclau and Mouffe's (1985: 105) theory of articulation is defined as "any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice". The starting point of Laclau and Mouffe's theory is that the construction of objectivity is done through the discursive production of meaning (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002: 33) therefore it is the construction process that should be a target for analysis. Moreover, Phillips and Jorgensen maintain that through the use of Laclau and Mouffe's theory of articulation "the whole social field is understood as a web of processes in which meaning is created but not eternally fixed" (25). In other words, articulation theory defines how and why links are made between various elements that are possible but not previously determined.

Laclau and Mouffe (1985) link the notion of articulation to the concept of hegemony because both concepts signify the fixation of certain elements within a particular moment. Hegemony is defined as "the organisation of consent-the process through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence and coercion" (Barrett, 1991: 54). Essentially, hegemony is consent through consensus rather than through force. This aspect of hegemony makes it all the more powerful because people concede to being dominated by a particular ideology. Therefore,

it can be said that articulation is a process of creating connections, much in the same way as hegemony is the process of creating and maintaining consensus (Slack, 1996: 114).

The struggle over meaning is an ongoing process that is enacted between different discourses, during a certain moment however, the dominant (hegemonic) discourse usually attains a privileged status. As Slack suggests, “a class is hegemonic not so much to the extent that it is able to impose a uniform conception of the world on the rest of society, but to the extent that it can articulate different visions of the world in such a way that their potential antagonism is neutralized” (116). It is through hegemony that the meanings, which are created at particular moments, become naturalized. In the case of Slovak television, for example, certain kinds of discourses become predominant as a result of hegemonic powers. In turn, television broadcasting then becomes dominated by certain kinds of programmes.

According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 112), discourse occurs as a result of the partial fixation of meanings around privileged signs known as *nodal points*. They claim,

Any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre. We call the privileged discursive points of this partial fixation, *nodal points* (ibid).

Therefore, the meanings that each sign has, or once had in other discourses, are excluded in order to create a unity among the included signs (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002: 27).

Various elements, moments and nodal points come together at specific *conjunctures* in order to create meaning. Adopting Hall’s theory of articulation, Trimbur (1993,

<<http://jac.gsu.edu/jac/13.1/Articles/3.htm>>) believes that “conjunctures designate those moments when ideas are joined to other ideas, practices, institutions, interests and subjectivities”.

Furthermore,

Conjunctures constitute the temporal and temporary moments at which ideas take on particular social weight, cultural meaning, and rhetorical effect not because of their intrinsic and essential identities but because of the way these ideas are articulated by people in specific historical settings and social contexts (ibid).

Various ideas and practices can establish diverse cultural and political meanings depending on the conjuncture at which these are articulated; however the process of articulation attempts to establish a temporary fixation to the polysemic signs within the conjuncture. In order to define a conjuncture, key elements (or nodal points) must also be identified.

In the history of Slovakia three main conjunctures can be identified that have shaped the construction of television media within the nation; these include discourses surrounding communism, discourses of freedom after the fall of communism and discourses that surround the European Union and the independent nation state. Each political discourse has created its own set of hegemonic ideologies which have shaped and affected the nation's media networks to a great extent. For Laclau and Mouffe (1985) political discourses are especially important because they determine various other structures within society. Philips and Jorgensen (2002: 34) suggest that it is essential to examine political discourses because these determine how people act, think and therefore create society. It is important to note that political discourse in this sense is defined broadly as "the manner in which we (societies) constitute the social in ways that exclude other ways" (ibid). Therefore political discourses establish the hegemony that dictates certain circumstances, in this case the content of the media. In the example of Slovakia, political discourse is especially significant as it has transformed considerably in the last few decades and these changes have been reflected in both the structure and the content of television programming. The changes in discourse and meanings can be exemplified

using specific instances of how television content has been articulated during the three main conjunctures in the political structure within the nation. Within these conjunctures several privileged meanings exist. Looking at how historically specific signs (the communist state, for example) were established in relation to other signs (free market system and future private broadcasters) enable “one to define the same signs in alternative ways” and allow one to determine how the structure in the form of discourses is constituted and changed (30).

Historical Conjuncture for Slovak Television: The Communist Era and its Demise

During the communist era the state and its policy and law enforcing agencies can be defined as significant nodal points. This is predominantly because the meanings that were created within the discourse of communism centered on these political institutions. At this time, the state both owned and controlled television and it dictated the way that programmes and broadcasts were to be televised, therefore meanings were created based only on what the communist hegemony allowed. The moments within the conjuncture of communism included particular definitions of what it meant to be a communist broadcaster and excluded elements such as a free market and commercial systems of broadcasting. In the case of television content, communist hegemonic ideologies were used in order to achieve a particular set of fixed meanings which were reflected in the broadcasting content of the nation. The communist broadcasting system was based on the exclusion of elements such as commercial or private broadcasting because at this point these signs existed outside of the dominant discourse and were forbidden by the state. Furthermore, due to the fact that depictions of the West were largely forbidden any content that pertained to such representations was also excluded. For example, during the

communist rule, official discussions of sexuality on television “focused almost exclusively on reproduction and family planning [...] and were either represented through officially sanctioned channels or not represented at all” (Sokolova, 2004: 253-254). Since communist hegemony did not include non-educational sexual content as part of the broadcasting norm, matters of a sexual nature on television were articulated only according to dominant discourses.

Due to the fact that foreign content was largely forbidden during the time of the communists, only certain types of programmes were allowed to be shown on television. The communist hegemony created a particular kind of television media environment that was articulated in a certain way in accordance to the state. On one hand this system was problematic due to the restrictive nature of the communist rule, on the other hand however it also facilitated media production because the state needed to broadcast its own programmes, which were mainly produced within the Eastern Bloc nations. However, these were also produced in accordance with the state and its hegemonic ideology.

After the fall of the iron curtain, the Eastern Bloc opened itself “to the excess of Western-style multinational capitalism as well as to new freedoms” (Forrester, 2004: ix). As a result of the transition in political power structures, the discourse within the articulatory practice also changed. Although the state was still considered a significant sign of privilege, private enterprise and the idea of free market also became significant forces in the creation of meaning and therefore these became major nodal points within the newly developing discourse. After the demise of communism, people looked for a new alternative to the previous state-run broadcasting networks. As Forrester (2004:ix) states, “western culture had a seductive attraction in the late Soviet and immediate post-

communist period since it offered a liberating alternative to Soviet-style socialism and responded to consumer and pop-culture fantasies.” As a result, the construction of a discourse that surrounded free market and commercial broadcasting became prevalent. For example, during the period after the fall of the communist regime and prior its membership into the EU, Slovakia’s television landscape allowed broadcasts from two private stations: Markiza and TV JOJ. Unlike the previous state-run television broadcasters, both of the new stations were governed according to the American standard of broadcasting which relies heavily on ratings and is driven primarily by the market <http://www.uta.fi/FAST/US6/REF/us6-out1.html>. As a result of the new broadcasting structure the programming that was shown on these private channels was largely dictated by the rating system which impacted the content. Therefore, the stations relied heavily on foreign entertainment in order to draw in audiences.

The way in which nodal points of freedom and media democracy were articulated during this conjuncture greatly altered the way that television programming became structured. Meanings surrounding both old articulations of communism and new discourses surrounding freedom of speech transformed; this was particularly evident in the realm of journalism but also in representations of sexuality in the media. For example shortly after the fall of communism, during the early to mid nineties, articulations of freedom signified anything ‘anti-communist’, including graphic sexual content and imagery, which was forbidden under the regime. Sokolova (2004: 253) states that “as media competed to draw in potential audiences, using images and themes previously forbidden under communism was the most successful way to grab viewers’ attention.” This included advertisements that depicted provocative images of women and television

programmes that discussed and displayed sexual acts. Furthermore, she claims that “almost all representations of sexuality were taken as novel and as expressions of freedom,” since prior to 1989 official discussions of sex and sexuality were deemed as inappropriate (ibid). The way in which the discourse of freedom was articulated during this time was as a result of how meanings around the concept were constructed, not only by the state but also by the private broadcasters that were able to broadcast foreign programmes within the nation as a result of the regulatory environment.

As a result of the fact that sexual content was largely forbidden during the communist era, images and ideas of sexuality, which were previously gathered from smuggled western journals and videos took on concrete forms in the Czech and Slovak media landscape (Sokolova, 2004: 254). The nodal points that became prevalent created a discourse of freedom that was articulated in the form of sexual content on television. Sokolova suggests that during the first years of ‘democratic’ transition, “few dared to challenge these trends seriously by suggesting that restrictions should be imposed on how sexuality can be represented”(ibid). Therefore the hegemony became one of an invented and sexualized “freedom” as opposed to the communist sexually-conservative discourse that prevailed in the past. The discourse within this particular conjuncture excluded any elements that pertained to a communist style of broadcasting. To ensure a unity of meanings, signs that pertained to communism were excluded or disarticulated. At this particular conjuncture, freedom in the media was defined and understood in a particular way that was exemplified through the obvious sexual content which was displayed on television.

Another significant change during this conjuncture was reflected through the way in which the state was discussed in television programmes. As aforementioned in the historical analysis chapter, shortly after the fall of communism, journalists began to alter their views on communism and began to broadcast and publish anti-communist propaganda. As Jones (2001:629) writes, “after the fall of Communism many journalists simply switched sides- where they once generated propaganda for the Communist regime- they now uncritically supported the anti-Communist government.” Prior to the fall of the communist regime, media broadcasters were not allowed to televise any material that was considered critical of the government. It is evident in the example above that meanings shifted based on the types of discourses which were becoming prevalent during the time after the dissolution of the communist regime. The articulations surrounding the old regime of communism, which were positioned to view communism as a positive entity by the state, were removed from the discourse and a whole set of new articulations that focused on notions of a westernized freedom took their place. Old nodal points which included communist ideologies were replaced by new nodal points that included specific articulations of democracy, free market, capitalism and freedom. As a result the field of discursivity, which contains the surplus of signs not included within the dominant discourse, started to include signs that were prevalent during communism but were no longer sufficient to new articulations. This was because the discourses and articulations during communism were significantly different from the ones that emerged after its dissolution. These discourses changed even further once Slovakia gained member status in the European Union.

The Current Conjuncture: Slovakia as a Member of the European Union

Laclau and Mouffe are interested in analysing how structures, in the form of discourses, are both constituted and changed; this is done by examining how articulations constantly reproduce, challenge and transform discourses (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002: 30). As seen with the example of Slovakia, looking at political discourse is very important in establishing the reasons for how and why television media has developed into its current form. Although it has been seventeen years since the fall of the Soviet regime, it is hard to ignore the impact that forty years of communist rule has left behind because “both people and society are understood as historical phenomena that are compelled to work on the basis of the existing structures” (38). The change after communism and the introduction of new political structures instituted a new way of governing the media and its content; however Slovakia had to make these transformations based on its interpretations of what it meant to be “free” or in this case, not communist. In the last couple of years with the introduction of a new hegemony, the European Union, Slovakia’s discourse surrounding television broadcasting has once again altered and with it the governance and structures of the media.

Slovakia entered the European Union in May 2003 and as a result of the new power within the nation new discourses are also being constructed. The inception of Slovakia into the EU has created another conjuncture with its own new discourses and meanings; however, some of the previous nodal points, such as freedom and free market, still remain prevalent within this discourse. New nodal points include EU policies, such as ACT 308 as well as other regulatory institutions (MEDIA Desk for example) that were put in place after Slovakia became an EU member. Currently, as a result of the enactment

of ACT 308 and the various other institutions that came along with becoming an EU member, the governing body has become a set nodal point around which other signs are organized. As a result of the new hegemony, the regulation as well as the content of television programming has been transformed. For example, because the EU broadcasting standard relies on ‘public interest’ (as opposed to ratings and the market), this impacts the way that programmes are televised and the EU, through ACT 308, attempts to ensure that the new requirements are met. The idea of ‘public interest’, which is defined by the EU, is a significant nodal point within the new discourse surrounding television media because it ordains the amount and type of programming that is allowed to be shown in Slovakia. The notion of ‘public interest’ within this discourse includes the regulation that the majority of programming must be reserved for ‘European works’ (Act 308, Sec. 23, Par. 1). However, although the EU tries to establish a new mandate for TV broadcasters based on ‘public interest’, commercial programming is firmly embedded within the nation, so much so that many broadcasters attempt to subvert the newly implemented EU policies. For example, Slovak television broadcasters undermine this policy and still maintain a high level of American programming by broadcasting ‘European works’ during the night or early morning hours. This is especially common among the two private stations; Markiza and TV JOJ.

Regardless of ACT 308, ratings continue to play a predominant role in the broadcasting structure, primarily for Markiza and JOJ²². A significant observation, as indicated by ratings, demonstrates that the most popular programmes within the nation are American in origin. For example in a study conducted by MEDIA Desk Slovakia in

²² STV1 and STV2 do not have published ratings because they are considered to be public broadcasting stations.

2004, the ratings for films indicated that for Markiza out of the ten most popular films shown, six were American in origin. Furthermore, of the five most popular films shown on JOJ, all were American in origin (Ulman, 2004: 24). This positions the US as another significant nodal point within the current discourse and begs the question of why is American programming so popular despite the fact that the EU has a significant political presence within Slovakia? Forrester's (2004) earlier point surrounding the seduction of the Western free market system is a possible explanation for the constant popularity of American programming. The nodal points of freedom and democracy have not been excluded within the current EU conjuncture; on the contrary American programming provides these nodal points with more significance through the imagery of its programmes. The popularity of a free-market system has not diminished with the introduction of the EU and neither has the popularity of American programmes due to the meanings that both exhibit.

The EU has become a dominant force in terms of the governance of the broadcasting landscape in Slovakia; furthermore the EU is an obvious power within the nation not only because it dictates the way in which programming should be conducted but also it governs the structure that television broadcasts should take. This is especially evident in the earlier discussion of commercial and advertisement programming regulations as outlined according to the European standard, where commercials are not allowed to be spliced into programmes as it is done in North America. More obviously, however is the case of content, where the EU specifically outlines the amount of 'European works' that have to be broadcast in order to meet its requirements. The policies and regulations set out by the EU were defined and then brought into the nation

in order to ‘harmonize’ Slovakia with the rest of Europe. In this way the EU can be viewed as similar to communism in the sense that the EU acts as an outside force which mandates certain regulations for a nation. The US on the other hand is a more subtle, yet equally powerful entity within the current discourse because it reiterates messages of freedom and democracy through content but not direct intervention of regulations. As Kroes (2000: 273) maintains, ‘American’ is tempting, “precisely because it undercuts the parental authority and cultural guardianship, promising instant gratification of desire rather than its sublimation, consumption rather than consummation.” The indirect force of the US therefore enhances its influence within Slovakia because it acts on a symbolic level as opposed to the direct EU hegemony. As a result of the two dominant powers, the outcome of various EU policies that attempt to “harmonize” Slovakia with the rest of Europe and the influence of the US on Slovakia’s broadcasting, has resulted in a new hybrid between the European and American styles of broadcasting.

While the nodal point of the EU works on a very obvious and visible level, the US hegemony remains powerful because it articulates freedom on a symbolic level through images. Kroes (2000:276) argues that currently throughout Europe “America triggers an association with freedom” and the “iconography of America has become international”. More importantly however is the fact that,

America’s national symbols and myths (of freedom) have been translated into an international iconographic language, a visual lingua franca. They have been turned into *free-floating signifiers* (emphasis added), internationally understood, free for everyone to use (ibid).

On the one hand, within the discourse of American programming, various signs are present that have not been attributed set meanings and can therefore be infused with meanings based on the particular cultural environment in which they circulate. On the

other hand, the images that are produced by US programs have embedded within them clear articulations of consumer freedom, which has been and continues to be significant nodal point within Slovakia. Hence the use of images and messages of freedom, as opposed to direct rule, has made US programmes even more popular. Sociologist Todd Gitlin (2004, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/mia/part1/htm.>>) states,

We (Americans) are good at producing themes and story lines that appeal to a global sensibility: freedom, freedom of movement, freedom from family, from place, from earth etc. they evoke a sense of motion and the sense of private utopia.

The fact that meanings of freedom, particularly those constructed by US discourses, have not been disarticulated attributes these nodal points further power. The longevity of articulations of freedom, as depicted by American television programmes, also further enhances their popularity and dominance. In addition, the contemporary constructions of freedom as well as depictions of the American West as a site for freedom and choice, is further strengthened by the fact that these symbols of freedom appeared in the media prior to the fall of the communist regime. Kratsev (2004: 10-11) maintains that even before the 1989 revolution, America was already a model of democracy and freedom to the countries of Eastern Europe. He claims,

In the imagination of the 1968 generation in the East [...] America was the symbol of democracy and the free world. When democracy came to Eastern Europe, it was signing in English, it was in love with the US Constitution, and it was promoted by American foundations.

Therefore the nodal point of freedom was articulated long before the EU conjuncture occurred and before Slovakia even had any access to such described 'freedoms'. These powerful messages existed symbolically and currently they are articulated through the images on Slovak television in the form of American programmes, which have become significantly popular among the nation's viewers.

The fact that American broadcasts play a significant role in Slovak television, despite the position of the EU, can be explained as a result of the symbolic power the US seems to yield through its programmes; however economics also play a significant function in the importation of American programmes into Slovakia. For example, Noam (1993:41) points out that it is not only “the content of imported programs which undermines domestic product, but rather that some underlying economic logic is also at work.” He claims that a television broadcaster in a country, “who is deciding how to fill time slots, faces a choice of either producing a costly domestic production or importing off-the-shelf American programs that have already been produced and can therefore be obtained for marginal cost, for almost nothing”(ibid). Therefore, the economics of television show production also dictate that it is more expensive to create a program domestically than to purchase an already made broadcast from the US. As a result of the media economic structure, the US has dominance within the marketplace. Furthermore, Grant and Wood (2004:131) claim that “no matter how cheaply a local broadcaster can buy or make an indigenous drama, for example, distributors of US shows can undercut that cost”. This means that in order to charge a lower amount than a US import, a producer in Slovakia for example, would need to sell an hour-long program for less than an American programme would cost; however this is unlikely since US programmes tend to be much cheaper (ibid). Although the EU has placed programs into effect that aim to support indigenous production, once the costs of production are taken into account it is easy to see why such an influx of American television programmes seem to dominate the Slovak market. In essence, the international TV market caters to the US because “it is built on the remarkable fact that US distributors will make money no matter how low the

price they charge for a particular program; the marginal cost of supplying the program to the foreign market is close to zero” (ibid).

Media Imperialism and Globalization in Slovakia

As discussed in previous chapters, two theses are prevalent within the discourse that surrounds the culture industry: the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis. To reiterate, the media imperialism thesis maintains that there is a “one way flow of cultural production from the developed world (predominantly the US) to the developing world” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 415). Furthermore, proponents of media imperialism suggest that “the globalization of communication has been driven by the pursuit of by the commercial interests of large US-based international corporations” that often act “in collaboration with Western (predominantly American) political and military interests” (Thompson, 1995: 165). In addition, “this process has resulted in a new form of dependency in which traditional cultures are destroyed through the intrusion of Western values” (ibid). According to the media imperialism thesis, the power of the US is a result of two important factors; economic strength and communications technology superiority, “which has led American business and military organizations to take the leading role in the development and control of” communication media (ibid). On the other hand the globalization approach states that cultural practices are “considered as a dialectic, which involves simultaneously globalizing tendencies and local involvement, cultural practices and dynamics (Banerjee, 2002: 521). The globalization thesis further suggests that “the sheer presence of Western cultural goods does not imply profound cultural transformation or impact” and “numerous studies have pointed out that Western or even US television programmes do not enjoy a position of unchallenged dominance in

developing countries” (ibid). Upon examining the various structures, programmes and regulatory bodies that currently exist within Slovakia, it becomes evident that both the media imperialism thesis and the globalization approach offer valid viewpoints for the case of Slovakia. I further argue that although the media imperialism thesis has come under scrutiny and is considered as outdated by some (see Banerjee, 2002 and Kavoori and Chadha, 2000) it does provide a significant and valid perspective for the case of Slovak television.

One particular phenomenon that is predominantly associated with the media imperialism thesis is the notion that non-Western nations are experiencing an “extensive penetration by Western media content, typically in the form of advertising and film and television programming” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 415). Furthermore, proponents of the media imperialism thesis also suggest that the uneven flow of cultural production from developed nations to the developing ones, result in a situation “whereby the media of advanced capitalist economies were able to substantially influence, if not actually determine, the nature of cultural production” (ibid). Although this concept has been refuted by various theorists (see Chadha and Kavoori, 2000 and Banerjee, 2002) in the case of Slovakia, as seen specifically through the content analysis conducted by this study, it has been demonstrated that an extensive ‘penetration’ of US television programmes is in fact occurring in the nation. My research showed that the majority of entertainment programmes, including series and movie broadcasts were predominantly American in origin which gives credence to the media imperialism thesis. Furthermore, the type of programming that is being produced and broadcast in the country is frequently modeled after Western formats. For example, of the shows that are currently made in

Slovakia, only productions such as reality television (of which the majority of broadcasts were a result of foreign licensing rights which have been purchased), talk shows and game shows seem to have gained significant popularity, reality TV being the most significant genre. In spring 2004, for instance, Slovak Television announced the purchase of the license rights for the reality show, *Slovensko Hlada Superstar* (British *Teen Idol* and *American Idol*) (Ulman, 2004: 24). Since the show's premier in October 2004, *Superstar* has reached record ratings and market share (ibid). Although the show was adapted to suit Slovak audiences, the structure and content remained the same as the American and British versions, which would indicate that Western programmes do in fact have a strong influence on Slovak television show production. Although the notion of adopting and adapting a programme to suit the cultural needs of a nation is an element of the globalization thesis, in the case of some broadcasts in Slovakia, regardless of the cultural variance the shows exhibited, the dominance of Western cultural forms is hard to ignore. Reality TV programmes as well as game shows and talk shows that were broadcast on Slovak television were all domestic adaptations of foreign formats, and in the case of reality TV their popularity was immense. The programmes discussed were based and modeled on foreign broadcasts which provide further evidence of the dominance of programme form by Western, predominantly American, formats. Similar examples were also found for Slovak morning talk shows and game shows, where most were modeled after North American or British formats. In this sense, media imperialism makes a strong case for both the "extensive penetration by Western media content" (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 415) *especially* in the form of television programming, but

also for the case that Western media were “able to substantially influence” (ibid), and in some cases determine, the nature of programming in Slovakia.

The globalization thesis argues that given the choice audiences would rather watch domestic productions as opposed to imported foreign programming (see Banerjee, 2002; Chadha and Kavoori, 2002). At first glance, the research would indicate that this was not the case for Slovak television as most of the popular programmes were American in origin. For example, of the four major networks that operate within Slovakia, the most popular station, Markiza, broadcasts the largest amount of foreign programming while the public broadcaster STV2, which has the largest percentage of domestic programming, only receives 3% of the overall viewers (Skolkay, <<http://www.ejc.nl/jr/emland/slovakia.html>>). Furthermore, as aforementioned, of the movies shown, the most popular were of American origin. However, after examining the policy framework for Slovakia, it became evident that the audiences also have very little opportunity to view domestic productions due to the fact that most stations broadcast ‘European works’ in the late night and early morning hours. In addition, some evidence indicated that audiences may in fact prefer domestic programmes. For example when STV1 broadcast movies during one holiday season, out of the three top movies shown, the most popular was the Slovak fairy tale *Lady Winter (Perinbaba)*. Moreover, all news programmes within the nation were domestic productions in both their content and structure, therefore indicating that Slovak audiences prefer domestic news as opposed to foreign newscasts. In this case the globalization thesis seems accurate in its assertion that where available, audiences will choose to view domestic television productions.

With the inception of Slovakia into the European Union, the nation is experiencing a new foreign entity that is acting as a powerful governing body, especially in the media sector. ACT 308, for example is one of the many new policies that has been enacted in order for the country to be 'harmonized' with the rest of the EU. However, although the goal of the act is to ensure cultural production in Slovakia, nowhere in the act is Slovak production actually mentioned, only 'European Works'. This becomes problematic because "European works" do not necessarily include Slovak productions and therefore the focus remains on other European nations that have the financial means for symbolic production. Furthermore, regardless of the fact that the EU is trying to mandate certain kind of programming in order to prevent an influx of US and other foreign programmes, Slovak broadcasters are finding ways to subvert this policy. In this case therefore it is hard to apply the globalization thesis and view the relationship between Slovakia and the EU as well as Slovakia and other Western states as a dialectical affiliation. Instead, some evidence indicates that Slovak programming is being saturated with either shows from Western Europe or the US. In addition, the fact that the popularity of the majority of programming includes American shows seems to go against the globalization thesis, which maintains that the US does not enjoy a dominant position with its television broadcasts (Banerjee, 2002: 521). This example seems to suggest that the media imperialism thesis is, in some cases, valid as US programming is significant in the Slovak television landscape. However, as seen with the case of the movie *Lady Winter*, "viewers tend to actively privilege national or regional programming over its imported counterpart" (Chadha and Kavoori, 2002: 423) and this can be paralleled with the globalization thesis. Through the analysis of Slovakia's policy laws and television

content, it becomes evident that the globalization thesis and the media imperialism thesis both provide legitimate viewpoints for the media landscape in Slovakia.

Conclusion

Using articulation theory as an application to the case of Slovakia, it is evident that the nation has undergone and continues to undergo complex transitions between various historical and political conjunctures. Historically, the nation has experienced various changes that have altered its media landscape significantly. More importantly however, is the fact that throughout these transitions the political discourse has also undergone important transformations which have altered both the content as well as the structure of television broadcasting within the nation. Important nodal points such as freedom, democracy and free market seem to dominate the previous as well as the current conjunctures and as a result American programming has had, and continues to have, a large impact on the popularity of television broadcasts. The employment of images of freedom within US programmes seems to have a large impact on the popularity of the shows that are seen within Slovakia; however the economics of the television industry indicate that the considerable number of imported US programming is also the result of cheap importation fees.

Furthermore, the European Union and all of its surrounding regulatory frameworks have been constituted as significant nodal points around which meanings are currently being articulated. However, as much as the EU has set up laws and regulations to govern the content of television broadcasting for 'public interest', Slovak broadcasters, particularly private broadcasters, are finding different ways to subvert these policies. These actions further strengthen the power of the US as a nodal point since the

programmes which are being televised during prime hours largely constitute American broadcasts.

In addition, in terms of placing Slovakia into one of the paradigms, media imperialism or globalization, the introduction of the EU hegemony has made it difficult to position the nation in one or the other. Both theses present valid perspectives for the case of Slovak television. The media imperialism thesis, although it is considered as outdated by some, takes into consideration the powerful American and EU hegemony, as seen through both the formats of television programming as well the regulatory framework. Furthermore, as demonstrated by the content analysis, it becomes clear that there is a strong dominance of Western, primarily American, television formats. Although the EU attempts to suppress the influx of American programmes, Slovak television is dominated by both US television content and structure, which fits in with the media imperialism thesis. However, the media imperialism thesis has its own shortcomings. For example it does not take into account the meanings that are generated out of foreign content while at the same time the thesis does not acknowledge the fact that if given the chance audiences may prefer domestic programming. The globalization thesis, on the other hand, acknowledges this possibility and for a brief moment this is demonstrated by Slovak television with its broadcast of the fairy tale *Lady Winter* which drew large audiences. However, the globalization thesis ignores the significant influence of powerful governing bodies such as the EU. This becomes problematic, because as seen with the EU's regulatory policies, the question of indigenous production no longer includes the nation of Slovakia but the entire European community; this erases the individuality of Slovakia as a nation.

The EU conjuncture in which Slovakia is currently situated, demonstrates that both the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis provide applicable points of view for examining the nation's television media. Although the media imperialism thesis has been criticized and is considered out of date by some theorists, the case of Slovakia reveals that this is not necessarily true and it can be applied to various examples. At the same time, the globalization thesis also provides legitimate perspectives to the situation in Slovakia; however in some cases it ignores the influence of the strong Western hegemony over the nation's media. Philips and Jorgensen (2002: 38) maintain that "both people and society are understood as historical phenomena that are compelled to work on the basis of the existing structures, presupposing and ensuring continuity in the social". Considering Slovakia's complex history and intricate present it will be interesting to see how the nation's media develops based on the articulations of its previous and current political, economic and cultural structures.

Conclusion

This research began as a set of observations that were encountered on numerous visits to Slovakia where I noticed what seemed like a significant increase in foreign programming in the nation's television broadcasts. As a result of these observations, I decided to examine whether or not my hypothesis was accurate and there is in fact an increase in foreign programmes being broadcast in Slovakia. Therefore, the goal of this project was to examine the global circulation of symbolic commodities, specifically television programmes, with the use of former communist Czechoslovakia as a case study. In addition, the objective of the paper was to determine the amount of foreign and domestic programmes that are being broadcast in the nation and to determine how various governing bodies are impacting the media landscape in Slovakia. Within this paper I have focused predominantly on Slovakia's television media structures, policies and content in order to determine whether the global circulation of television broadcasts is affecting the nation and if so, how it was impacting the television landscape of the country. Furthermore, through the employment of articulation theory, the case of Slovakia was placed into the theoretical framework of two existing theses; the media imperialism thesis and the globalization thesis. Although the main focus of this paper was Slovakia, the Czech Republic was also discussed in order to underline the importance of its historic relationship and close connection to Slovakia.

The reason for examining television media for this project stems from the fact that currently television is one of the most accessible forms of media within Slovakia. For example, ninety-eight percent of its population in households owns a television set, making it the most available source of information and entertainment in the country

(Skolkay, 2004: 207). However television's importance is also a result of the fact that it is a powerful tool that combines language and images in particular symbolic ways in order to create and convey significant information to the masses. As Banerjee (2002: 525) maintains, television media has the "capacity to create a common symbolic reference system across large and diverse nations" and it is seen as a "powerful tool, which could be used for the cultural production of a national identity".

I have chosen to focus predominantly on Slovakia in my research because very little has been written about the nation in terms of its television landscape especially since its separation from the Czech Republic. Furthermore, literature surrounding both the globalization thesis and the media imperialism thesis tends to focus primarily on third world countries and developing Asian nations (see Chadha and Kavoori, 2000; Banerjee, 2002; Schiller, 1969 and 1991). Therefore this case study contributes to the already existing literature on the topic and provides a relevant example for examining both theses in a former communist nation. The example of Slovakia also provides a unique example for the study of television media development because the nation's media structure and content have been closely intertwined with the state which has in itself been undergoing some significant transformations.

Outline of Articulation theory and the Political and Historical Conjunctures of Slovakia

Articulation theory, as developed by Mouffe, Laclau and Hall provide a way of distinguishing social formations at specific conjunctures, which enable one to discern how certain phenomena have transpired historically and how these may impact the current cultural landscape of a particular society. In a conjuncture, elements cohere together in order to produce meaning and certain discourses become more prevalent than

others. Articulation theory maps out the circumstances that create certain conjunctures and establishes the dominant discourse within them in order to make sense of why certain aspects of a particular culture are the way they appear. In this research three specific conjunctures were identified, all of which contributed to the creation of the current television landscape of Slovakia. These three conjunctures included the communist era, the post communist pre-European Union period and Slovakia's current EU status. Because television media has been, and continues to be, intertwined with Slovakia's political circumstance it was important to map out each conjuncture in relation to the nation's political landscape in order to understand how various governing bodies impact the country's media.

The various political transformations that the Slovak Republic has undergone have resulted in several dominant discourses that impacted the way in which television content was produced and broadcasted. Firstly, during the communist conjuncture, only those programmes that were deemed "communist-friendly" were allowed to be televised in Czechoslovakia. This included various kinds of political or entertainment programmes that did not go against communist philosophy, did not criticize the government in any way or were considered "harmless" by the state. Interestingly, very little, if any, sexual content was allowed to be broadcast during this time. After the fall of the communist regime, in the nineties, broadcasters began to embrace their new-found freedom and the content of television changed drastically. Sexual content became the norm on television during this time as broadcasters began to articulate the idea of "freedom of the press" and "free market" in new ways. The new private station Markiza was a prime example of this

transition, as it relied heavily on sexual content, tabloid news programming and American imports in the form of movies and television shows.

As demonstrated by the historical analysis, the Slovak Republic has undergone significant transformations in its past and with the nation's new membership to the European Union these changes are sure to continue into the future. During the Soviet communist rule over former Czechoslovakia, television served as an anchor for communist propaganda and as a result was closely monitored, ruled and controlled by subsidiaries of the state, mainly the Central Office for the Supervision of the Press. After the fall of the communist regime, the state continued to play a central role in the governance of both the structure and content of television media. For example, although one of the main modifications to television stipulated that private broadcasts and foreign capital investments within television were longer deemed illegal and became encouraged, Skolkay (1997: 66) suggests that "despite the technical provisions for open communication and a free press, the level of state influence in the Slovak media remained high". Furthermore, in 1991 the Slovak government passed its own legislation which stipulated that Slovak Television and Radio both became public entities; however the concept of "public" was never defined and remains ambiguous and problematic. Therefore despite the transformation from state-run to "public" television, the ambiguity of the concept allowed for the continued intervention of the medium by the state.

The EU conjuncture indicates that currently there are a number of different nodal points within the media discourse in Slovakia. The EU legislation, through ACT308, for example is attempting to reduce the amount of American programming shown on Slovak Television by regulating the amount of time that should be reserved for 'European

Works.’ However, as was indicated by the content analysis, the prescribed EU methods of control do not seem to be impacting the large amount of US programmes. As a result the two clashing hegemonies, the US and the EU, the current media environment has indicated that Slovakia’s television has developed into a kind of hybrid between American, European and some Slovak programming. The EU has put in place some programs that are meant to boost Slovak domestic production; however because of the programs’ relative novelty their results are yet to be determined. In addition, the benefits of Slovak television under the new European Union membership in both its structure and content also remain to be seen. Programs such as MEDIA Desk may in fact increase the indigenous cultural production within Slovakia; however whether other similar programs will be beneficial in establishing a creative production process within the media landscape is also yet to be determined. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Slovakia’s media future is still uncertain, the current broadcasting environment can be placed into context with regards to both the media imperialism and the globalization theses.

Brief Summary of the Media Imperialism and Globalization Theses and their Application to the case of Slovak Television

The media imperialism thesis suggests that there currently exists a one-way flow of Western symbolic commodities that are being unevenly distributed from developed western nations to developing countries worldwide (see Banerjee, 2002 and Chadha and Kavoori, 2000). Furthermore the thesis maintains that there is an “extensive penetration (of non-Western nations) by Western media content, typically in the form of advertising and film and television programming” (Chadha and Kavoori, 2000: 415). As a result of the seeming ‘invasion’ of media content into developing nations, proponents of the media imperialism thesis claim that “the flow of moving images [...], while purporting to

simply be a carrier of entertainment, in fact serve as a mechanism for the wholesale transfer of meaning and values to the third world” (416). One of the main criticisms of this particular thesis is that it is an outdated view of what is happening in the world today which relies on the hypodermic needle approach, and although there seems to be an unequal flow of media products from the West to the East this does not result in a ‘Western cultural invasion’ of developing nations (see Chadha and Kavoori, 2000, Banerjee, 2002). As a result of the belief by certain theorists that “it is no longer possible to sustain the notion of Western media domination” (416), a new thesis was developed that also examines the global circulation of media commodities; the globalization thesis. This thesis claims that the implications for the global circulation of symbolic commodities such as television programmes are “not as damaging for local and national cultures” because “cultures are far more resilient than proclaimed (by the media imperialism thesis) and find numerous ways to diffuse and rejuvenate themselves” (Banerjee, 2002: 517). Furthermore, Thompson (1996: 173) proposes that “the reception and appropriation of media products are complex social processes in which individuals [...] actively make sense of messages” therefore the seeming ‘invasion’ of media products from the west cannot be seen as an oversimplified process whereby the masses simply absorb all foreign (Western) content. Rather the globalization thesis views the global circulation of goods as dialectic where cultures acquire their own meanings from foreign symbolic commodities.

One of the main objectives of this thesis was to establish which of the two theses discussed is applicable to Slovakia’s television media environment by determining what type of programming is predominant in the nation. In order to determine this information,

a content analysis of one year's worth of programming was conducted and the results were placed in context with the theses described above. The information for the content analysis was derived from *Televizia*, which is a television schedule publication for all of Slovakia's available broadcasters. Only four channels were focused on, these included the state-owned public broadcasters STV1 and STV2 and the privately owned Markiza and TV JOJ. It is important to note that Slovakia has an all-day all-news channel operating within the country, TA3, however due to the nature of the station's content this broadcaster was not part of the content analysis. The content analysis portion of this research demonstrated that my initial observation regarding the television content in Slovakia indicated that the media imperialism thesis is valid in some cases and there is in fact an uneven flow of media products from developed Western nations into the Slovak Republic. The use of content analysis determined that the number of foreign programmes, especially American shows, exceeds the number of domestic entertainment programmes that are currently being broadcast on Slovakia's television. Because the majority of programming in the nation originates from Western nations, this in fact indicates an uneven flow of programming from the west to the east.'The content analysis of television programming has also revealed that aside from the majority of American imports that are being broadcast, the remaining programmes were of western European origin (including Great Britain, Germany and France). This signifies that very little indigenous works are being shown on the four major television stations in Slovakia.

A major criticism of the media imperialism thesis claims that western programmes do not necessarily influence indigenous television production (see Banerjee, 2002; Chadha and Kavoori, 2000). The example of Slovak television indicated that this is

not the case. It was demonstrated that American programmes play a significant role in the broadcast schedules in Slovakia. Research also indicated that American and British programmes also influence the way in which Slovak television programmes are created. Currently reality television seems to be an incredibly popular genre within the nation and although this type of programming is constructed with the use of Slovak language and production crews, its format is largely based on the American or British originals. In addition to the structures and content, reality TV, talk shows and game shows also resemble and follow North American and Western European formats. These examples point to the notion that although the media imperialism thesis is considered to be out-of-date by some academics (see Banerjee, 2002; Chadha and Kavoori, 2000) various examples provided by Slovak television signify that some aspects of the media imperialism thesis remain valid.

One theory for the large amount of US programming in the nation can be explained by examining financial aspects of programme importation. As evidenced by various research (see Grant and Wood, 2004), it is cheaper to import US programmes into the nation than it is to create domestic broadcasts. However, although this reasoning helps to explain the *amount* of foreign programming shown, it does not provide explanations for reasons why such programming is so popular. Using articulation theory as described above, this paper opened up debate about possible reasons for the popularity of such programming. One possible conclusion for this phenomenon resides in the fact that the nation's audience was forbidden to view Western/American content on television during the communist conjuncture and certain meanings surrounding the nodal points of freedom and democracy became prevalent. The few images that were filtered through to

the public regarding Western culture created notions of freedom that were articulated in a certain way by broadcasters. After the disintegration of the communist regime, those meanings were re-articulated in an overtly-sexualized content of television programming, something which was forbidden during the communist rule. The notion of freedom of the press became linked to certain concepts and sexuality became a prevalent topic as a result. Furthermore the structure of television programmes was also transformed. Commercial broadcasting became prevalent and certain types of programmes such as talk shows and game shows were also adopted into the mainstream television media schedules. More importantly, however, American programming became a predominant staple in Slovakia's television media.

Aside from the fact that there exist a large number of foreign programmes on Slovakia's television another important factor that contributes to the validity of the media imperialism thesis centers around the country's broadcasting policies. As a result of Slovakia's membership into the European Union in 2003, Slovakia's television laws, policies, content and structures are being dictated by the EU, which predominantly consists of established Western European members. As demonstrated by the policy framework provided, the EU has implemented some significant changes to the nation's audiovisual sector. All of the policies outlined by the EU must be accepted and followed in order for Slovakia to retain its EU membership. In particular the Broadcasting and Retransmission Act 308, of The Council of Slovak Republic for Radio and Television Broadcasting (*Rada pre Vysielanie Radia a Televízie Slovenskej Republiky*) specifically outlines rules and regulations that the nation's broadcasters must conform to in order to maintain the EU standard. Several clauses are present that dictate the amount of

programming that must be reserved for 'European works', however as evidenced by the content analysis and other sources (see Ulman, 2004) most of the broadcasters are filling these quotas by televising its percentage of European works during late night hours or early morning hours. Moreover, despite the EU's new mandates, the majority of programmes shown during prime time hours originated in the US. Furthermore, ACT 308 does not stipulate any regulation concerning the percentage of Slovak programming that should be broadcast. So although Slovak broadcasters are mandated to provide the majority of their programming schedule to European works this does not necessarily include Slovak productions. The clause pertaining to European works also further supports the notion of an unequal flow between programmes from Western Europe to its Eastern neighbours, as the content analysis reveals very little of the programming was of Slovak origin and most 'European Works' originated in Western European nations. What emerges as a result of the influx of American programming and the EU broadcasting policies is a hybrid television landscape, with broadcasting formats that follow the European Union criterion and television content that largely originates from the US or is based predominantly on Western programmes. Therefore, although the media imperialism thesis is not considered as a valid theory by some, the example of Slovakia demonstrates its legitimacy.

On the other hand an aspect of the globalization thesis that provides validity to the case of Slovak television is the claim that when domestic versions of broadcasts are available, viewers will choose to watch those rather than their imported counterparts. As was demonstrated, news and information programming consisted of a large percentage of the overall programming schedule, in fact there did not appear to be any foreign news

broadcasts shown on television during the period of study. Furthermore, although the channel was not discussed at large, it is important to note that Slovakia does have its own 24-hour news station, TA-3, which broadcasts regional, national and international news to the nation. This indicates that although imported entertainment programming is more popular, informative programming remains domestic. Secondly, it was found that reality television is a popular form of entertainment in Slovakia; however despite the fact that the majority of reality TV was based on foreign formats, the language, actors, and production crews and in some cases content, remained domestic. This result indicates that in specific circumstances foreign versions of programmes needed to be adopted and adapted to suit the Slovak culture in order for such shows to succeed. In addition this observation validates the point that globalization thesis makes regarding the notion that “the reception and appropriation of media products are complex social processes in which individuals [...] actively make sense of messages” (Thompson, 1995:173). In this case, certain formats are adopted but they are then adapted in specific ways in order to cater to the domestic cultural tastes, what emerges is a hybrid broadcast that includes elements of the domestic as well as the foreign culture. Finally, although only a brief moment during this research, it is significant that of all the movies shown on the Slovak station STV1 during a particular holiday season, the most popular was the Slovak production *Perinbaba (Lady Winter)*. The reasons for its popularity may be a result of the nostalgia and tradition that the movie evokes, it being a traditional children’s Christmas tale. However, the fact that even after twenty-one years of being broadcast the movie still draws a large audience is telling, and signifies that perhaps if Slovakia were to produce their own movies and television programmes, audiences would be inclined to tune in.

Both the Czech Republic and Slovakia are nations that historically have been, for the most part, dominated by larger more powerful governing bodies and television media has been intricately intertwined in these circumstances as a result. The media of both nations have developed from being tools of communist propaganda, to free market enterprises, to subjects of EU policies with a high US influence. As a result of these changes the current conjuncture of Slovak television media includes a hybrid television media landscape; one that includes a large number of American entertainment programmes, some domestic productions and a European structure of broadcasting. Banerjee (2002:157) points out that it is hard to ignore the fact that the US has surfaced as “the most powerful player and clearly dominates the world’s cultural industries” which is in tune with the results for Slovakia’s television media and resonates with the media imperialism thesis. However Banerjee also asserts that “the vastly increased availability of Western-oriented cultural content in the form of television channels and programmes has provoked different responses from governments, scholars and institutions” (ibid). Consequently, although the US seems to be a powerful agent within the field of Slovakia’s media, it is also important not to oversimplify its role in the overall globalizing process.

Appendix 1: Template

Date:

Television Station:

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	0	0
Reality Television	0	0	0
Talk Show	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	0	0	0
Gameshow	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	0	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Appendix 2: Coding Sheets

Monday September 13th, 2004

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	2	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	3	0
Reality Television	0	0	0
Talk Show	2	0	1
Newscast/ Information	11	0	0
Gameshow	1	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	0	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	8	2
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US	Talk show	Foreign format
Movie	US (X2)	Variety show	Foreign content
Movie	Russia		
Series	Germany (X2)		
Series	Great Britain (X2)		
Series	Australia		
Series	US (x3)		
Soap Opera	Venezuela (X2)		
Soap Opera	Argentina		
Children's	US		

Television Station: STV2

154

Monday September 13th, 2004

Television Station: Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	2	0
Reality Television	0	0	2
Game Show	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
Gameshow	1	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	3	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	3
	0	0	0
	0	2	0
Miscellaneous	3	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

[illegible]

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Stand-up	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	2	0
Reality / Information	0	0	0
Game Show	3	0	2
Newscast/ Information	11	0	0
Gameshow	3	0	2
Series (drama/documentary)	1	6	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	4	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

[illegible]

Tuesday October 5th, 2004

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Satire	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Comedy	1	2	0
	0	0	0
	8	1	0
Newscast/ Information	15	0	0
Gameshow	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	5	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Tuesday October 5th, 2004

Television Station: Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	1	0
Animated Program	0	0	0
Game	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
Gameshow	1	0	2
Series (drama/documentary)	0	6	0
Music/ Variety Show	3	0	3
	0	0	0
	0	2	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

[illegible]

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Script	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	1	2	0
Foreign language	0	0	1
Cartoon	1	0	2
Newscast/ Information	12	0	0
Gameshow	2	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	6	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Wednesday November 3rd, 2004

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	2	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	3	0
Weather/Current Affairs	0	0	1
Children's Program	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	2	0	0
Gameshow	5	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	0	6	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Movie	US (x2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	Canada/US	Game show	Foreign format
Series	US (x3)	Variety Show	Foreign format
Series	Germany		
Series	Great Britain		
Series	Australia		
Soap Opera	Mexico (x3)		

Television Station: STV1

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Thursday November 18, 2004

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Soap Opera	2	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	2	0
Reality TV	0	0	1
Game show	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	2	0	0
Gameshow	5	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	0	7	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	1	1
Children's Program	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (x2)	Game show	Foreign format
Movie	US (x2)	Variety	Foreign format
Series	Germany (x2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Series	US (x2)		
Series	Australia		
Series	Great Britain (x2)		
Soap Opera	Mexico (x3)		
Variety	Czech Republic		

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	1	0
	0	0	1
	1	0	3
Newscast/ Information	8	0	0
Gameshow	2	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	6	0
Music/Variety Show	2	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	4	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2[illegible]

Friday December 10th, 2004

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Shorts	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movies	0	3	0
	0	0	0
	3	0	0
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
Gameshow	2	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	1	2	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	4
	0	0	0
	0	2	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sitcom	4	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Drama	0	3	0
Reality Show	0	0	1
Reality Show	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	3	0	0
Gameshow	5	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	1	5	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Saturday, January 15th, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sitcom	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	3	0
Movie	0	3	0
	0	0	1
	1	0	0
Newscast/ Information	2	0	0
Gameshow	2	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	3	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	3
	0	2	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	10	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcoms	US (X3)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Series	US (X3)	Variety Show	Foreign content
Movie	Australia		
Movie	Great Britain		
Movie	US		
Children's	US (X6)		
Children's	US/Canada		
Children's	France		
Children's	Germany		
Children's	Canada		
Educational	New Zealand (X2)		

Television Station: STV2[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

[illegible]

Sunday, February 20th, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	0	2	0
	0	0	1
	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	6	0	0
Gameshow	1	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	9	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	1	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	3	0	0
Children's Program	3	9	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Educational	France	Reality TV	Foreign format
Sitcom	US (X2)		
Movie	US (X2)		
Children's	US (X3)		
Children's	Germany (X2)		
Children's	Canada		
Children's	France		
Series	Germany (X2)		
Series	Czech Republic (X2)		
Series	France		
Series	US (X2)		
Series	GB		
Series	US/Canada		

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
STORY	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	1	0	0
Sports	0	0	0
	6	0	0
Newscast/ Information	7	0	0
Gameshow	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	4	3	0
Music/ Variety Show	2	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	3	0	0
Children's Program	2	3	0

[illegible]

Sunday February 20th, 2005

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	2	0
Serial/soap opera	0	0	0
	1	0	1
Newscast/ Information	6	0	0
Gameshow	1	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	10	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

[illegible]

Monday February 28th, 2005

Television Station: **STV 1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	0	2	0
	0	0	0
	1	0	2
Newscast/ Information	8	0	0
Gameshow	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	10	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Talk show	Foreign format
Movie	US (X2)	Variety Show	Foreign content
Series	US (X3)		
Series	Germany (X3)		
Series	Great Britain (X3)		
Series	France		
Soap Opera	Argentina (X2)		
Soap Opera	Brazil		

Television Station: STV2

SECRET

Television Station: Markiza[illegible]

Monday February 28th, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sitcom	4	0	0
Movie	0	2	0
	1	0	0
	0	0	0
	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	5	0	4
Series (drama/documentary)	0	9	0
Music/Variety Show	0	1	3
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Game show	Foreign format
Series	US (X5)	Variety	Foreign format
Series	Canada (X2)		and some foreign
Series	Great Britain		content
Series	Germany/ Austria		
Soap Opera	Mexico		
Children's	US (X5)		
Variety	Czech Republic		

Tuesday, March 8th, 2005

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Standup	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	2	0
	0	0	1
	1	0	2
News/ Information	9	0	0
	0	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	8	0
Music/Variety Show	1	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	4	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	0	0

[illegible]

Tuesday March 8th, 2005

Television Station: **STV2**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sport	1	1	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	2	0
	0	0	0
	5	2	0
Newscast/ Information	16	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	3	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sport	Sweden		
Movie	US (X2)		
Talk Show	Hungary		
Talk Show	Czech Republic		
Series	Germany		
Series	US (X2)		
Series	Great Britain		
Children's	US		

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	7	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	1	1	0
Reality/ Talent	0	0	0
Cartoon	1	0	0
Newscast/ Information	6	0	0
Game Show	6	0	4
Series (drama/documentary)	0	5	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	3
Children's Program	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous		0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Wednesday, April 27th, 2005

Television Station:

STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movies	1	2	0
	0	0	3
	1	0	0
Newscast/ Information	10	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	5	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	4	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Wednesday April 27th, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	3	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	1	0
	1	0	2
	4	0	1
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	0	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	0	6	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	US	Talk show	Foreign format
Series	Czech Republic	Game show	Foreign format
Series	Germany/Austria	Variety	Foreign format and
Series	Germany		some foreign content
Series	US (X3)		
Soap Opera	Columbia		
Children's	France		

Thursday, May 26th, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	0	4	0
	0	0	1
	1	0	3
Newscast/ Information	7	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	4	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Talk show	Foreign format
Movie	Germany (X2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	Spain		
Movie	US		
Soap Opera	Venezuela (X2)		
Soap Opera	Argentina		
Series	US/Canada		
Series	Great Britain		
Series	Germany		
Series	US		

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	1	0	0
Reality / Interview	0	0	0
	10	0	0
Newscast/ Information	15	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	2	1	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	0
	4	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Thursday May 26, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	4	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	3	0
	0	0	1
	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	6	0	4
Series (drama/documentary)	0	6	1
Music/ Variety Show	0	1	0
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous		0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	US (X2)	Game show	Foreign format
Movie	Italy	Variety	Foreign format
Series	Germany/Austria		
Series	France/Canada		
Series	US/Canada		
Series	US (X2)		
Series	Czech Republic		
Children's	France		
Soap Opera	Columbia		
Variety	Czech Republic		

Television Station: STV1

[illegible]

Friday June 10th, 2005

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Shorts	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	3	1	1
Feature-length film	0	0	0
	6	0	0
Newscast/ Information	16	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	5	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	0
	1	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	2	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Friday June 10th, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Series	3	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	4	0
	0	0	1
	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	6	0	0
	5	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	0	8	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous		0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	US (X4)	Game show	Foreign format
Series	Germany (X2)	Variety	Foreign format and
Series	France/Canada		some foreign content
Series	US (X3)		
Series	US/Canada		
Series	Czech Republic		
Children's	US		
Soap Opera	Brazil		

Appendix 2: One week Selection

Saturday March 19th, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	4	0
	0	0	2
	0	0	0
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	1	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	5	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	3
	1	1	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	7	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Series	US (X4)	Variety	Foreign format and
Series	Great Britain		foreign content
Movie	France		
Movie	Italy		
Movie	US (X2)		
Educational	New Zealand		
Children's	US (X3)		
Children's	Canada		
Children's	Great Britain		
Children's	Germany		
Children's	France		

Saturday March 19th, 2005

Television Station: **STV2**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	2	4	0
	0	0	0
	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	8	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	3	0
Music/Variety Show	1	1	0
	2	0	2
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	1	2	1

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Movie	Canada	Educational	Programme that
Movie	Great Britain		teaches English
Movie	US	Children's	Programme that
Movie	Germany		teaches English
Children's	Canada		
Children's	US		
Series	Great Britain		
Series	Czech Republic		
Series	France		
Music	US		

Saturday March 19th, 2005

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	0	0	1
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movies	0	7	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	1
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
	0	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	1	2	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	0	0

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Television Station: JOJ

[illegible]

Sunday March 20th, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	3	0
	0	0	2
	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	7	0	0
	1	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	7	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	3	0	0
Children's Program	2	6	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	US (X2)		
Movie	Italy		
Series	Great Britain (X4)		
Series	Germany (X2)		
Series	US		
Children's	US (X2)		
Children's	Canada		
Children's	Germany		
Children's	Great Britain		
Children's	France		

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Sunday March 20th, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	5	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	1	3	0
	0	0	0
	2	0	3
News/ Information	6	0	0
	1	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	5	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	3
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	1	6	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Movie	US	Talk Show	Foreign format
Movie	Germany/Canada	Music Show	Foreign content
Movie	France		
Series	US (X3)		
Series	Canada		
Series	France		
Children's	US (X4)		
Children's	France		
Children's	Japan		

Monday March 21st, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	0	2	0
	0	0	0
	1	0	2
Newscast/ Information	9	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	10	0
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Talk Show	Foreign format
Movie	US	Variety	Foreign content
Movie	Italy		
Series	US (X3)		
Series	Germany (X4)		
Series	Great Britain (X3)		
Soap Opera	Argentina (X2)		
Soap Opera	Brazil		

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Soap	5	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	0	0
Reality Program	0	0	0
Game Show	2	0	1
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	5	0	4
Series (drama/documentary)	1	7	0
Music/Variety Show	0	1	5
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Tuesday March 22nd, 2005

Television Station: **STV1**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
	0	2	0
	0	0	2
	1	0	5
Newscast/ Information	6	0	0
	0	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	8	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Movie	US (X2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Series	Germany (X3)	Talk Show	Foreign format
Series	US (X4)	Game Show	Foreign format
Series	Great Britain	Variety	Foreign content
Soap Opera	Brazil (X2)		
Soap Opera	Argentina		

Tuesday March 22nd, 2005

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	1	0
Reality Television	0	0	0
Game Show	4	1	0
Newscast/ Information	18	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	2	3	0
Music/Variety Show	1	0	0
	1	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

[illegible]

Tuesday March 22nd, 2005

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Soap	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Drama	0		0
Documentary	0	0	1
Children's Program	4	0	0
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
Game Show	1	0	2
Series (drama/documentary)	0	8	0
Music/Variety Show	2	0	0
Reality Show	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Tuesday March 22nd, 2005

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Standards	3	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	1	2	0
News/Documentary	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	4	0	0
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	5	0	3
	1	6	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	2
Children's Program	0	0	0
	0	1	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV1

[illegible]

Wednesday March 23rd, 2005

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Stand-up	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	2	1	0
Animated	0	0	0
Cartoon	4	0	1
Newscast/ Information	17	0	0
Game Show	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	2	0
Music/ Variety Show	1	0	0
Children's Program	1	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	1	2	0

[illegible]

Wednesday March 23rd, 2005

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	2	0
	0	0	2
	1	0	1
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	1	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	1	4	0
Music/Variety Show	2	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Series	4	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Movie	0	1	0
Real-time TV	0	0	2
TV Series	2	0	1
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	5	0	4
Series (drama/documentary)	1	6	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	2
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Thursday March 24th, 2005

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	0	4	0
	0	0	1
	1	0	2
Newscast/ Information	8	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	5	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	0	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	1	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	1	2	0
Cartoon/Children's Show	0	0	0
	5	0	0
Newscast/ Information	16	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	1	1	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	0
	1	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	4	0	0
Children's Program	1	1	0

[illegible]

Thursday March 24th, 2005

Television Station:

Markiza

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	1	0
Drama	0	6	0
	0	0	0
	2	0	0
Newscast/ Information	5	0	0
	1	0	1
Series (drama/documentary)	0	1	0
Music/Variety Show	2	0	0
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	2	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

[illegible]

Thursday March 24th, 2005

Television Station: **JOJ**

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Series	4	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
Movie	0	3	0
	0	0	1
	0	0	0
News/ Information	5	0	0
	5	0	3
Series (drama/documentary)	1	6	1
Music/ Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	1	0
Miscellaneous	0	0	0
Children's Program	0	1	0

Foreign Program Category	Country of Origin	Semi-Domestic Program Category	Explanation
Sitcom	US (X2)	Reality TV	Foreign format
Movie	US (X3)	Game Show	Foreign format
Series	US (X2)	Variety	Foreign format
Series	Germany/Austria	Series	Based on Czech
Series	Germany		show- foreign format
Series	Canada		
Series	Australia		
Soap Opera	Mexico		
Children's	France		

Friday March 25th, 2005

Television Station: STV1

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
	0	0	0
Sitcom	0	2	0
	2	7	0
	0	0	0
	0	0	1
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	0	0
Music/Variety Show	0	0	1
	0	0	0
	0	2	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	0
Children's Program	0	2	0

[illegible]

Television Station: STV2

[illegible]

Television Station: Markiza[illegible]

Friday March 25th, 2005

Television Station: JOJ

Categories	Domestic	Foreign	Semi-domestic
Sports	4	0	0
Sitcom	0	0	0
Movie	0	8	0
Full length feature	0	0	0
	0	0	1
Newscast/ Information	4	0	0
	0	0	0
Series (drama/documentary)	0	0	0
Music/ Variety Show		0	1
	0	0	0
	0	0	0
Miscellaneous		0	0
Children's Program	0	3	0

[illegible]

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