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Media Policy for Ethnic and National
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This chapter describes legal, institutional and professional frameworks for media policy concerning national and ethnic minorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It considers four models of minority media policy – the autonomous; anti-discrimination; minority protection and assimilation models – in an attempt to examine how minority access to the media can be facilitated through regulation. In particular, the author argues for greater emphasis to be placed on minority protection and anti-discrimination measures.

1. Introduction

For more than ten years, the media landscapes of East Central Europe have undergone radical changes. One such development has been the effort to encourage greater inclusiveness for neglected groups and to better accommodate cultural differences in the mass media. Post-1989 rhetoric based on principles of equal access to the media, free speech and a free media market contrasts sharply with previous, deeply ingrained media practices that marginalized minority groups within the context of authoritarian political regimes. While the problem of unequal media access for minorities remains a seemingly insurmountable challenge, the media coverage that minorities do manage to attract in the region tends to characterize issues such as linguistic rights, regional autonomy and political representation only in terms of clashes between minorities and majorities. Ethnic stereotyping and the under-representation of minorities in important creative and decision-making processes within the media industry remain serious problems. While mainstream commercial media tends to exclude ethnic and national minorities from representation due to their small numbers, public service broadcasters and minority presses have been criticized for the ‘ghetto effect’ they create by using government support to bracket out minorities in special ‘minority enclaves’ avoided by the majority.

Although the situation varies from country to country, policies tackling the problem of low visibility (and in some cases invisibility) of minorities in the

media tend to rely on various administrative tools such as the reservation of frequencies and time slots for minorities in the public service media, tax policies designed to increase minority ownership and employment policies stimulating the recruitment, retention and advancement of minorities (Gandy 1998, p. 93). In several cases, government policy includes requirements for public broadcasters who do not rely on advertising revenues, to include multicultural program content and offer programs targeting smaller ethnic and linguistic audiences (Christensen 2001, pp. 81-102).

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate certain aspects of the current legal, institutional and professional frameworks of media policy concerning national and ethnic minorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and to examine the strengths and weaknesses of those frameworks. Four models of media policy towards minorities are considered: the autonomous; anti-discrimination; minority protection; and assimilation models. I will ask how to facilitate minority access to the media through mainstream media policy as well as through the minority press, minority broadcasting, and public service media regulations. In doing so, I will argue that a greater emphasis needs to be placed on *minority protection* and *anti-discrimination* measures, implemented within the context of particular East Central European policies.

2. Policy background

2.1. National minorities and multiculturalism

The countries covered in this chapter have been culturally diverse for most of their history. Although many minority issues have been in the public spotlight only recently, cultural diversity undoubtedly has a long tradition in the region. The term *national/ethnic minority* is conventionally used in political discourse in Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic to refer to those groups whose members have traditionally settled in, have permanent residency in, and are citizens of these states. Those who share ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious characteristics which differ from those of the majority populations and who have expressed a shared interest to preserve and develop their own identity and culture are recognized as a national/ethnic minority. It should be emphasized that the term *ethnic minority* in Eastern Europe is not equated with *immigrant group* as is often the case in European Union member states. The distinction between *ethnic* and *national* is determined by whether the given group has its own state, often neighboring the state where the minority is settled. Groups such as

Germans or Ukrainians in Poland, Hungarians in Slovakia, or Poles in the Czech Republic are recognized as national minorities; while the Roma or Ruthenians are designated as ethnic minorities. At the same time, Czech, Slovak or Polish law does not define the terms *national* or *ethnic* minority.

In comparison with other Eastern European countries, contemporary Poland is quite homogeneous in its ethnic and cultural makeup. Due to a lack of census data, the ethnic structure of Poland's population may currently only be estimated based on a consensus between researchers and minority representatives (Lodzinski 2000; Berdychowska 1998; Bugajski 1994). Among Poland's total population of 38,667,000,¹ national and ethnic minorities represent approximately three to four percent (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. Recognized national and ethnic minorities in Poland

National/ethnic group	Population
Germans	350,000-500,000
Ukrainians	300,000
Belorussians	200,000-250,000
Ruthenians/Lemko ²	50,000-80,000
Roma	30,000-50,000
Lithuanians	25,000
Slovaks	20,000-25,000
Jews	15,000
Russians	15,000
Armenians	10,000
Greeks and Macedonians	5,000
Tartars	3,500
Others	7,000-12,000

(Source: Łodziński 2000, Berdychowska 1998, Bugajski 1994)

Contemporary Czech Republic, with 81.3 percent of its population declaring themselves to be ethnic Czechs, is undoubtedly less multicultural than its predecessor, the Czechoslovak Republic, established in 1918. However, it should not be considered ethnically homogenous, but rather culturally diverse. The first post-communist census in Czechoslovakia in 1991 included the possibility to declare oneself as belonging to a minority that had not been recognized under

1. As of December 31, 1998. (Central Statistical Office, in Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 1999.)

2. Including both those who do and do not consider themselves to be a part of the Ukrainian minority.

the previous regimes, such as Romani, Moravian, Silesian, or Ruthenian. Figures from this census illustrate to a large extent the current demographic situation in the contemporary Czech Republic, which has a total population of 10,300,000 (cf. Table 2).³

Table 2. National and ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic as declared by the 1991 national census

National/ethnic group	Population (absolute number)	%
Moravians ⁴	1,362,313	13.2
Silesians	44,446	0.4
Slovaks	314,877	3.1
Poles	59,383	0.6
Germans	48,556	0.5
Roma	32,903	0.3
Hungarians	19,932	0.2
Ukrainians	8,220	0.1
Russians	5,062	0.1
Bulgarians	3,487	-
Greeks	3,379	-
Ruthenians	1,926	-
Romanians	1,043	-
Vietnamese	421	-
Austrians	413	-
Jews	218	-
Others	9,860	0.1
Unknown	22,017	0.2

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Czech Republic 1993, Bugajski 1994)

3. The next census took place on March 2001. It is expected that in comparison with the one in 1991, this will show a growth of the Roma, Slovak, Vietnamese and Ukrainian population.

4. The Report submitted by the Czech Republic pursuant to Article 25, paragraph 1 of the Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities to the Council of Europe does not include in the table representing the population of the Czech Republic either Moravians or Silesians. It emphasizes that “[i]t is certain that those citizens of Moravia and Czech Silesia who declared appurtenance to the Moravian or Silesian nationalities do not form a national minority which would in any way be covered by legislation on national minority rights.[...] In the ethnic structure of the The Czech Republic the population of Moravia and Silesia is not in the position of a national minority.”

Slovakia is the fourth-ranking multinational country in Europe after Macedonia, Spain and Croatia (Dostál 2000, pp.175-185). As in the case of the Czech Republic, the current ethnic structure of Slovakia is documented by the national census held in 1991. Out of 5,274,335 citizens, 754,907 declared themselves to be members of national minorities, representing 14.4 percent of the total population (cf. Table 3).

Table 3. National and ethnic minorities in Slovakia according to national/ethnic identity declared in 1991 national census

National/ethnic group	Population
Hungarians	567,296
Roma ⁵	75,802
Czechs	52,884
Ruthenians	17,197
Ukrainians	13,281
Moravians	5,632
Germans	5,629
Jews	3,500
Croats	3,000-4,000
Poles	2,969
Russians	1,624
Bulgarians	1,085
Silesians	405
Others	4,103

(Source: Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic 2000, Council of Europe: Report submitted by the Slovak Republic 1999)

2.2. Access and visibility

An analysis of media policy concerning minorities requires that the difference be distinguished between ethnic and national minority *access* to the media and minorities' *media visibility*. While access denotes a dynamic activity, visibility accounts for its result. In the process of communication involving a sender, a message and a receiver, there are three possible variants of the term *access*:

5. Representatives of Roma civic associations indicate that the actual number of the Roma community in Slovakia exceeds 300,000 (Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, 2000).

- access to media products (information, entertainment and education) – the minority is the audience;
- access to a media institution – the minority is the producer (access to organization and regulation) or the journalist (access to basic reporting decisions including what should be covered and how it should be presented);
- access to representation – the minority is portrayed as a part of the message.

Meanwhile, the term *visibility* denotes the representation of minorities by media professionals, audiences and the media as a whole.

Needless to say, minority access and visibility in the media are significantly influenced by state media policies which regulate not only questions of ownership, control, licensing and access rules, but also freedoms and limits on communication. These policies are based on principles of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity on the one hand (providing equal minority access to the public service and mainstream media), and on principles of cultural diversity and group-based cultural politics and practice on the other (providing minorities with possibilities for establishing minority media).

This analysis of key access and visibility categories within the public broadcasting and minority press legal framework reveals the main strengths and weaknesses of media policies towards national and ethnic minorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

2.3. *Legal framework*

In recent years, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have introduced national legislation establishing basic standards for the protection of minority rights in various aspects of social and political life. This legislation includes both general constitutional provisions and specific provisions covering the media and other spheres of social life. Although specific constitutional rights for minorities vary from country to country, all three constitutions contain provisions guaranteeing the general right of national and ethnic minorities to maintain and develop their cultures.

Article 35 of the 1997 Polish Constitution ensures minorities the right to establish educational, cultural and religious institutions. Article 25 of the Czech Charter of Fundamental Rights and Basic Freedoms,⁶ as well as article 34 of the Constitution adopted on September 1, 1992, explicitly guarantee minorities “the right to disseminate and receive information in their native language, and the

6. After the breakup of the Czechoslovak Republic, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, introduced as a constitutional law of the Czech and Slovak Republic by Law No. 23/1991 Coll., became a part of the constitutional order of the Czech Republic on January 1, 1993.

right to associate in national associations.” While the Polish Constitution does not refer explicitly to the right of minorities to communicate in their native languages, the Czech and Slovak constitutional laws specifically include the freedom to receive and impart information and ideas in minority languages.

Specific radio and television public broadcasting regulations concern minority access to the media. Article 21, paragraph 9 of the Polish Broadcasting Act of December 1992 provides that “programs of public broadcasting should: (9) take into consideration the needs of national minorities and ethnic groups.” (Official Gazette of 1993, No.7, item 34) At the same time, subparagraph (6) of the same article and paragraph states that programs of public broadcasting should “respect the Christian system of values, considering as its basis universal principles of ethics” (Official Gazette of 1993, No.7, item 34).

The Law on Czech Radio recognizes, among other things, that public service radio contributes actively to the development of national and ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic. Section 2 of the Act states that “Czech Radio provides public service through the creation and diffusion of radio programs throughout the whole territory of the Czech Republic. Its duty is to disseminate objective, verified, universal and well-balanced information, to freely create opinions and develop the cultural identity of the Czech nation and national and ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic, to provide environmental information and to educate and entertain its listeners” (Law No. 484/1991 Coll. on Czech Radio, as amended). A similar section is included in the Law on Czech Television (Law No. 483/1991 Coll. on Czech Television as amended).

Likewise, minority access to the public service media is guaranteed by the Laws on Slovak Television and Radio. Article 5.2. of the Law on Radio refers to the role and mission of the radio as the following: “Slovak Radio ensures that national minorities and ethnic groups living in the Slovak Republic exercise their interests through radio broadcasting in their mother tongue,” (Law No. 255/1991 Coll. on Slovak Radio, as amended). It also lists tasks to be fulfilled, in particular: “6.d. [Slovak Radio] contributes through radio broadcasting to the development of national culture and the cultures of national minorities living in the Slovak Republic, and to the interpretation of the cultural values of other nations (Law No. 255/1991 Coll. on Slovak Radio, as amended). Similar provisions are covered by the Law on Slovak Television (No. 254/1991 Coll.). Slovak law also refers to the obligation of all broadcasters, including commercial, to produce programs that enable national minorities and ethnic groups to maintain their cultural identities. The Law on the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting, section 9, paragraph 2 provides that “Operators are legally obliged to: [...] produce or have produced a significant proportion of broadcast programs so that the cultur-

al identity of the nation, national minorities and ethnic groups are maintained...” (Law No. 468/1991 Coll. on the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting). “A significant proportion of programs” enables minorities to demand broadcasting production that helps maintain their cultural identities. However, it does not distinctly provide for legally defined airtime, nor does it ensure that programs should be produced and broadcast in minority languages.

In addition to the above-mentioned legislation, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have developed legal limits on racially inflammatory speech. The Polish Penal Code of 1997 punishes the incitement of discord on the basis of national, ethnic, racial, or religious differences. The Czech Criminal Code specifically penalizes certain acts of hate speech inspired by racism and intolerance. These include: Section 198 (defamation of race, nation or belief), 198a (incitement of national and racial hatred), and 261 (the public expression of sympathy for fascism or similar movements). The Slovak Criminal Code punishes the use of violence against an inhabitant or group based on race, nationality, political convictions or religion (Article 196), the public defamation of a nation, its language, a race or a group of inhabitants (Article 198), and the public incitement of hatred against a nation or race (198a). Article 260 prohibits the promotion of movements which aim to suppress the rights and freedoms of citizens. Article 261 condemns public expression of sympathy for fascism or similar movements.

Although such legislation protects against forms of expression that spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred or discrimination and hostility against minorities, it should be emphasized that media institutions are not legally responsible for merely disseminating hate speech statements. Media messages and images are restricted only when hate speech emanates directly from the media institutions or the media professionals themselves.

The legal measures briefly described in this section guarantee minority access to the media on a very general level and do not provide minorities with frequency reservations and time slots or funding via direct access to minority grants from public broadcasting corporations or governments.⁷ The legal requirement of granting minorities the possibility to use their own broadcasting media is included in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe (Article 9, Paragraph 3) ratified by Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It must be noted, however, that this requirement is sub-

7. Some stronger provisions are included in the Polish Draft Law on National and Ethnic Minorities of 1998 and the Czech Draft Law on Rights of National Minorities of 2000. The latter includes a guarantee for ‘allocation from the state budget’ to support the press published in minority languages and broadcasting transmitting programs in minority languages (Draft Law on Rights of National Minorities of 2000: Section 13).

ject to certain limitations of national broadcasting laws, such as the statement that this opportunity be provided only “as far as possible” (Council of Europe 1995).

2.4. State support for minority media

Minority media (television, radio, newspapers, magazines, Internet sites) are closely tied with the minority communities they serve and play an important role in promoting minority access to the public sphere. Minority media not only provides a vital means of communication for the minority community by disseminating minority messages in minority languages. It also helps guarantee that cultural traditions are not reduced to the level of folklore and that minority languages adapt and evolve to meet the needs of modern societies (Riggins 1992, p. 3). Since their audiences are small, the minority media cannot benefit from economies of scale but rely on the activities of volunteers devoted to the common values and interests of the community. Despite their small audiences, minority media journalists often emphasize that if their outlets were organized on a professional rather than volunteer basis like their counterparts in majority media, *pro rata*, there would be no need for special grants allocated by governments (Gruffydd Jones 1998, p.36). Notwithstanding, the realities of European media landscapes have dictated that a vast majority of minority media cannot survive without stable government subsidies.

Although minority media in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia has transformed substantially over the past decade along with mainstream media, it continues to be heavily dependent on government media regulation policies and financial support. Democratic changes after 1989 brought reforms in the allocation of state grants to the minority media. However, minority communities have sometimes had limited participation in the decision-making process governing how these grants are used.

2.4.1. Poland

In Poland after 1989, the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki actively supported the principle of cultural pluralism within the minority press. Existing minority periodicals, many of which were founded or published in the 1950s under the supervision of the communist government (among them the Belorussian *Niwa* - 1956, the Ukrainian *Nasze Słowo* - 1956, the Slovak *Život* - 1958, the Lithuanian *Aušra* - 1960, the Jewish *Folk-Sztyme* - 1946) were no longer supervised or censored. The elimination of censorship and the replacement of the former licensing process with a simple registration of press titles

resulted in the spontaneous proliferation of minority titles such as the Ukrainian magazines *Lystok Myrjan*, *Holka*, *Osnowy*, *Swiczado*, *Myrjanyn* and the German *Westzeitung*, the Orthodox *Fos* and the Protestant *Ewangarda*. Financial support from the Ministry of Culture enabled some minorities (including the Romani and the Ruthenian communities) to publish their own press for the first time since World War II. Romani magazines – the monthly *Rrom P-o Drom* published both in Polish and Romanese and the quarterly *Pheniben-Dialog* published in Polish – were founded by Romani organizations in Poland. Ruthenians began publishing the three journals *Besida*, *Watra* and *Zaboroda*.

Grants for the minority press were coordinated and distributed by the Office for National Minority Culture within the Ministry of Culture and Art. Until 1994, the Office enjoyed broader competencies than its formal status allowed, with minority periodicals enjoying special protection, as they were perceived as the surrogates of cultural institutions. In 1994, however, government policy on minorities changed and the Office shifted its priorities away from general assistance to minorities toward more specific assistance for minority cultures. Recently the Office – now the Department of National Minority Cultures at the Ministry of Culture – has limited grants to about 30-40 minority periodicals (mostly monthlies and quarterlies), with the stipulation that it finance at least one journal for each minority recognized by the Ministry of Culture. In 1998 the Department allotted a grant of 2,105,200 Polish zloty for the minority press and non-periodical publications and subsidized 33 minority periodicals, 20 of which were published in minority languages. Unfortunately, the Department lacks clearly defined and written procedures governing project selection and grant approval, and minority representatives do not participate in the decision-making process. This lack of transparency has resulted in minority publishers being ever more dependent on the tastes and preferences of government officials.

Some government grants for Roma media access are outlined in “the pilot government program for the Roma community in Malopolska province for the years 2001-2003.” It most extensive government program addressing the Roma, run by the Division of National Minorities at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration. The media is not specifically mentioned among the areas covered by the project, but several media-related activities are financed from the budget. Roughly 76 percent of the total 442,400 zloty foreseen for media-related issues is set aside for the production of television programs about (not necessarily by) the Roma community in public service television.

At the end of the 1990s, the total number of active press titles in Poland varied between 3,500 and 4,500, with 53-55 ethnic and religious minority titles registered in the *Catalogue of the Polish Press*. Ethnic minorities themselves publish

or cooperate in the publication and production of about 40 of these titles. The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage supports 30-35 minority periodicals – one percent of the total number of periodical titles in Poland. It can thus be deduced that the ethnic and national minority voices of the 3-4 percent minority population in Poland are under-represented in the media.

2.4.2. *The Czech Republic*

In 1994 the Czech government adopted a document concerning its policy towards national minorities entitled “The Conception of the Government’s Approach to Issues of National Minorities in the Czech Republic.” Although not legally binding, it established basic principles for government media policy concerning national minorities. It guarantees that periodicals will be published in minority languages (with financial support from the state budget) and that appropriate access to the broadcasting of *Czech Radio* and *Czech Television* will be assured to persons belonging to national minorities. While the media policy imposes an obligation on the government to finance the minority press, the issue of what constitutes “appropriate access of minorities” to public broadcasting and how to translate this into actual financial policies is left open to interpretation by Czech Radio and Czech Television. The Conception of the Government also outlines a basic institutional structure with executive powers operating within the competence of particular ministries and consultatives as well as coordinating functions carried out by the Council for National Minorities of the Czech Government (which is chaired by the Governmental Commissioner for Human Rights and composed of government officials and representatives from seven national minorities – Slovak, Romani, Polish, German, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Greek). Among other tasks, its duties include the evaluation of proposals for state funding submitted by minority publishers.

Procedures governing the state financing of national minority press titles are outlined in the “Principles of Economic Guarantees for the Publication of the National Minority Press” (an amendment to Government Resolution 771/1997). This defines the limitations placed on potential publishers. Only applications submitted by national minority civic associations are considered, and only those titles that are already registered by the Ministry of Culture and are widely accessible via a general press distribution network are eligible for funding. Completed applications submitted to the Council for National Minorities are forwarded for further evaluation by the Ministry of Finance, which then provides the Council with the draft of appropriations from the budget. The Council for National Minorities makes the final decision regarding the amount of subsidies allocated to particular minority press publishers on a case-by-case basis. According to the

“Principles,” the Council must consider several criteria when determining the proportion of subsidies to be distributed to various titles, including:

- minority group statistics drawn from the last national census;
- the particular situation of each minority including their current and recent economic standing and their ability to receive financial sources from abroad;
- the circulation and budget of the particular press title.

In 2000, the Czech government provided subsidies totaling 25,000,000 Czech crowns to the following minority groups:

- Romani (4): *Romano Kurko*, *Amaro Gendalos*, *Kareka* and *Romano Hangos*;
- Polish (4): *Głos Ludu*, *Zwrot*, *Nasza Gazetka* and *Kurýr Pražský* (the children’s magazines *Ogniwó* and *Jutrzenka* were also supported through the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports);
- Slovak (3): *Korene*, *Slovenské listy* and *Slovenské dotyky*;
- German (2): *Landes-Anzeiger* and *Praeger Volkszeitung*;
- Hungarian (1): *Prágai Tükör*;
- Ukrainian (1): *Poroby*.

The Czech model involves the direct participation of minorities in the decision-making process, while at the same time promoting a *status quo* situation where minority media professionals are directly dependent upon the decisions made by minority representatives serving on the Council. Possibilities are scarce for new projects which must compete within the entrenched scheme dominated by the established minority press.

2.4.3. Slovakia

Under the government of Vladimír Mečiar (1994-1998), policies toward national minorities provoked vast criticism by minority leaders. The government systematically lowered state grants for the cultural and press activities of national minorities and distributed subsidies with significant delays and in a non-transparent manner (Dostál 2000). Some grants from state ‘minority’ funds, such as those provided to support the *Slovenská Republika* (Slovak Republic), the daily newspaper of the ruling party HZDS (Movement for Democratic Slovakia), were allocated directly to non-minority projects.

In 1998, the Party of the Hungarian Coalition (SMK) joined the new Slovak government formed by Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda, and the redefinition of

national minority policy became a key political priority. According to a government exposé declaring the establishment of an objective and transparent system of funding distribution for minorities, the Ministry of Culture worked out a set of procedures to support the minority press. A key position in the decision-making process is held by the Expert Committee and Sub-Committees, which were established according to the “Procedure of the Expert Committee and Sub-Committees for the Assessment of Minority Culture Projects.” This stipulates that the Expert Committee must have 19 members, including five representatives from the Hungarian minority, three from the Roma minority, two from the Czech minority, and one representative each from the Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German, Croat, Bulgarian, Polish, Jewish, Moravian and Russian minorities. Despite these numbers, each minority has only one valid vote in the Committee, which sets ground rules for funding distribution based on criteria prepared by the Ministry of Culture.

In 2000, 39 minority periodicals were financed with about 16,297,650 Slovak crowns, including:

- 19 Hungarian titles: e.g., *Katedra*, *Tábortűz*, *Új Nő*, *Vasárnap*, *Szabad Újság*, *Új Szó*, *Irodalmi Szemle*;
- 5 Romani titles: *Luludi*, *Romano Lil Nevo*, *Ternipen*, *Štvorlístok* and *Sam Adaj*;
- 5 Czech titles: *Česká Beseda*, *Spravodaj Nitra*, *Trnavský spravodaj*, *Bohemia-Češi na východe* and *Informačný bulletin Bratislava*;
- 3 Ukrainian titles: *Nové Žitja*, *Veselka* and *Dukla*;
- 2 Ruthenian titles: *Národný novinky* and *Rusyn*;
- 1 German title: *Karpatenblatt*;
- 1 Moravian title: *Moravský Hlas*;
- 1 Bulgarian title: *Roden Glas*;
- 1 Polish title: *Monitor Polonijny*;
- 1 Jewish title: *Acta Judaica*.

Although the number of titles supported increased significantly in recent years to 39, the overall amount of grants allocated decreased in 2000, making it especially difficult for titles with low circulations to survive. Thus, while the decision-making procedure in Slovakia is generally considered effective and minority-inclusive, tough budget restrictions mean that state subsidies are not sufficient to provide the necessary support for the minority media (*The Present and Perspectives of Culture of National Minorities 2000* conference report).

2.5. Access to public broadcasting

The role of public service broadcasters in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia was redefined in the beginning of the 1990s under new democratic regimes, with part of their mission being the production and purchase of programming targeting smaller ethnic and linguistic communities. Such programming clearly falls into the category of material not provided by the commercial sector, as it attracts relatively few viewers or listeners and generates little advertising revenue (Christensen 2001, p. 91). Unfortunately, new public service broadcasting missions did not include attempts to integrate ethnic minorities and minority-related issues into mainstream radio and television programming with the aim of accurately reflecting the multicultural nature of Eastern European societies. This has resulted in the ‘ghettoization’ of minority programs, which come up against inconvenient schedules and time slots, poor funding and low viewing rates.

2.5.1. Poland

Since 1989 minorities in Poland have enjoyed greater access to public service radio and television than ever before, with regional branches of *Polish National Radio* broadcasting the following foreign language programs:

- Ukrainian: the *Radio Białystok* program “Ukraińska Dumka” (each Monday and Wednesday for 15 minutes, Sunday for 30 minutes), and shorter programs in other regional branches such as *Radio Koszalin*, *Olsztyn*, *Rzeszów*, *Szczecin*;
- Belorussian: the *Radio Białystok* program “Spod Znak Pogoni” (everyday for 15 minutes and 15 minutes of Orthodox Christian magazines each Saturday and Sunday);
- Lithuanian: the *Radio Białystok* program “Litewski Magazyn Radiowy” (each Tuesday and Thursday for 15 minutes and each Sunday for 30 minutes);
- German, Silesian and Polish: the *Radio Opole* program “Nasz Heimat” (each Friday for 25 minutes) and the *Radio Katowice* program “Pojednanie i Przyszłość” (“Reconciliation and Future” each Monday for 55 minutes);
- Kashubian: the *Radio Gdańsk* program.

Irregular programs for minorities are also broadcasted by some commercial radio stations (the *Radio Kormoran* program Węgorzewo, *Radio Fama* program Opole region, and *Radio Weekend* program Człuchów) and by Catholic radio stations such as *Katolickie Radio Lublin* (Catholic Radio Lublin) and *Katolickie Radio*

Podlasia (Catholic Radio Podlasie), which produce programs for Belorussian and Ukrainian minorities.

It should be stressed, however, that minority language programs are not broadcast nationwide but rather in regions inhabited by minorities. This means that the minority programs do not necessarily reach all members of a given minority. Furthermore, minority groups including the Slovak, Romani, Lemko/Ruthenian, Jewish, Russian, Armenian and others do not have access to radio programs in their own languages or radio programs in Polish targeting their communities.

It was not until the end of the 1980s that a regional branch of the public service *Polish Television* in Kraków began producing programs about national and ethnic minorities living in Poland under the title “U siebie” (At Home). Since January 1994, this program has been broadcast regularly for a nationwide audience (on Channel One every second Tuesday from 11:40-12:00 and in the regional Krakow branch each Thursday from 17:40-18:00). But the “U siebie” programs have not been produced by media professionals of minority origin, nor have they been aired regularly in minority languages. Their main goal has been to provide information and reports on minority cultures for the mainstream Polish viewer.

Television magazines in minority languages are produced and broadcast by the regional branches of Polish Television in Warsaw. They include “Telenowyny” in Ukrainian; the Białystok program “Sami o Sobie” in Belorussian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Russian; the Gdańsk program “Rodnô Ziemio” in Kashubian; and the Opole program “Schlesische Wochenschau” and “Schlesien Jurnal”). The Ukrainian magazine “Telenowyny” is also aired by other regional branches throughout Poland in Rzeszow, Lublin, and Gdańsk, while its Warsaw staff of Ukrainian journalists produce 30 minutes of programming every month in Ukrainian with Polish subtitles. Likewise, the “Sami o Sobie” television magazine is produced by a staff of minority journalists and airs each Sunday morning from 8:00-8:42. Despite this highly inconvenient time slot, the program attracts an audience of 63,000-90,000 viewers.

According to minority representatives, minority access to electronic media is insufficient due to the arbitrary nature of the decision-making process in granting licenses and the irregularity and financial instability of programs (Hausner 1999). In July 2001 the management board of the Białystok branch of Polish Television decided to reduce the broadcasting time for “Sami o Sobie” to 40 minutes every second week, for example. Programming reductions are planned for the 25-minute-per-week Orthodox program “U źródle wiary” (The Source of Faith), allowing for 25 minutes only every second week. Budget reductions for “U siebie” have forced its producers to broadcast old programs rather than produce new ones. Given the fact that minorities themselves are not consulted regarding

budgeting and time slot changes to Polish Television minority programs, and that the management considers such programs to be ‘marginal,’ assigning them highly irregular and inconvenient time slots, it is obvious that minorities in Poland do not have equal opportunities in terms of accessing the public media and producing or at least influencing media images and representations of themselves.

2.5.2. *The Czech Republic*

In 1999, faced with new challenges of a changing Czech society, Czech Radio formulated its new mission through 2005. The radio’s public service mission recognizes its social responsibility and the need avoid “humiliating minorities” (*sic*) and develop programming through 2005 that include services for minority groups, national minorities, and churches.

Nevertheless, recently there has been no single Czech Radio editorial department devoted to broadcasting for national minorities or in minority languages. The production of programs targeting minorities is regularly conducted by small editorial units, each covering a particular minority group. These units broadcast programs in Slovakian (mostly within the framework of the news and current affairs program “Rádiožurnál”), German, and Romani. The Slovak editorial unit is made up of three Slovak journalists who produce a 55-minute Slovak-language program (the magazine *Rádiožurnál*) that airs each Tuesday (20:05-21:00) on Czech Radio and two 15-minute blocks of information in Slovak aired twice a week by regional branches of Czech Radio. The Roma editorial unit (employing Roma journalists) produces 40 minutes of programming each week: “O Roma Vakeren” is aired twice a week, mostly in Czech and to a lesser degree in Romani. The German editorial unit prepares 30 minutes of news, literary and music programs per week in German. Finally, the Polish editorial unit, unlike those previously mentioned, is based in Ostrava and produces 130 minutes of news and current affairs programs on a weekly basis in Polish. In addition, the Czech Radio regional channel *Radio Regina* irregularly airs the multicultural program “Porozumění” (Understanding) in various languages including Vietnamese, Croatian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian.

Minorities are generally underrepresented by Czech Radio despite the existence of some minority language programs that are broadcast at convenient times. Small editorial units operate with extremely low budgets and certain minorities, such as the Roma, undoubtedly deserve larger coverage and programs that are broadcast more extensively by regional branches of Czech Radio.

Although Czech Television has defined one of its duties as the development of national minority cultures, in practice the public television station does not

provide a regular formula for minority language broadcasting and lacks any department organized to achieve this aim. From 1991-1999, Czech Television produced the magazine “Romale”, targeting the Roma community, that was partly produced by Roma journalists and aired for 20 minutes every other week. Other cyclical programs covering minority issues included the documentary series “Děti okamžiku” (Children of Moments) and “Pod jednou střechou” (Under One Roof). In 2000, Czech Television, financed by the Ministry of Culture, broadcast 12 educational programs of 15 minutes each called “Amare Roma”. The latest minority programming concept produced the “Velký Vůz” (Big Wagon) series, which has aired since 2000 and consists of 23 minutes of a magazine, talks and interviews. The themes covered primarily concern identity change issues, intercultural communication, the exchange of ethnic and cultural experiences, and discussions about stereotypes.

2.5.3. Slovakia

Slovak Public Radio has a long tradition of minority broadcasting. A Hungarian-language program aired for the first time in 1928 from a studio in Košice. Early on, Hungarian-language programs consisted of only five minutes of daily news. More recently, the Hungarian Department of Slovak Radio (*A Szlovák Rádió Magyar Szerkesztősége*) airs 45 hours of programming each week (Monday-Friday from 13:00-18:00 and Saturday-Sunday from 8:00-18:00).

Hungarian broadcasts feature all types of programs including music and drama. Ján Protić, the deputy head of the department, explains the key concepts of Hungarian programming: “We refer to our programming as that of a ‘small radio’ although we produce and air all the radio genres that the ‘big radios’ do. These include programs for children, seniors, radio drama. Such minority programming is special for our department and we cannot find similar examples in any of the neighboring countries.”⁸

The news program “Pulz” (Pulse) attracts the largest audience, but other programs also achieve relatively significant listening rates. The Hungarian department, funded by Slovak Radio, employs 45 Hungarian minority employees including 35 reporters. Its broadcasting has a nationwide reach, and all of its programs are available in Hungarian.

Slovak Radio’s programs for other minorities are broadcasted on its fifth channel called *Patrína*. The structure of broadcasting reflects the results of the 1991 census data. In 2000, a specialized editorial group was employed to provide this

8. Interview with Ján Protić, December 27, 2000, Bratislava.

service, consisting of the Hungarian Department in Bratislava and the national minority departments in Prešov and Banská Bystrica. A Roma unit produces 30 minutes of programming a week (20 minutes of which is prepared by the studio in Prešov for the program “O Roma vakeren” and 10 minutes in Banská Bystrica for the program “Balvajeskere Chave”). A German unit broadcasts 30 minutes a week. Ukrainian and Ruthenian editorial units produce 13.5 hours each week. Czech and Polish journalists are provided with 30 minutes every four weeks.

Although *Slovak Public Television* also provides broadcasting programs for minorities, many are not produced by journalists of minority origin. The programs for some minorities (i.e., Hungarian, Czech, Jewish and Bulgarian magazines – which are all handled by one programming unit) are broadcasted from Bratislava, while others (Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Polish, German and multinational magazines) are broadcast from Prešov and Košice. In 2000, the following programs were prepared for national minorities: Hungarian (44 hours), Roma (12.2 hours), Czech (5.7 hours), Ukrainian (5.5 hours), Ruthenian (3.7 hours), Polish (2.3 hours), Jewish (2.3 hours), German (2 hours), Bulgarian (one hour), and Multi-ethnic magazine (0.4 hours) (Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic: 2000).

The problem of minority under-representation in the employment structure of *Slovak Television* has been raised by several organizations. It was expressed most ardently by the Roma minority. Roma representatives met several times with the management board of Slovak Television to lobby for the inclusion of Roma in the public broadcasting corporations. In January 2001 Jan Budaj, the Deputy Head of the Parliamentary Committee for Culture and the Media, called on Slovak Television to employ Roma journalists and speakers: “[I]t is in our public interest to ensure that the Roma minority is not represented as merely a subject of several media causes, but rather via the reporters and speakers of television programs with the highest audience” (Stručne/Jekhe, 2001, p. 5).

2.6. Policy background summary

East Central European minority access to, and visibility in, the media is only partly protected by European minority rights legal frameworks (i.e., “The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities” ratified by Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) and linguistic rights statutes. (“The European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages” has not been ratified by Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia). Both documents explicitly address the issue of national and ethnic minority media access and emphasize the need for special measures to facilitate national minority access to the media and promote tolerance and cultural pluralism. Anti-discrimination legislation such as the Race

Directive and Article 13 of the treaty establishing the European Community do not have any direct effect on minority access to the media, since the media is not recognized as a group requiring special anti-discrimination protection.

The national legislation of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia vary in terms of protection against discrimination on grounds of race and ethnicity and the protection of minority and linguistic rights. Although Poland and the Czech Republic have prepared draft minority laws including guarantees for minority access to the media, these provisions do not yet provide *concrete access* to the media for particular minorities, nor do they guarantee public service airtime or funding for minority media.

Depending on the ethnic makeup, government regulations concerning the minority press and minority access to public broadcasting vary from country to country. Nevertheless, there are a number of similarities. Minority presses in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are all provided with state support via their respective Ministries of Culture, with minorities themselves participating in varying degrees in the decision-making process concerning the allocation and distribution of grants. While minority participation in this process in Poland is virtually non-existent and the minority media landscape is shaped primarily by government officials, minorities in the Czech Republic and Slovakia participate in decision-making via appointed consultative bodies. Public corporations with influence over minority access to public service broadcasting are legally bound to consider minority needs and/or contribute to the development of minority cultures and public service radio in all of the analyzed countries. Some minorities in public radio corporations, such as the Slovak minority at Czech Radio, were able to establish small operations. Others, including the Hungarian minority at Slovak Radio, have developed larger editorial units. Meanwhile, television corporations in general have provided limited opportunities and space to minority journalists.

3. Policy alternatives

3.1. Policy models

This section describes four alternative media policy models concerning minorities as well as proposals for utilizing various combinations of those models. As Stephen Harold Riggins points out, state strategies regarding minorities and the media can be contradictory, promoting minority media while simultaneously enhancing containment and repression (Riggins 1992, p. 8). In ideal typical terms, policy alternatives might be conceptualized as follows:

1) The *autonomous model*: Minorities are encouraged to develop complete media services in their own languages. They are able to meet funding requirements via a combination of autonomous self-government financing and commercial income from selling media airtime or space to advertisers. Such media employs minority professionals at all levels of the industry, promotes creative practices and utilizes a network of correspondents and regional units. All areas of social and community life are covered in various media genres such as news, current affairs, reportage, drama, etc., with audience size allowing for certain programs to be funded from commercial revenues. For example this model of minority access to the media exists in Spain, where the Catalan, Basque and Galician minorities are well-served by full press and television services in their own languages (EBLUL 1995, pp.18-19).

2) The *anti-discrimination/diversity model*: Due to territorial dispersion, minorities access mainstream rather than minority or autonomous media services. State or European institutions may support media institutions to increase the participation of ethnic minorities in broadcasting and press production. They may also outline and implement guidelines and standards of 'good practices' to guard against minority discrimination or under-representation in the mainstream public service and commercial media. Although limited to certain genres, media content promotes harmonious relations between ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic groups as a means of countering racism and xenophobia. Audiences of such media are culturally and ethnically mixed but usually not large enough to generate significant commercial revenue, making governmental or European institutional support essential. Such a model of minority access has been developed by the *BBC* in the United Kingdom, for example, where in addition to an equal opportunity agenda within the internal policies of the institution, equal opportunity units monitor how ethnic minorities are represented in employment structures and how they are portrayed in media discourses and images.

3) The *minority protection model*: Minorities are involved in minority media services, developed with governmental protection and financial support. The minority groups themselves have full control over how their own media is financed and administered. The minority media is closely linked with the national, ethnic, religious and cultural communities it serves and is organized with the aim of responding to the information needs and preferences of those communities, often providing alternative media genres or structures. Given that small audience sizes do not allow financial independence from subsidies, a system of funding is developed that ensures sustainability. Such a model functions in many European countries. The German minority press in Denmark (*Nordschleswiger*) and the Danish press in Germany (*Flensburg Avis*), for example, are provided

with financial support from the neighboring state with which the minority group is associated.

4) The *assimilation model*: Minorities access mainstream media services but are not necessarily granted equal opportunities. The ‘economic imperative’ dictates that the mainstream media ignore minority communities as audiences because they are economically ‘problematic’: companies will not pay for advertising slots associated with programming that targets such small groups. Media reporting about minorities often reflects a view of the world in which minorities appear incidentally or within the context of problems or interests of the majority. Minorities are represented in specific media contents but are missing from various levels of media institutions. Both minority access to the media and their visibility in the media are low. Such a model is developed in some European countries, but is frequently coupled with other practices and measures that support minority access to the media. The assimilation model is utilized by Czech Television, which does not provide programs for minorities despite its mission to do so as stated in the Czech broadcasting law.

The models presented above demonstrate ideal scenarios that rarely appear in such ‘clear forms’ in reality. In terms of the practical implementation of media policy, we usually observe a combination of measures and solutions employing several models. Tables 4 and 5 below present various media policy conditions in relation to the four models.

Table 4. Minority access to the media in relation to minority rights protection and financing

	No subsidies from the central	Subsidies from the central government
Group rights-based	Autonomous model	Minority protection model
Individual rights-based	Assimilation model	Anti-discrimination model

Table 4 shows that the autonomous and minority protection models are ‘group rights-based’ and apply to members of particular ethnic and national minorities. The assimilation and anti-discrimination models apply to all individuals regardless of their national origin, ethnicity, race, culture or religion. With the autonomous and assimilation models, central governments do not allocate subsidies to support minority access to the media, while in the minority protection and anti-discrimination models, central governments provide subsidies to ensure the equal participation of minorities in the media.

Table 5. *Minority access to the media and the visibility of minorities in the media*

	High access	Low access
High visibility	Autonomous	Minority protection
Low visibility	Anti-discrimination	Assimilation

Table 5 shows how the four models relate to minority media access and visibility. With the autonomous model, minorities have a high level of access to the media and high visibility because they control both media content and administration. With the minority protection model, minorities have high visibility because they control their own minority media, while their access to mainstream media is low. With the anti-discrimination model, minorities have a high degree of access to mainstream media, which is guaranteed by equal opportunity policies; but low media content and visibility, due to the difficulty of competing with a majority population, is also a reality. Finally, with the assimilation model, minorities experience both low media access and low visibility.

Media policies concerning ethnic and national minorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia do not correspond to any of the models presented above. Rather, they combine various elements of the above-mentioned policy models, with one policy playing a dominant role.

3.2. Minority media policy

3.2.1. *Minority press policy*

Minority press policy should be developed with the *minority protection model* playing a dominant role.

Minority press continues to be subsidized by the governments of Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, but other sources of funding also support the publications. The following measures could improve minority press policy in these countries:

1. *Legal guarantees* are required via the passage and implementation of laws on the protection of rights of persons belonging to national and ethnic minorities, including rights to disseminate and receive information in minority languages. The European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages should be ratified, and guarantees should be required by public administration bodies to support the minority press.

2. *Standards and transparent criteria for state financing* may help the minority press to operate on the basis of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination. Clear procedures and selection criteria based on project quality and minority needs are vital for minority organizations/communities applying for financing. Census and ethnic monitoring data could be used in a supportive way.
3. *Outreach advertising* in newspapers and public broadcasting institutions publicly announcing minority press funding competitions should be utilized to reach the largest possible audience.
4. *Improved procedures and schedules for financial support* of the minority press may avoid publication interruptions or delays.
5. *A Council for Minority Press* comprised of minority representatives, independent experts and government officials could be established to improve the decision-making process. The Council would select successful minority press proposals and decide on the allocation of grants to particular minority press titles, but the decisions would not be taken exclusively by national and ethnic minority representatives (as in the Czech Council for Nationalities). In addition to reviewing proposals, the Council for Minority Press would advise public administration officials (presumably from the Ministry of Culture) and independent experts on issues concerning the minority press.
6. *State support for the regular dissemination of information* about grants available from the European Union (such as the Phare Program, the Media Plus programs, etc.) for minority press financing could be provided.
7. *Training* should be provided to develop workshops for minority journalists within the journalism departments of universities, mainstream press institutions, and/or professional unions of journalists to enable junior and senior minority journalists to participate in professional training.
8. *Scholarships* should be offered to high school students from minority communities to continue higher education in university media departments.

3.2.2. *Minority broadcasting*

Minority broadcasting policy should, at least in part, be developed with the *minority protection model* playing a dominant role.

Independent minority broadcasting can be subsidized by the governments of Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, but other sources of funding should also support broadcasting. The following measures are required to introduce independent minority broadcasting:

1. *Legal guarantees* are required via the passage and implementation of laws on the protection of rights of persons belonging to national and ethnic minorities, including the rights of disseminating and receiving information in minority languages through minority broadcasting.
2. *Introducing appropriate budget categories* can allow additional state funding for minority broadcasting. A clear criteria for the grant allocation procedure based on project quality and minority needs should be established.
3. *State support for the dissemination of regular information* about grants available from various non-governmental and professional organizations as well as the European institutions for minority broadcasting could be provided.
4. *Training and scholarships* are needed to develop professional workshops and scholarships for minority journalists within the journalism departments of universities and mainstream broadcasting corporations.

3.3. Mainstream media policy

3.3.1. Minority access to public broadcasting

Policies promoting minority access to public broadcasting could be governed by a combination of *minority protection* and *anti-discrimination models*.

In accordance with their international obligations and national law, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia should ensure that persons belonging to national minorities be granted the opportunity to create programs via the public broadcasting service. Adherence to this obligation demands the following:

1. *Legal guarantees*. These require amendments to national broadcasting laws protecting national and ethnic minorities against discrimination in accessing public broadcasting corporations and ensuring that these corporations will implement equal opportunity policies that guarantee the fair representation of minorities at various levels of media production. Similarly, legal measures in accordance with the European Union Race Directive are needed to devise and reinforce national legislation against racial and ethnic discrimination in various areas of social life including media institutions.
2. *National concepts of minority broadcasting* should be devised for the public service television channels and radio stations of each country, possibly including minority language, educational and multi-cultural programs.
3. *Standards for minority broadcasting* should be established covering periodicity, time and length, frequencies, and costs covered from the public broadcaster's

budget, government institutions and civic associations. Time schedules and broadcast lengths may be standardized to ensure proportionate balance among various minority groups. Standards may also be considered regarding the organizational structure of the minority broadcasting unit to support a stable, financially independent minority or multicultural department.

4. *A Council for Minority Broadcasting* consisting of minority representatives, independent experts and government officials should be established to monitor the minority broadcasting situation. A similar council already functions in Slovakia. Czech Television, in cooperation with minority organizations, prepared a document outlining strategies for the establishment of a council. Poland lacks such an institution or project.
5. *Implementation strategies* would eventually lead to the improvement of the visibility of minorities in media content as well as their access to employment, journalistic production and media management. Such strategies may include the following:
 - *Ethnic monitoring* based on the premise that revelations of the under-representation of ethnic minorities in a particular media institution will prompt measures to rectify the situation (European Parliament 1997). Ethnic monitoring is based on data collection about the ethnic profile of a particular public service broadcaster's employees, effective record-keeping and monitoring. For monitoring to be meaningful, complementary data is required regarding the ethnic profile of the population as a whole.
 - *Affirmative action* might be applied in cases where monitoring reveals the under-representation of ethnic minorities in a media corporation. Affirmative action measures may be of two types: one that seeks to offer additional support to ethnic minorities to bolster their skills, and another that utilizes specific advantages at the point of job selection (European Parliament 1997). An example of the first type of affirmative action would be support for the training of ethnic minorities provided by a media institution before minorities enter an employment or other competition. An example of the latter would be an employment quota whereby a specific number of positions at various levels (i.e. management, editing, reporting, technical work, etc.) are reserved for ethnic minorities.
 - *Training* could be made available for minorities to provide them with professional knowledge and skills to successfully enter public service broadcasting, especially by public media broadcasters that have noticed significant under-representation of ethnic minorities in their employment structures. Such training would be tailored to a particular medium (television, radio, newspaper, news agency, etc.).

- *Outreach advertising* that highlights the commitment of public service broadcasters to equal opportunity practices can be supported, thereby motivating minorities to apply for positions. Outreach advertising can take two forms: 1) the broadcaster states its commitment to equal opportunity or non-discrimination in the recruitment advertisement or specifically encourages applications from ethnic minorities, or 2) recruitment is advertised in the minority press or networks of minority organizations.

3.3.2. *Minority access to mainstream media*

Minority access to mainstream media may be dominated by the *anti-discrimination model*.

Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia can encourage mainstream media to grant equal opportunity access to persons belonging to national minorities via the following measures:

1. *Legal guarantees* are required, via amendments to national broadcasting laws that guarantee that members of national and ethnic minorities are not discriminated against and are granted equal opportunity access to private broadcasting.
2. *Monitoring* of racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Roma attitudes and xenophobia in mainstream media should be conducted by the Council for Minority Press and the Council for Minority Broadcasting.
3. *Clear minority reporting guidelines* could be adopted by mainstream producers. Such guidelines may reflect the differences in the Polish, Czech and Slovak situations while respecting the general standards embodied in the guidelines of most European media codes. The guidelines section on *minority coverage* may describe the following in detail:

- the language journalists use while depicting minorities;
- when or when not mention of one's ethnic or national origin is relevant to the story;
- misleading images and commonly used stereotypes;
- rules of interviewing extreme-right leaders.

A section on *legal obligations* should describe:

- the kinds of hate speech prohibited by law;
- potential offences which may not be committed by journalists;
- legal acts to which media programs and articles are subject.

4. *Equal opportunity policies and inclusive strategies* should be adopted by mainstream media institutions to provide minorities with non-discriminatory access to the media on all levels including management.

3.3.3. *Professional institutions and public campaigns*

Media professionals may develop institutional policies targeting minorities and conduct anti-discrimination public campaigns dominated by the *anti-discrimination model*.

The governments of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia can encourage professional institutions to implement anti-discrimination institutional policies. Governments may also promote public awareness campaigns combating racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Professional institutions adhering to anti-discrimination policies may focus on the following:

1. *Hidden issues* of discrimination that are insufficiently dealt with by media organizations.
2. *Advising and instructing minorities* on how to file a complaint regarding discrimination in the media, lobby against discriminative portrayals in media, or combat discriminatory practices in employment schemes.
3. *Public awareness campaigns* that can receive institutional support but that are designed and implemented as part of the multicultural public education curriculum in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia to raise public awareness about equal opportunity and combat discrimination, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-Roma attitudes and xenophobia.

4. Conclusions

Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are all ethnically and culturally diverse, yet their ethnic structures, profiles of social demography, historical contexts, and adherence to multicultural models vary. Therefore, one should be cautious when making generalizations and recommendations about each country regarding media policies concerning minorities. In Poland, each ethnic minority target group is relatively small and the costs of producing minority newspapers, radio programs and television programs are high. The same is true for the Czech Republic, with the exceptions of the Slovak and Roma populations who form larger minorities, but are linguistically assimilated with the Czech majority. Slovakia is inhabited by larger minority groups including

Hungarians, who have managed to establish a financially independent minority press (e.g. *Új Szó*).

Despite these differences, a number of similar media policies concerning minorities have been adopted by the governments of the three countries. At the same time, these states have failed to adopt the necessary measures to effectively combat discrimination against minorities in the media and to challenge unequal minority access to the media. Members of the Roma minority, for instance, experience both symbolic and practical discrimination in the public sphere on a systematic basis.

In all three countries, the Ministry of Culture is, to a greater or lesser extent, responsible for the implementation of media policy towards minorities and provides grants for minority presses that are unable to survive in the open media market. There are significant differences in these countries' policies in terms of how grant decisions are made and subsidies allocated. While the Slovak model offers significant flexibility in decision-making for each minority and the Czech model empowers a circle of minority representatives to make grant decisions, the Polish model does not invite minority representatives to participate in the decision-making process. Thus, to a certain extent the minority press in the Czech Republic and Slovakia reflect the preferences of minority representatives, while the Polish minority press stresses the importance of the tradition and continuity of existing minority periodicals.

The provision of minority access to public service broadcasting is an obligation explicitly required of public service broadcasters in the broadcasting laws of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Yet in practice this requirement seems to be highly problematic. Attempts by Polish, Czech and Slovak broadcasters to provide minority programming have faced a number of limitations, including time slot and financing reductions (Polish Television), the instability of programming and a lack of established formats (Czech Television), and a lack of minority journalists and media professionals (Slovak Television). Despite existing minority programs, minority communities remain under-represented in the public service media, especially with regards to television. Equal opportunities are yet to be ensured not only in terms of visibility in media images and discourses, but also within the institutional structures of media organizations. The basic access of ethnic and national minorities to public service broadcasting in all three countries remains significantly lower than that of the majority population, with inadequate minority rights protection and anti-discrimination legislation. Current institutional structures do not accommodate minorities, and there are relatively few practical programs designed to combat discrimination against minority communities and empower them to participate in the media as equal members of society.

Finally, media policies concerning ethnic and national minorities in Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia do not correspond to any of the four ideal models – the autonomous, anti-discrimination, minority-protection, and assimilation models – but rather combine various elements of different models. The media policies observed in the analyzed countries touch upon the following areas: minority press, minority broadcasting, public broadcasting, mainstream media and professional institutions. Thus, any potential effort aimed at combating minority discrimination in media access should consider these policy areas.

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