

CMCS Annual Report

For the academic year 2011-12

Prepared December, 2012

For further information please see our website: www.cmcs.ceu.hu

Introduction

About CMCS

The Center for Media and Communication Studies (CMCS) is a research center of Central European University dedicated to advancing media and communication scholarship and policy action. The Center produces scholarly and practice-oriented research addressing academic, policy and civil society needs and the complexities of media, technology and communication transformations. CMCS research and activities promote pluralism, participation, and the democratic potential of the media.

CMCS supports an international and interdisciplinary platform that educates future decision makers not only about how media, information and communications affects societies and their public policy goals, but also how public policies, including law, can affect the way information and communications takes place within their respective society. CMCS research addresses the demand within Europe for more communications policy research from a broader European perspective inclusive of Central and Eastern Europe; and globally for new research perspectives and voices that can provide insights on emerging and global questions in a new media environment. CMCS research and events are grounded in one of the pillars of an open society - that of free speech and expression, and the enabling environment necessary for both to prevail. CMCS connects these values with other pillars such as justice, security, political and economic freedom (especially work on open government), censorship, privacy, and community media.

Based in Budapest, CMCS was established in 2004 through the joint efforts of CEU and the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. The Center serves as a focal point for an international network of acclaimed scholars and academic institutions; offers innovative courses across several CEU departments; provides training and consultancy; and organizes scholarly exchanges through workshops, lectures and conferences on current developments in the field. In its short history, the CMCS has developed core competencies and taken on a range of activities, working with CEU departments and centers, European institutions, and with a growing international network.

What the CMCS does:

- Create opportunities for CEU students interested in the field of communication through advising, internships, research and summer institutes;
- Staff and Fellows teach courses in the Departments of Public Policy and Political Science and support the overall development of media and communication studies at CEU;
- Lead and participate in major European and transnational research projects;
- Serve as advisors for NGO and governmental agencies, including legislative analysis and consultation for Hungary and European bodies;
- Publish a range of academic research, NGO-commissioned reports, conference papers and public lectures;
- Organize multi-stakeholder conferences, workshops and executive trainings.

Research interests and priorities include:

- **Media and communication policy:** communication regulation, safeguards and public interests across media sectors, digital transition, information economies and internet governance;
- **Civil society and communication:** community and civic media, activists and technologies, civil society engagement with policy processes and public participation;
- **Technology and social change:** social uses of new technologies, impacts of new media on old media, social media and digital rights, convergence and mobile communications.
- **Fundamental communication and informational rights:** freedom of expression, freedom of the media, access to information and privacy protections; and
- **Media in transition:** media development and democratization in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond.



Chair

Monroe Price, Director of the Center for Global Communication Studies at the
Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania;
Professor of Law, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law

Director

Kate Coyer

Research Director

Kristina Irion, Assistant Professor, Departments of Public Policy and Legal Studies

Staff / researchers

Éva Bognár, Coordinator / Researcher

Rian Wanstreet, Assistant / Researcher

Research fellows at CEU

Amy Brouillette, Research Fellow

Joost van Beek, Research Fellow

Paolo Cavaliere, Visiting Faculty, Department of Public Policy

Lina Dencik, Visiting Faculty, Political Science Department

Ellen Hume, Annenberg Fellow in Civic Media

Markos Kounalakis, Senior CMCS Fellow

Peter Molnar, Senior CMCS Fellow

Stefania Milan, CMCS Fellow

Victor Khroul, CMCS Fellow

Affiliated CMCS fellows

Susan Abbott, CMCS Fellow, Annenberg School for Communication, U of Pennsylvania

Amer Dzihana, CMCS Fellow, Internews Network

Arne Hintz, Joint Research Fellow with McGill University, Project Director "Mapping Global Media Policy"

Ivona Malbasic, CMCS Fellow, PhD Candidate, CEU Department of Environmental Studies and Policy

Roxana Radu, CMCS Fellow and PhD candidate, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva

Stefaan G. Verhulst, Senior CMCS Fellow, Director of Research, Markle Foundation

Stefania Milan, CMCS Fellow, Citizen Lab, University of Toronto

Affiliated CEU Faculty

Gabor Toka, Professor, Department of Political Science

Youngmi Kim, Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations and European Studies, Department of Public Policy

Marsha Siefert, Associate Professor, History Department

Tamara Steger, Assistant Professor, Director of Environmental Justice Program, Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy

Renáta Uitz, Professor, Chair of the Comparative Constitutional Law Program, Legal Studies Department

Balázs Vedres, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, and Director of the Center for Network Science

Teaching at CEU

The CMCS collaborates with CEU's **Department of Public Policy**, which offers a Media, Information and Communications Policy Stream for MA students, having played a key role in establishing this specialization. This specialization provides focused exposure to issues of policy development and practice in modern telecommunications and information fields. Specialized courses address issues of convergence, the shift to digital broadcasting, Internet policy and mobile and wireless telecommunications. The program is designed to train a new generation of policy makers, advocates and advisers. The student body is an international one, and many participants have backgrounds in communications studies or media policy and practice. In the last academic year, four students undertook the specialisation in Media, Information and Communications Policy, by taking six credits in the stream's portfolio, with many more students taking individual courses within the stream. The Center also collaborates with the **Department of Political Science**, which offers a Certificate in Political Communication for MA students.

CMCS staff and fellows taught the following post-graduate courses across the two departments in the academic year 2011-2012:

- Political Communication I: News Media and Political Power (Dencik)
- Media and Globalization (Dencik)
- Civil Society and Communication (Coyer)
- Electronic Governance (Irion)
- Fundamentals of Media and Communications Policy (Cavaliere)
- Enabling Policies for Freedom of the Media (Molnar)

CEU Summer University (SUN)

Online Free Expression and Communication Policy Advocacy: a Toolkit for Media Development

This year, CMCS hosted our annual intensive two-week summer university course under the theme: "Online Free Expression and Communication Policy Advocacy: a Toolkit for Media Development." The course brought together students from 28 countries to address the most pressing challenges around Internet governance, freedom of expression, privacy and copyright. The CMCS organized the course in cooperation with Internews, the Center for Global Communication Studies (CGCS) at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, and the Center for Democracy and Technology. The course was organized by Kate Coyer, Susan Abbott, Leslie Harris, and Eva Bogнар.

Recent events in Egypt and Tunisia remind us that the development of the internet as a global, free and open resource stands at a perpetual crossroads. The dynamic and

decentralized nature of the internet, and other new technologies, continually offers new avenues for open communication and free expression as well as new challenges and threats. The strategic use of digital technologies and information tools with the goal of empowering civil society and building capacity for an open society is critical. And at the same time, so-called 'old media' continues to play a vital role in communication, especially during times of crisis and conflict. The issue of free and open communications is not only relevant in the case of repressive regimes and transitional democracies, but it remains crucial across all layers of socio-politics. The complexities of the relationship between technology, free expression, privacy and policy lie at the heart of the relationship between global security and human rights.

This intensive summer course was designed to help both researchers and activists gain new insights into the role which civil society can play in advocating for free expression online and communication policy change, and highlighted the opportunities and challenges of technologies and online tools for mobilizing and organizing constituencies and for enhancing the security and privacy of advocates. During the course, we explored a wide range of practical and theoretical views related to communication policy advocacy and online tools and tactics, and how to integrate research into these fields. The course included hands-on work developing advocacy campaigns and covered some of latest developments in online tools for advocacy, security, privacy and crowd-sourcing. We also looked at Internet governance issues and online free expression policies. As part of the course, participants worked in teams to develop an advocacy campaign for communication policy change, presented at the end of the course.

In addition to course organizers, faculty included Sunil Abraham, Centre for Internet and Society, Bangalore, India; Marvin Amore, Open Technology Initiative (OTI), The New America Foundation, Washington D.C.; USA; Sam Gregory, Witness, UK; Henry Jenkins, Communication, Journalism, and Cinematic Arts, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA; Eric King, Privacy International, London, UK; Cynthia Wong, Center for Democracy & Technology (CDT), Washington D.C., USA; Kristina Irion, CEU; Monroe Price, Annenberg, UPenn; Janet Havens, Open Society Foundation; and Gregory Asmolov, LSE.

Further opportunities for students generated by CMCS

Thesis supervision and policy labs

One of the aims of the Center is to **support the development and growth of media and communication studies at CEU**, and serve as a hub for the field here. CMCS staff and fellows not only contribute to teaching, but also supervise MA thesis and serve on PhD committees. This year, CMCS supervised two **Policy Labs** in the area of media policy for DPP. Students regularly participate in CMCS events and activities, and the Center provides **internship opportunities** as well as **fulltime and short term positions**. This year, CMCS was pleased to welcome Public Policy graduate Rian Wanstreet as our newest team member as program assistant and researcher.

Guest speakers and field trips

In addition, CMCS members **invite scholars, policy makers and advocates as guest speakers** during class sessions and take students on field trips to organizations like multimedia innovation lab Kitchen Budapest, Hacklab, *Tilos* Radio, and the Open Society Archives. CMCS organises conferences and workshops, and brings in a range of guest lecturers in the field of media and communication studies.

Summer school participation

CMCS has provided financial and organisational support for several students to participate in academic summer programs including 2012 Annenberg-Oxford Global Media Policy Summer Institute at Oxford's Programme in Comparative Media Law & Policy and the CMCS co-organized CEU SUN Summer Course on internet policy advocacy.

Research and publication

CMCS often hires advanced MA and PhD students as research assistants on projects, and has also commissioned research by former students, and provided seed funding for students to turn thesis work into publishable articles.

Event organising experience

CMCS has hired current and former students to help organize workshops on cybersecurity, as well as media policy in the Middle East and North Africa, and provided volunteer opportunities for students at the CEU / Google conference *Internet at Liberty* and *Beyond East and West: Two decades of media transformation after the fall of Communism*.



Research and Publications

This year, CMSC focused much of its research efforts in response to the new media laws introduced by the Hungarian government.

Hungarian Media Laws in Europe: An Assessment of the Consistency of Hungary's Media Laws with European Practices and Norms

In January 2012, the CMCS published a study analysing the consistency of new Hungarian media regulations with European practices and norms, addressing a key policy debate in Europe that was sparked by the adoption of far-reaching new media legislation in Hungary in 2010. Based on evaluations by media policy experts in 20 countries, the study found that Hungary's laws were largely inconsistent with European practices, and also revealed a wide disparity in media regulation within the EU. The study was led by Amy Brouillette, supervised by Kate Coyer, with research and editorial support from Joost van Beek. The project was sponsored by the Open Society Foundation Media and Information Programs.

The publication was complemented by an **interactive online data visualization** program, custom developed for this project; **timeline of the policy making process** highlighting relevant events in 2010-2011; an **archive of relevant documents**, laws, analysis, criticism, government responses, communication from policy making bodies such as the EC and Council of Europe in English; and was **presented at a range of events** around Europe as well as at a meeting of the EU-appointed High-Level Group on Media Freedom and Pluralism.

The study has become part of an ongoing policy-making process and debate. It has informed the discussion of the Hungarian legislation by the European Commission (EC), the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and domestic and international stakeholders; it served as the basis for advocacy by Hungarian and international non-governmental actors to ensure that the media law was a priority agenda item in the EU's negotiations with Hungary; in addition to generating a significant amount of domestic and international press.

A major outcome of the study's development and release has been that the CMCS forged new relationships and strengthened existing ones with key policy-makers within the Foreign Ministry of Hungary, the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the European Parliament. This has positioned us in an important ongoing role as a source of expertise regarding the media laws and needs for improvement. Neelie Kroes, Vice-President of the European Commission, "highly recommended" the study publicly to those interested in learning more on the issue and cited the study in a letter to Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Tibor Navracsics as a specific reason to bring up her concerns over Hungary's media legislation anew.

This study and all the related follow-ups, including interviews, presentations, network development and next-step project development has been a significant focus of the Center this year. Upon the release of the study, we convened an **expert-level meeting with Hungarian government representatives, the European Commission, and European experts** from the study.

The study is modeled after similar fact-checking projects by policy institutes and media organizations, including Factcheck.org at the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. It was conducted by a team of country experts and managed and coordinated by CMCS researchers. In December 2010 and January 2011, the Hungarian Government released two statements summarizing the main criticisms of its new laws and providing examples of regulations from 20 European and EU-member states as precedents for Hungary's media legislation. For this study, the Center for Media and Communication Studies (CMCS) commissioned media policy experts in each of these 20 countries to examine every example cited by Hungary's Government. The findings of the report are based on the expert assessments of these examples; the purpose of the study was to examine the accuracy of the precedents cited by the Hungarian Government in order to shed light on the more critical question of how consistent Hungary's media laws are with other media systems in Europe.

The study found that Hungary's media laws are largely inconsistent with the cited European practices and norms, based on an examination of the legal precedents provided and on the expert analyses of how these precedents are implemented in these European and EU-member countries. In a majority of examples, experts reported that the Hungarian Government's references omit or inaccurately characterize relevant factors of the other countries' regulatory systems, and as a result, the examples do not provide sufficient and/or equivalent comparisons to Hungary's media regulation system. In many examples, the Hungarian Government accurately presented a portion of a legal provision or regulation, however, in these cases the reference either excludes elements of how the regulation is implemented or the regulation cited does not correspond with the scope and powers of Hungary's media laws or Media Authority. Overall, this study found that the European media regulations cited by the Hungarian Government do not serve as adequate precedents for Hungary's new media laws.

The study also revealed a wide disparity in media-regulation policies among European and EU-member states and highlights some key deficiencies in a number of other European systems that may inhibit press freedom in ways that do not appear to conform to European free-press norms.

The Independence and Efficient Functioning of Audiovisual Media Services Regulatory Bodies (INDIREG)

In 2011, the final INDIREG report was published by the European Commission. The CMCS took part in a consortium that was selected by the European Commission to carry out a study on “Indicators for independence and efficient functioning of audiovisual media services regulatory bodies for the purpose of enforcing the rules in the AVMS Directive” (SMART 2009/0001). The study was launched in February 2010. The CMCS study team was coordinated by Kristina Irion.

The consortium included the Hans Bredow Institute (lead contractor), the K.U. Leuven (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), Cullen International, as well as Perspective Associates as a subcontractor. It was cooperating with a net of correspondents covering each of the 43 countries covered by the study.

The study had three general objectives:

1. A detailed legal description and analysis of the audiovisual media services regulatory bodies in the European Union Member States, as well as in candidate and potential candidate countries to the EU and in the EFTA countries. To facilitate a comparative perspective, the regulatory system of four other countries, namely the USA, Japan, Singapore and Australia, had been analyzed too.
2. An analysis of the effective implementation of the legal framework for regulatory bodies in these countries.
3. The identification of key characteristics constituting an "independent regulatory body" in the light of the AVMS Directive.

The global aim of the study was the development of indicators that make it possible to measure the independence of regulatory bodies in the field of audiovisual media, and to assess the functioning of these bodies and their capacity to ensure the effective application of the AVMS Directive.

Online Data, Security and Protection

Kristina Irion was also part of a group of experts advising the EU's 'cyber security' agency ENISA as it prepared the report “To log or not to log? Risks and benefits of emerging life-logging technologies,” which highlighted the effects of life-logging applications on privacy, economy, and society. She also presented a paper on “Government Cloud Computing and the Policies of Data Sovereignty” at the 22nd European Regional ITS Conference, on 18-21 September, 2011. In addition, she authored a report for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) on “The protection of Children Online: Risks faced by children online and policies to protect them”, a subject on which The OECD Council issued a Recommendation in February 2012.

Generation Facebook

The German [transcript] Verlag in October 2011 published a book by Oliver Leistert and Theo Röhle (University of Paderborn): *Generation Facebook: Über das Leben im Social Net*. The volume contains contributions from international authors such as Geert Lovink and Saskia Sassen who examine the role and nature of Facebook regarding questions of social relations, identity, political strategies, surveillance, privacy and the flow of data. (October 2011)

Media and Global Civil Society

Palgrave Macmillan published a book by Lina Dencik, *Media and Global Civil Society*. The book presents a critical investigation into the way media operate in a so-called global age, presenting new empirical data on key sites of news production and tying these findings to ongoing debates on globalization and democracy. (December 2011)

The Content and Context of Hate Speech

Cambridge University Press published a book edited by Peter Molnar and Michael Herz (Cardozo School of Law), *The Content and Context of Hate Speech: Regulation and Responses*. The contributors to this volume, drawing on examples from around the world, consider whether it is possible to establish carefully tailored policies for "hate speech" that are cognizant of the varying traditions, histories, and values of different countries. (April 2012)

Online Freedom of Speech Index

Rian Wanstreet and Kate Coyer launched a research project with NGO *Access* to explore the relationship between corporate policy and online freedom of expression as it relates to media law and self-regulatory schema. Specifically, the research focuses on the Terms of Service agreements of Web 2.0 platforms, and to what extent their language protects user rights and free expression. The end objective is to create an Online Freedom of Speech Index that will serve as an international clearinghouse, documenting and explaining online terms of service. (March 2012)

Mapping Global Media Policy

CMCS continued its support for the Mapping Global Media Policy initiative, organized by CMCS Fellow Arne Hintz, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. The project seeks to address the growing interest in the international and global governance of media and communication. It does so while tackling concerns that Global Media Policy as a field of research is under-theorized, not well defined in its boundaries and open to controversial

interpretations regarding the main processes and actors involved. The objective is to develop a Global Media Policy Observatory consisting of a continuously updated and expanding inventory and a multi-representative think tank for critical analysis of trends in global media policy.

Empowering Grassroots Organizations

The Education Support Program of the Open Society Foundations (OSF) has published a book which was co-edited by CMCS Fellow Roxana Radu. The volume, *Wellbeing Reconsidered: Empowering Grassroots Organizations*, is the outcome of an Education Support Program initiative seeking to involve European community-based educational grassroots organizations in EU policy debates. The initiative aims to enable those local voices not typically heard to become a part of EU policy discussions around educational issues.

International Workshops

Transfabric - A para-sitic workshop on transnational D.I.Y.

The CMCS helped organize a workshop in Budapest called Transfabric - A para-sitic workshop on transnational D.I.Y. The workshop brought together key thinkers and practitioners from the U.S., Europe, China and Iran, who work at the intersection of digital and urban design, making and remaking. The main goal of the workshop was to provide a space for mutual engagement, learning from each others' experiences and the challenges that individual groups might face, and establishing opportunities for future collaboration.

The workshop contained a strong practical component, in which participants did a hands-on design brainstorming session and a D.I.Y. session. The participants broke out in groups to sketch and build various digital and electronic artifacts.

The workshop mostly took place at FabLab Budapest, and partly at Kitchen Budapest. The workshop was organized in collaboration by LUCI – Laboratory for Ubiquitous Computing at University of California, Irvine; the Center for Global Communication Studies (CGCS) at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania; and the CMCS. It was sponsored by the CGCS, Google OpenSource Office and Google China Developer Relations, Kitchen Budapest and Fablab Budapest. (September 2011)

Post-communist media: From democratic ideals to authoritarian backlash? co-organized with Central European University Press (October 2011)

In mainstream Western political science and media literature, media are usually seen as contributing to liberalization and democratization of transition societies. The degree of media freedom and pluralism is also used to measure political performance of democratic regimes. However, recently the optimism of the transition paradigm has been challenged by the political stability and economic success of several authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes, especially China and Russia. The emerging “Beijing Consensus” is presenting a powerful alternative to global US hegemony as well as liberalism. At the same time, both the US and the EU face severe budget crises and mounting debts in the process some define as “the decline of the West”. The European Union is going through its most critical time since its creation, struggling with economic problems and internal resistance to further integration.

Economic and financial problems, rising unemployment, “democracy fatigue,” and authoritarian and nationalist backlashes in Central and Eastern Europe (recently in Poland or presently in Hungary) also question the optimism and hope of further democratic transformation in post-communist lands. What are the major trends of democratization vs. authoritarianism in Central and Eastern Europe? How do authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes control media in different post-communist regions? How do old and new media genres contribute to sustaining and / or opposing authoritarian regimes? And how could media studies be reinvented to reflect on changing geopolitical realities and media landscapes?

This workshop attempted to paint the big picture regarding Central and Eastern European media today: their democratic vs. authoritarian performance, political status, pluralism and policies. Instead of looking only westward, we attempt to introduce both Western and Eastern comparative perspectives. Methodological reflections on the challenges facing the social sciences in the age of the new media are also offered.

The goal of the event is to locate summary findings of individual projects among the big picture of globalization, the emergence of China and Russia, and the global strengthening of authoritarian tendencies. We also highlighted media research at the CMCS, particularly the academic findings of COST A30 program “East of West: Setting a New Central and Eastern European Media Research Paradigm.”

Workshop speakers included: Boguslawa Dobek-Ostrowska, Beata Klimkiewicz, Péter Bajomi-Lázár, Jan Zielonka, Kate Coyer, Amy Brouillette, Ellen Hume, Amer Dzihana, Peter Molnar, András Bozóki, Miklós Sükösd, Joan Barata, Ferenc Hammer, Andrei Soldatov, Pál Nyiri, and Markos Kounalakis.

Teaching ICT policy skills

The Curriculum Resource Center of CEU and the CMCS organized a course innovation session which provided participants from Russia, Ukraine, Transcaucasia, Kyrgyzstan and Bosnia and Herzegovina with an opportunity to enhance their curricula in public policy and law by developing teaching capacity in ICT policy. It was organized in collaboration with the CGCS and the InfoDev program. (May 2012)

The course approaches the topic from an interdisciplinary, comparative perspective; to build analytic skills to understand and critically engage with current policy debates about ICT; to survey how some of the newest industries and technologies function and are regulated; to present an overview of policy developments and regulations throughout the region. It also provided participants with practical skills in curriculum design, development and implementation.

The substantive issues covered include fundamentals of ICT policymaking and regulation with special attention to new technologies, including developments in broadband Internet and mobile; international perspectives and national case studies on ICT policy in Eastern Europe and Central Asia; the economic, social, and political role of ICT in development, including innovation, market structure, system architecture, and significant applications. The program included course design, teaching methodology and course alignment workshops, and introductions to an ITU - ICT Policy Module and the ICT Policy and Regulatory Training Initiative (IPTI) for Eastern Europe and Central Asia (ECA).

Public lectures

CMCS organizes a range of public lectures and events. This year, we worked with the CEU Rectorate on organizing two events:

Rector's Lecture Series, Freedom and Democracy Dialogues -The Contest Over Open Society: *Promoting the free flow of information vs. ensuring public security - how to find the right balance?*

Speakers: **Judit Bayer** (Associate Lecturer, King Sigismund College, Budapest), **Andrei Richter** (Director, OSCE Office of the Representative on Freedom of the Media), **Ethan Zuckerman** (Director, Center for Civic Media at MIT). Introduction: John Shattuck, President and Rector. Moderator: Kate Coyer, Director, Center for Media and Communication Studies

Global communication channels offer greater access to information for citizens; they also provide opportunities to obtain and publicly disclose classified data kept by official authorities. While the exposure of public affairs to public scrutiny may increase transparency, the leaking of confidential information may also raise security concerns,

especially if the leaked information is sensitive either in political, economic, or military terms. In addition, global telecommunication systems also serve the purposes of terrorist groups and organized crime whose activities pose severe security threats. Where to draw the boundaries between the free flow of information and monitoring and controlling telecommunication systems and the media? Stricter regulations and compromises on human rights and civil liberties for the sake of security are the usual answers to these problems. Are there alternative ways to tackle the above challenges without restricting freedoms?

Rector's Lecture Series Freedom and Democracy Dialogues - The Contest over Open Society: Social Networks and Media - Implications for Democracy and Civil Society

Speakers: Ahmad Gharbeia and **Evgeny Morozov**. Introduction: **John Shattuck**, President and Rector . Moderator: **Ellen Hume**, Annenberg Fellow in Civic Media, Center for Media and Communication Studies

The emergence of social networking tools on the Internet such as Facebook, Twitter, and Myspace has changed people's understanding of social networks. What potential do these networks have and how do they change interpersonal relations and civil society? Are they capable of mobilizing social groups that may promote democratization and the concept of open society at either the domestic or transnational levels? If so, what specific implications does this phenomenon have for democracy in general and democratization in particular?

Ahmad Gharbeia is an Egyptian computer expert, activist, and blogger. Politically active for the past six years, he participated in the Tahrir Square protests that were instrumental in ousting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak from power.

Evgeny Morozov is a Belarus-born researcher and blogger and former Open Society Fellow who focuses on the political effects of the Internet. Morozov is skeptical about the Internet's ability to provoke change in authoritarian regimes because it is also a powerful conduit for authoritarian and nationalist ideas.

CMCS also organized the following public lectures at CEU:

Henry Jenkins (USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism): **“How content gains meaning and value in the era of spreadable media”** (June 2012)

Of all of the changes in the new media environment over the past two decades, perhaps the biggest has been a shift in how media content circulates -- away from top-down corporate controlled distribution and into a still emerging hybrid system where everyday people play an increasingly central role in how media spreads. Cultural Studies has historically been centered around issues of production and reception and has had much less to say about circulation. What issues emerge when we put the process of grassroots (often unauthorized) circulation at the center of our focus? How does it change our

accounts of the relationships between mass media and participatory culture? How might it shake up existing models of viral media and web 2.0? This far-reaching talk, based on a forthcoming book which Henry Jenkins has authored with Sam Ford and Joshua Green, offers snapshots of a culture-in-process, a media ecology which is still taking shape, suggesting what it means not only for the futures of entertainment but also of civic life.

Mark Schoofs (ProPublica): “The changing nature of investigative journalism and the impact of open data” (March 2012)

Rebecca MacKinnon (New America Foundation): “Consent of the networked: The worldwide struggle for internet freedom” (March 2012)

A global struggle for control of the Internet is now underway. At stake are no less than civil liberties, privacy and even the character of democracy in the 21st century. Many commentators have debated whether the Internet is ultimately a force for freedom of expression and political liberation, or for alienation, and repression. It is time to stop arguing over whether the Internet empowers individuals and societies, and address the more fundamental and urgent question of how technology should be structured and governed to support the rights and liberties of all the world’s Internet users.

In her timely book, [*Consent of the Networked*](#), Rebecca MacKinnon warns that a convergence of unchecked government actions and unaccountable company practices is threatening the future of democracy and human rights around the world. *Consent of the Networked* is a call to action: Our freedom in the Internet age depends on whether we defend our rights on digital platforms and networks in the same way that people fight for their rights and accountable governance in physical communities and nations. It is time to stop thinking of ourselves as passive “users” of technology and instead act like citizens of the Internet – as netizens – and take ownership and responsibility for our digital future.

Victor Khroul (Moscow State University, CEU Fellow): “Religion and media in Russia” (January 2012)

Can we understand religion without media? Can we understand media without religion? How do they interact in the public sphere as two social sub-systems? Dr Khroul puts these questions into the context of contemporary Russia and will offer some perspectives on the relationship between media and religion and some thoughts on the challenges, problems and hopes.

Prof. Joan Barata (Universitat Ramon Llull): “Democratization processes and media transitions after the Arab Spring” (November 2011)

The so-called Arab Spring has raised expectations about democratization processes taking place in countries as different as Tunisia, Libya or Egypt, but also in other places where there have been no “revolutions” like Morocco or Jordan. It is necessary to analyze, then, not only the historical, political and social reasons behind these movements

(and the current situation in these countries, in particular Tunisia where democratic elections have already taken place), but to also examine the role that traditional and new media have been playing. In this regard, the challenges for the immediate future include the creation of a new communications landscape, the effective protection of freedom of expression and information, the role of state media, and the creation of new democratic regulatory authorities.

Wind in Your Shoes: On Foot Along the Danube River (September 2011)

Italian actor and director Rosario Tedesco presented his experiences walking down the Danube river, from its source in Donaueschingen, Germany, to Budapest and on to the Black Sea.

CMCS Media and Change Series

This year launched a bi-monthly, informal lunchtime discussion series, *Media and Change*. The aim of the series is to create the space for reflection and informal discussion about media policies, perils, potential and practice. This year, we covered such topics as media literacy; the future and impact of journalism and digital media tools; the role of media on our daily lives, on social change and public culture; and where does media policy come in to shape these experiences. We also view this as an opportunity for networking with each other and fellow students, faculty, staff, and research interested in the media and communications transformations taking hold.

Media and Change sessions for 2011-12:

How do we inform ourselves?

Facilitator: Markos Kounalakis, President and Publisher Emeritus of Washington Monthly, Senior Fellow, CMCS

Topics of discussion: What will this media look like in a few years? Form factor is just one consideration. How do you assign a value or currency to the medium for accuracy or fairness? Is it the brand that is valuable? A tradition? A specific or self-validating point of view? (September 2011)

Internet tales: Radical transparency vs. privacy

Facilitator: Ellen Hume, Annenberg fellow, CMCS (October 2011)

‘The new, new dream hearth’ notes on looking at media in our lives”

Facilitator: Peter Almond, filmmaker, journalist

The "New (new) Dream Hearth" draws on a series of essays that were written in the mid-1970's (Kids: Day by Day, Cerf, et.al, Simon & Schuster, 1979). The title essay proposed a kind of informal media literacy process, aiming to capture the idea that media influences life at all levels and thus deserves study and understanding, especially in the family setting and especially where children are involved. What we today call media literacy was a response to the important but somewhat understandably narrow scholarship and advocacy in particular around TV's influence on children. George Gerbner and others carried out important research in this area, but the usefulness to parents and teachers had limits. These studies and advocacy positions tended to condemn television on issues like violence, social role, race and gender portrayal. While hugely important questions for public discussion and reform, there was also the need for something people could get their hands on that would help them and their families learn to live with television and other media. (October 2011)

"What public service media do you want? Its role, mission and remit in the digital age"

Facilitator: Kristina Irion, Research Director, CMCS and Assistant Professor, Department of Public Policy (November 2011)

The Occupy movement and the media: how do we know what we know and why does it matter?

Facilitators: Kate Coyer, Director, CMCS; Paolo Cavaliere, Research Fellow, CMCS and Visiting Faculty, Department of Public Policy; Tamara Steger, Associate Professor, Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy

We have seen how social media and communication technologies have played instrumental roles in organizing mass protests and contributing to revolution, most recently of course in the Arab Spring. International media coverage and popular opinion praised activists and technologies for these innovations. But how does this narrative translate to the Occupy movement? Restrictions on the media by police during raids on Occupy protesters is a recurring concern. And criticism that too much mainstream popular media coverage emphasizes spectacle over substance or context. Yet through social networks and alternative media, live streams and independent video and blogs, and the vast array of first-hand accounts, the mobilizations have grown, along with collective awareness. (December 2011)

Hungarian Media Laws in Europe: Assessing the Consistency of Hungary's Media Laws with European Practices and Norms

Facilitators: Amy Brouillette, Research Fellow, CMCS; Kate Coyer, Director, CMCS (January 2012)

Home mode photography: Between Memory and Imagination

Presenters: Oksana Sarkisova, OSA Archivum, CEU and Olga Shevchenko Marie Curie Fellow, CEU Institute for Advanced Study

In the past few decades, photography stopped being the exclusive domain of art historians and began to attract attention from a variety of interdisciplinary fields. In our discussion, we will use our on-going study of domestic photographic archives in Russia as a springboard to raise larger questions about the role that media technology (in particular, photography) plays in shaping people's notions of their past. To what extent is the old McLuhan's dictum that "the medium is the message" true in case of photography? What is the connection between photography and memory? And how has this relationship changed in the wake of the digital turn? We hope the seminar participants will bring in their own observations over the functioning of home mode photography to bear on these issues. (February 2012)

Our Site is Our Castle - Minority groups and new media

Presenter: Eva Bognar, Researcher, CMCS

Research shows an increase in hostile attitude towards minorities and marginal groups in societies. In the meantime, minorities are often represented in simplistic and stereotypical ways in mainstream media. Can we challenge the dominant discourse through alternative media? What strategies do minority groups follow? And what is the role of new technologies in this? What do we think of issues of inclusion and exclusion particularly in the context of the internet - is there a danger of (self-)segregation? Eva Bognar focussed on the role websites play in the life of minority groups showing three Hungarian examples: judapest.org, a Hungarian community blog on Jewish identity; the first Roma social networking site, Zhoriben; and the Hungarian queer portal pinkvanilla.hu. (February 2012)

Set the fox to watch the geese: voluntary IP regimes in file-sharing communities

Presenter: Bodo Balazs, Assistant Professor at Budapest University of Technology and Economics

Online "pirates" are often villanized and dismissed as thieves within the Intellectual

Property field, yet surprisingly dynamic, self-governing communities have sprung up within File Sharing platforms. This discussion will focus on the role these communities could play within a legal and ethical context, and discusses the free speech implications of the pirating movement. (May 2012)

Individual activity highlights

CMCS staff and fellows actively participate in the major communication conferences, such as the International Communication Association (ICA), International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA); as well as the International Studies Association (ISA). This year, CMCS published major reports for its Hungarian media law study as well as the final report of a study on the independence of media regulators.

Kate Coyer was invited to participate in Google's follow-up conference *Internet at Liberty*, and represent the Center at a workshop for scholarship and research on internet governance. She spoke at the June 2012 *Conference on Internet Governance, Policy and Regulation*, organized by Internews and USAID in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and was an invited keynote speaker at the European Cultural Parliament on *Europe? Where's Europe? Diversity, history and nostalgia meets Facebook and reality television in the American imaginary*. Kate was an invited speaker by Google for a keynote panel at European Forum of New Ideas, Sopot, Poland; an invited Speaker for a workshop on quality journalism and media pluralism, organized by the Robert Bausch Foundation, Berlin; an invited participant, Milton Wolf Seminar, Vienna Diplomatic Academy; and served as a workshop facilitator, World Association of Community Radio, Gafsa, Tunisia, where she also helped civil society activists build a new community radio station.

Kristina Irion was part of a group of experts asked by the EU's 'cyber security' agency ENISA to provide input and comments on a new report about the risks and benefits of emerging life-logging applications and the effects on privacy, economy, and society. The report, which was published in November identifies the impacts of life-logging and nano-blogging activities and offers policy recommendations. The report draws a future risk scenario taking place in 2014 and predicts the positive and negative effects of online services and applications which produce a constant feed of personal information.

Markos Kounalakis did a dual presentation with András Simonyi, former ambassador of Hungary to the USA, at the TEDxDanubia event on 23 September, in which they did not just talk but also played music. Simonyi and Kounalakis, a journalist and author who reported the overthrow of communism in Eastern Europe, the fall of the Soviet Union,

and the wars in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan for Newsweek and NBC Radio, argued that rock and roll should take much credit for helping bring down the authoritarian regimes of Eastern Europe. Today's rock and roll, metaphorically speaking, is probably the most social of media, they argued. TedXDanubia is an independently organized.

Oliver Leistert and **Stefania Milan** participated in the "Unlike Us: Understanding social media monopolies and their alternatives" event in Amsterdam on 8-10 March 2012. Oliver Leistert moderated a session on "Social Media Activism and the Critique of Liberation Technology"; Stefania Milan presented about "Cloud protesting. How is protest changing".

Joost van Beek provided input regarding online visualizations for the lecture "The Graphs They Are a-Changin': Principles, Examples, Software for Data Visualization", presented by Manuel Bosancianu at the workshop "Data Visualization and Graphing Results for the Social Sciences," 26 April 2012, organized by the CEU Department of Political Science.

Péter Molnár was one of the panelists at the 2011 Rafto Symposium in Bergen, Norway, on November 4. The Rafto Foundation awards an annual Rafto Prize to advocates of human rights and democracy, which Molnár received in 1989 on behalf of Fidesz, the Hungarian alliance of young democrats, which played an important role in the transition to democracy and at the time was a liberal group. In his contribution at the seminar this year, Molnár focused on enabling policies for safeguarding human rights and promoting diversity and respecting freedom of speech.

Partners

CMCS has benefited from collaborations with academic institutions, policy making bodies, and non governmental organizations internationally and in Hungary. Our activities help raise the profile of CEU internationally and we see these partnerships as opportunities to demonstrate the role that CEU and CMCS can play in the ongoing debate over communications and society. Such partnerships are also invaluable as the Center seeks to impact scholarship, policy and advocacy, and to diversify our sources of funding as we move forward.

For large European-wide research projects the Center has been collaborating with a network of experts who have contributed country case studies and data on which formed the basis for comparative research. This year's study of the Hungarian media laws in a European context serves as an excellent example of CMCS' network capacities and active engagement in collaborative research. The standard-setting conference with Google, *Internet at Liberty, the Promise and Peril of Online Freedom* also demonstrates the breadth of our network. *COST A30 Action East of West: Setting a New Central and*

Eastern European Media Research Agenda laid the foundation for the individual contacts among researchers throughout the region upon which subsequent research relied. For example the media research network which spans across Europe has been instrumental for the two major studies for the European Commission on *Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States – Towards a Risk-Based Approach* and on *Indicators for independence and efficient functioning of audiovisual media services regulatory bodies (INDIREG study)*. This networking competence has become a major success factor of CMCS' and collaborative research projects and has positioned the Center as a sought after partner for European comparative media research. The networked research approach is now been used also in other research such as the *European Privacy and Human Rights (EPHR)* project where privacy experts contributed to the country reports.

Network and strategic partner development is an area CMCS is focused on developing in the coming years. To that end, the Center is now actively pursuing international research projects.

Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

Internationally, CMCS has benefited from very close institutional ties with the Annenberg School, its Dean Michael Delli Carpini, and especially their Center for Global Communication Studies (CGCS), led by Professor Monroe Price. Price also serves as the CMCS Chair. CMCS benefits from advisory support, project development, and access to a valuable and growing international network of media scholars, funders and development agencies. As a result, CMCS is currently pursuing collaborations with scholars in Jordan, Thailand, and India.

Annenberg and CGCS have been fostering the developments of the CMCS since its inception in 2004. Four faculty members from Annenberg taught at CEU that year. Graduate students from Budapest came and worked at Annenberg, and Annenberg faculty and graduate students have continued to be involved. The Center is also very pleased to host Ellen Hume as the Annenberg Fellow in Civic Media.

With CGCS, CMCS has developed an ongoing summer school series that will take place for the fifth consecutive year at CEU in 2012, focusing on different aspects of media and civil society, policy and media development. The 2011 course provided student scholarships funded by Internews Network and benefited from program development from the Center for Democracy and Technology and Internews Network. CMCS has also fostered CEU graduates seeking placement in Annenberg's PhD program and other advanced studies programs internationally.

Open Society Foundation Media and Information Programs

CMCS and OSF have been developing a number of collaborations and are exploring

further opportunities to work together. Currently, OSF has funded and is a partner in a major CMCS study to fact check the consistency of the new Hungarian media laws against European member state norms and practices. The project was developed in consultation with OSF, and both the Media and Information programs are supporting the work. CMCS is working closely with OSF on outreach and dissemination of the study. CMCS is taking an active role in helping develop mediapolicy.org, the Media program's platform for media policy research and information. CMCS consulted closely with both programs in development of the CEU / Google conference on online free expression, and are working with the Information Program specifically on research data visualization projects. OSF program officers have been invited to speak in CMCS-led courses and have funded student participation in our summer courses, and are regularly consulted for project development. CMCS is working with OSF to develop further collaborations for students and other research projects such as the community media policy research hub. CMCS looks forward to working more closely with OSF.

Google

CMCS was pleased to be the recipient of a \$50,000 grant to support our internet freedom research endeavors. Kate Coyer participated in a follow-up conference and workshop for researchers in the field. Participants from the Google/CMCS organized *Internet at Liberty* Conference illuminated the critical need for better research on the topic of Internet freedoms in policy and practice. The complexity of the problems demand thoughtful research that reaches across the traditional disciplines of public policy, political science, international relations, network science and communication studies. It requires the development of policy papers and provocative visionary scenarios; dissemination of tools and data visualizations for civil society, policy makers and industry; support for emerging policy scholarship and researchers; and the development of an institutional network to connect the important work being done in this field. The recognition of these needs has catalyzed the formation of a solid partnership with the Google corporation that has resulted in multiple outputs. Our summer university program, which Google helped fund, drew faculty and students from *Internet at Liberty*. Its curriculum grew directly from the issues outlined during the Google conference, and set a goal of creating a set of working policy tools for activists and researchers.

Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy (PCMLP) at Oxford

PCMLP is another important node in the international network anchored by Monroe Price at Annenberg. CMCS and PCMLP are currently developing research proposals for comparative studies of transition in Eastern Europe, Latin America and West Africa. CMCS is also now collaborating on a Global Media Law website and discussion list under development by PCMLP. Lead by Nicole Stremlau, PCMLP runs an Annenberg-Oxford Summer Institute on Global Media Policy, which CMCS' Kristina Irion and Kate Coyer have both participated in. CMCS provides a travel stipend to a strong CEU media stream student in the Department of Public Policy to attend. Past recipients have included

Linda Austere, Andreana Stankova, Zivile Stubryte, Maya Nikolova and Roxana Radu.

Internews Network

CMCS has developed a strong working relationship with Internews over the past two years and co-organizes our summer university program together with Annenberg. Internews is an international media development organization whose mission is to empower local media worldwide to give people the news and information they need, the ability to connect, and the means to make their voices heard. CMCS has hosted two high profile workshops for Internews around online free expression, and the future of media policy in the Middle East and North Africa. CMCS is participating in a collaborative research project with Internews on the impact of international aid in media development, and the Center hosted four fellows from Internews Bosnia and Herzegovina on a research study tour of media advocacy groups and researchers in Budapest.