

fashioned person, the calculated-ambitious person, the confused pessimist, the opportunist, and the neighbourhood rebel. The study reveals not only the marketing behaviour of the young Romanian target, but also significant information related to social and family lifestyles.

The competition between traditional and new advertising represents the topic of another outstanding paper published in this volume by Mirela Abrudan and Delia Balaban, which bears the title: "Brands and New Media: Swarm Marketing and Social Media Networks." This article comes up with some innovative communication and marketing strategies that can be used for Internet promotion. The main point pays attention to the branding process in terms of using social networks (e.g. Facebook) to promote very well-known brands.

In conclusion, this volume offers a comprehensive range of academic contributions, all of which are based on professional expertise and various research methods that prove the high quality of the researchers.

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Marta Dyczok and Oxana Golutvina (eds.) (2009). *Media, Democracy and Reform: The Post-Communism Experience: (Interdisciplinary Studies on Central and Eastern Europe 6)*. Bern: Peter Lang, pp. 246, ISBN 978-3-0343-0311-8 pb.

The collapse of communism that started twenty years ago in Central and Eastern European countries signaled the beginning of a new era of political, economic and social transformations. The common communist past and contemporary development of power and market relationships as well as changes in value systems created both single and diverse post-communist space. In the *Media, Democracy and Freedom* Marta Dyczok and Oxana Gaman-Golutvina brought together an international and multidisciplinary group of scholars to explore how the media and public spheres have developed in post-communist countries and what challenges these countries face on their way to freedom and democracy.

The authors of the book have solid academic and research experience, especially in political science/post-communism research. Marta Dyczok is an Associate Professor of History and Political Science at the University of Western Ontario, author of two books, including *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees* (2000). Oxana Gaman Golutvina teaches Political Science at the Moscow Institute of Foreign Relations and Higher School of Economics. She is also a Vice-president of the Russian Association of Political Science and author of over 150 publications, including her book *Political Elites in Russia* which was recognized the best political science book in Russia in 2007.

Including the results of solid collaborative work as well as rich empirical and theoretical materials, the book provides strong arguments for rethinking post-communism within the “media framework”. As Dyczok states in the introduction, “despite decades of communist rule, the desire for free speech and understanding its importance for democracy survived in this society” (p. 10). Moreover, this desire promotes further evolution of media systems and its strong influence on social processes. The authors place media in a line and side by side with democracy and freedom development and offer to include examination of media development into analysis of post-communist transformations. “Media development provides a useful framework for re-examining state-society relations”, writes Marta Dyczok. “By looking at the media it becomes possible to see the dynamics between governments and societies.”

Asking the question as to whether media matters in the changes that post-communist societies experience, the authors are definitely right to go beyond the definition of media as an instrument of information and communication. More specifically, they consider an important feedback function that makes the media represent a key mechanism of democracy. What is important, the book *Media, Democracy and Freedom* shows how the analysis of media systems and developments, media quality, format, agenda and particularities can help to understand wider political processes. As Oxana Gaman-Golutvina notes, looking at media we can “clarify the nature and content of changes that have taken place in post-communist countries” and, moreover, find “new discourses on the development of the public sphere in general.”

The book contributors address a number of post-countries’ cases looking for both similar and specific trends and variations, exploring how media matters in the processes of democratization. The ideas presented in *Media, Democracy and Freedom* sound especially convincing, as they refer to empirical research in the number of such post-communist countries as Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Albania, etc.

Marta Dyczok’s chapter on Ukraine demonstrates an ambiguous role of media in the country’s democratization and claims that it is useful “to rethink the media power as a site where power is contested, where larger power struggles become visible”. The author proves that media development in this young democracy brought neither “altered attitudes” nor “progress,” at least compared to other post-communist countries. When transition from state-owned to private hands was over it became evident that it did not bring expected liberty. As the author notices, the trend was “that many new media outlets were created for the purpose of influence rather than to provide the public with information or generate profits” (p. 21). Being under pressure (state censorship before and commercial pressure now) Ukrainian journalists continue to lack autonomy, intention and power to initiate democratic reforms in the country. Meanwhile media owners are just learning to work in market conditions and usually do not take media transparency and media independency as essential for business success. It is hardly debatable that working in such conditions the Ukrainian media do not play the role of “agent of democratic change” in the country.

In 2000–2004, Ukrainian “elites believed that media is an important tool for shaping public opinion and containing protests”. However, the reality was just the opposite — the media “bandwagoned” on the protest movement of the electorate. Marta Dyczok agrees that it is questionable that most of the media really shared the values of protesters. Channel 5, which “played a key role in providing an alternative point of view and became the most watched TV channel during the Orange revolution” quickly lost its progressive standing and standards and as a consequence — ratings as well. The only enduring and visible achievement was the destruction of what the author calls “an official mediated political communication system”. Therefore, describing events in Ukraine, Dyczok concludes that Ukrainian media should not be perceived as an important instrument of power as “control of the media system does not necessarily guarantee control over societal attitudes or behavior”.

What is especially interesting, is that the volume highlights how in some cases sustainable political cultural models remain in the mass media field. Writing about the role of the media in Color Revolutions that took place not just in Ukraine, but also in Serbia, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, Vicken Cheterian concludes that these revolutions failed to establish a new culture and independent journalism. Masha Lipman also mentions the “Soviet-style constituency” of the media sphere in Russia. Furthermore, most of the authors demonstrate how the post-communist journalist quite often continues to carry on communist traditions. Finally, Gaman-Golutvina summarizes: “as in old communist times, journalists at the moment are also more inclined not to public information but rather to formation of definite opinions and orientations” (p. 238).

Examination of the role the media play in a larger social and political context, elaborated by the book authors, is especially helpful for understanding the changes occurring in the dynamic post-communist world. Having addressed post-communist experience through a multidisciplinary, diverse and multidimensional approach, the authors come to the main conclusion — the *media do matter* in post-communist transformations. However, empirical findings show us that today’s media rarely take the role of independent actor, “creator of politics” or autonomous power in the post-communist region. They continue to be a tool for business and political power-holders in post-communist countries. Finally, “they are not the masters of the discourse”, as Oxana Gaman-Golutvina writes. Playing mostly a passive role that is quite different from the original and “normatively” defined watchdog function of the media, they still remain a site where state-society relations are contested and where struggles for power become especially visible. Besides looking at media systems we find an effective framework to study state-society relations, analyze the importance of the weight of the past, usefulness and limitations of the comparative perspectives.

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