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Historical Path Dependency and Media Freedom: Poland and Ukraine in the 1990s

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Introduction

The process of transition from socialism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s included the democratization of the media systems. Media reforms have been conducted throughout the region, which major goal was to reach the media freedom. The outcomes in terms of freedom of the media differ from one country to another as, for instance, in Poland and Ukraine. Most scholars (Casmir F., 1995; Downing J., 1996; Goban-Klas T., 1994; Gross P., 2002; Liana G., 1995; O'Neil P., 1997; Palatz D. and Jakubowicz K., 2002; Sukosd M. and Bajomi-Lazar P., 2003) agree that one of the biggest successors in the passing new media laws, privatization of the sectors of the media³, democratization of all media system and, thus, achieving the level of free media is Poland. By contrast, Ukraine is thought by researchers in this field of study (Lange Y., 1997;

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³ In this paper, the term 'media' and 'mass media' are the synonyms and refer to the print media and broadcasting media.

Richter A., 2002) to be one of the countries that did not succeed in the media freedom after conducting the media reforms.

Table 1

Freedom of the media⁴

Year	Poland	Ukraine
1994	30 (Free)	44 (Partly Free)
1995	29 (Free)	42 (Partly Free)
1996	21 (Free)	39 (Partly Free)
1997	27 (Free)	49 (Partly Free)
1998	25 (Free)	49 (Partly Free)
1999	25 (Free)	50 (Partly Free)
2000	19 (Free)	60 (Partly Free)

The table above about media freedom in Poland and Ukraine in the 1990s according to the Freedom House evaluations confirms conclusions of scholars. Truly, Poland was admitted to have ‘free media’ on the each year of the Freedom House evaluations with the average score of ‘25’ according to our estimations. Moreover, the level of free media improved in Poland each year (from ‘30’ in 1994 to ‘19’ in 2000). On the contrary, Ukrainian media was evaluated as ‘partly free’ for the same period of time (average is ‘48’ as counted by us). In addition, the level of free media declined in Ukraine each year (from ‘44’ in 1994 to ‘60’ in 2000).

In summary, even though these two countries are very close geographically, they started the process of transition from communism to democracy and initiated media reforms in the same period of time, in 10 years the results of these processes were different: Poland achieved the level of free media whereas Ukraine did not.

Hence, such differences in the results of the media reforms, which were done in the 1990s in Poland and Ukraine, present puzzles for social science and provide an interesting investigation field.

⁴ Data from www.freedomhouse.org/research/ratings.XLS. According to the Freedom House evaluations, total score from ‘0’ to ‘30’ is ‘Free Media’, from ‘31’ to ‘60’ – ‘Partly Free Media’, from ‘61’ to ‘100’ – ‘Not Free Media’. The data is presented from 1994 – the year the Freedom House started to evaluate media freedom in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Historical Path Dependency: a Theoretical Framework and Methodology

To generalize, this paper will deal with the question why the outcomes of media reforms⁵ are different in Poland and Ukraine. To answer this question we plan to look at the traditions of freedom of the media in the countries of the sample. The research hypothesis is that long-term historical factors of the media freedom in the countries play the most important role in the success of the media reforms in the transition period in terms of achieving the level of media freedom.

The dependent variable in this paper is the level of media freedom as a consequence of the media reforms and long term historical factors in Poland and Ukraine.

Path dependence approach will be used to prove the research hypothesis. This approach is rather common in the field of economic reforms and transition of the countries, especially in the countries of post-socialist transition in the European region (Kopstein J. and Reilly D., 2000; Fish S., 1998; Arthur B., 1994; Mahoney J., 2001). Robert D. Putnam defines path dependence as “where you can get to depends on where you’re coming from, and some destinations you simply cannot get to from there” (Putnam R., 1993, p. 179). There is a need to emphasize that Putnam stresses long historical meaning of path dependence. It is close to the approach of long-term historical structures (*la longue durée*) over events initiated by the Annales School of history.

Because for the Annales School co-operation with other humanitarian disciplines is essential and, according to Putnam’s analysis, there is a need to look back to the history, we also apply East Central European historians, specifically Istvan Bibo (1991) and Jenő Szűcs (1983),⁶ to the explanations of media freedom in Poland and Ukraine. Works of both authors provide deep historical analytical basis of European regions’ development and the role of geography, culture, and religion in the history of European nations. One of the major contributions of the authors lies in separating the Central European region from the Western and Eastern regions of Europe in terms of historical development and culture. Altogether, according to Jenő Szűcs and Istvan Bibo, Central Europe is closer

⁵ In this paper the term ‘media reforms’ is understood as legal and economic changes of the media system in the process of its transformation from communist media system to the democratic one.

⁶ For the purposes of the paper, we limit the scope of the research to the above-mentioned historians and we leave other historians’ analysis of Central European region for the future research in this field.

geographically and culturally to the West than to the East. Further, based on the above-mentioned arguments, historians ascribe Poland and Ukraine to different historical regions of Europe. Poland is affiliated with the Central European region (along with the Western Ukrainian territories, which were under Polish influence for many centuries), while territorial majority of Ukraine is connected with Eastern Europe. From Istvan Bibo and Jeno Szucs's conclusions, that means not only territorial, but also historically cultural differentiation between Poland and Ukraine. This conclusion has important implications for this paper in terms of long historical path dependence of the media freedom as a result of the media reforms in Poland and Ukraine in the 1990s.

There are scholars who concentrate on the post-socialist transformations of Central and Eastern Europe and who use path dependence approach to explain the outcomes of economic reforms in this region. Still, we find such scholars as Jeffrey Kopstein, David Reilly (Kopstein J. and Reilly D., 2000, p. 7), and Stevens Fish (Fish S., 1998, p. 39) the most appropriate for the purposes of this research. Those authors add each other's research in the field of path dependence and post-socialist reforms in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s.

In other words, Stevens Fish, Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly are close in their conclusions about path dependence of economic reforms of the 1990s in the countries of post-socialist transition to Istvan Bibo and Jeno Szucs historical as well as Robert Putnam's deep historical path dependence explanation. Indeed, they also differentiate the countries according to historical regions and values. With the application of their theory to the countries of this research, it is possible to make the following conclusion. According to four mechanisms of Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly such as history, culture and religion, economy and power relations, Poland is closer to the Western countries, while Ukraine is closer to the Eastern Europe, specifically, to Russia. This conclusion may be linked to the Istvan Bibo and Jeno Szucs's differentiation between Western, Central and Eastern Europe according to the value systems and historical path of development of the European regions and the place of Poland in the Central and Ukraine in the Eastern Europe. Those conclusions, in their turn, are connected to Putnam's deep long-term historical path dependence approach in explaining the institutional performance.

More specifically, the theory of Putnam about the dependence of institutional performance after the institutional reforming on history and civil traditions will be tested to show the dependence between traditions of media freedom and achieving the level of free media after conducting media reforms. The contribution of this paper lies in an attempt to apply Robert

Putnam's long-term path dependence approach, East Central European historians and path dependence approaches of the post-socialist transitions in the 1990s to explain the outcomes of the media reforms on the example of Poland and Ukraine.

Thus, to explain the different levels of media freedom in Poland and Ukraine, following Robert Putnam, we will take into account long-term historical perspectives. More precisely, the history of media freedom and its predecessors will be taken as an independent variable. The analysis will start from the Communist times and will be finished in the beginning of the 1990s.

Due to the fact that there was no contemporary media those times, the concepts of 'freedom of speech' and 'freedom of expression' will be used as the synonyms of 'media freedom'. Because it is generally accepted that there was no media freedom in the communist times, we will look at the underground movements and underground press in both countries as the independent variable. This indicator shows the civic culture in the countries of the sample, historical developments of media freedom, freedom of speech, as well as freedom of association and freedom of religion. Specifically, the movement of Solidarity will be investigated in Poland, the underground press and the role of the Rome Catholic Church in this movement. In Ukraine, the movement of Rukh in the 1980s, dissident movements in the 1960–1970s will be examined as well as the role of the Orthodox Church and the underground media in them.

Many thinkers had worked out the concept of civil society, for instance, John Keane (Keane J., 1998, p. 6). Nevertheless, the concept of 'civic culture' and 'civic traditions', as it is understood in Putnam's work, will be used as more relevant for the purposes of this research. Following Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba and Alexis de Tocquille, Robert Putnam refers to the link between institutional performance and the civic traditions. For him, "differences in civic life turn out to play a key role in explaining institutional performance" (Putnam R., 1993, p. 15).

There is a need to point out that we recognize several types of evidence for the independent variable as other indicators. For instance, type of Christianity, strength of the parties and associations and so on. However, we limit the scope of the research to those two indicators listed above and leave others for the future investigations in this field. In addition, the path dependence approach in explaining the level of media freedom as a consequence of the media reforms should not be seen as over-deterministic. We recognize that effective policy, political leaders, international influence, absence or presence of the military conflicts and other factors in the country can influence the result of the media reforms in both speeding up the achievement of free media and delaying it.

Comparative explanatory research will be done in order to achieve the goals of the investigation. History of media freedom in both countries will be compared according to the above stated indicator as well as the media freedom after conducting the media reforms in the transition period in the 1990s. Equally important, the results of the comparisons are to be explained. Observation method will be used to look at the media freedom in the transitional period and before.

The Predecessors of Media Freedom in Poland and Ukraine: a History

In this paper's part, we apply the theory outlined in the previous parts to explain different results of media freedom in Poland and Ukraine in the 1990s after media reforms. We will look for the underground movements and press in Poland and Ukraine under communism as indicators of the civic culture, which reflects freedom of speech, as well as freedom of association and freedom of religion.

In this section, we explore the underground movements and press in Poland and Ukraine under communism. Because it is generally accepted that there was no media freedom in the communist times, underground movements and underground press in both countries will be taken as indicators, according to Putnam, of the civic culture. It reflects related to social practice freedom of speech, as well as freedom of association and freedom of religion that are a historical heritage from the earlier periods, discussed in the previous section.

In the beginning of the 1960s social-cultural phenomena of so-called 'sixtiers' occurred in Ukraine. They were mostly cultural intellectuals. At that time the important part of social-cultural life became 'samizdat' – "the whole system of spreading of literature which is not recognized or prohibited by the official authorities" (Smoliy V., 1997, p. 346). Dozens of belles-letters and other types of literature, which were not published officially, were typed on the typing machine, pictured on the photo tape, dictated on the tape recorder or even rewritten by hand. The copies were spread to the people, mostly intellectuals. Two centers were the main in the distribution of samizdat in Ukraine. One was in Kiev (Ivan Svitlychniy, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Yevhen Pronyuk) and another center was in Lviv (brothers Mykola and Bohdan Goryni, Ivan Gel'ta and others).

In 1964, after Khrushchev resignation, mass persecutions and arrests of 'sixtiers' started. Interesting enough, in the same period of time samizdat became more political. In 1964–1965, several articles appeared which

started to cover problematic topics of the Ukrainian society under communism. On August 1965, several dozens of intellectuals were arrested; most of them were affiliated with samizdat. In 1966 new wave of arrests of samizdat intellectuals appeared when twenty people were sentenced to long terms in prison for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” (Smoliy V., 1997, p. 147).

Unlike social and cultural phenomena of ‘sixtiers’, the movement of ‘dissidents’ from the second half of the 1960s was more organized and mostly in the underground. It struggled for human rights and freedoms in Ukraine (Hrushevsky M., 1970; Smoliy V., 1997; Subtelny O., 1994). The term ‘dissidents’ was brought from the West and was used to designate differently minded people, who express their ideas openly, which are not identical with official statements (Smoliy V., 1997, p. 147). According to Valeriy Smoliy, the characteristic feature of this movement was that most dissidents did not speak against communism and the soviet power. Moreover, they spoke out from pro-soviet positions and wanted to be engaged in the legal forms of activity.

However, dissidents paid a lot of attention to samizdat activities. Samizdat became one of the main manifestations of dissident movement. Moreover, the second half of the 1960s became the time of samizdat flourishing in Ukraine, mainly political articles. Other forms of samizdat included the letters of protest and belles-letters about Ukrainian problems under communism and soviet rule as oppression of national intellectuals, language, culture and others. In 1970, samizdat magazine ‘Ukrainian bulletin’ started to be published (Krawchenko B., 1983, p. 31). In 1970–1972, six items of the magazine were published. There is a need to notice that samizdat was one of the main activities of dissident movement, but not the only one. Other important activities included manifestations of protest in Kiev and Lviv in 1965 and 1966, and letters of protest against repression to the official authorities. Under some estimation, about 942 people took part in some form of dissident activities for the period from 1960 to 1972. In the beginning of the 1970s, the big wave of oppression and arrests of dissidents was initiated. The number of arrested dissidents in Ukraine was from 70 to 100 people. The dissidents called those actions of the authorities as “great pogrom”. After that, Ukrainian movement of dissidents could not recover fast. It appeared again in two years, but it was almost not visible. Valeriy Smoliy concludes that because of this repression “samizdat was almost completely paralyzed” in Ukraine (Smoliy V., 1997, p. 350).

More than ten years later in the end of the 1980s, the national movements occurred in Ukraine because of policies of M. Gorbachov. Many dissidents came back from the prisons and they were the most active in the

new movements. The heart of the movement was the “People’s Movement of Ukraine”, initiated in 1988. The feature of new movements in Ukraine was that they were legal. In addition, the religious movements, particularly for the legalization of the Greek-Catholic Church added movements for freedoms and Ukrainian identification. In addition, this period was characterized not by samizdat publications, but mainly unofficial but legal press and open manifestations and agitation.

In summary, small underground movements existed in Ukraine under communism, first, as a form of cultural movement of 1960 and, second, as human rights and freedoms movement of dissidents in the 1970s. Both movements were engaged in samizdat activities publishing mostly belles-letters and letters of protest, one newspaper. The repression was put on those movements, which almost totally stopped the activity of dissidents until the Glasnost’ era under M. Gorbachov in the late 1980s. The main characteristics of these underground movements in Ukraine were that they covered mostly the territory of two big cities, were small in number of members, and reached only some circles of intellectuals mainly among whom the samizdat publications were circled.

The movement of dissidents appeared in Poland mainly in the 1970s. It was oppressed in 1977 after the strikes and large-scale public demonstrations. However, it flourished with a new strength again. Polish dissidents learned from the experiences of Hungary and Czechoslovakia that new methods against communist party’s monopoly were needed. Thus, the Polish opposition viewed its role “to create the foundations of a plural society in Poland, which could then put pressure on the authorities to behave in a more responsible way and take into account divergent social and political ideas” (Halecki O., 1993, p. 391). Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadski call this emerging phenomena “state of ‘dual power’” (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 274). For that purposes wide activity of dissidents was done, including unofficial or ‘flying’ universities (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 271).

Samizdat publishing was very large as “a series of unofficial publishing houses producing books and newspapers which contained opinions not acceptable to the censorship” (Halecki O., 1993, p. 392) existed. As Helsinki Watch Report of 1986 by Marta Toch states, the breaking of information monopoly in Poland by samizdat publications began before Solidarity was created: “In the late 1970s several underground newspapers were launched, reaching different parts of the country; one of them ‘Pobotnik’ achieved a national circulation of 20,000” (Toch M., 1986, p. 43). According to the data provided by Halecki, “by the late 1970s, unofficial newspapers were circulating on the Baltic coast in editions of up to 100,000 copies”

(Halecki O., 1993, p. 392). To that, the publications of emigrants like Paris-based *Kultura* should be added as well as Polish-language radio stations abroad.

In 1980 the single national trade union called ‘Solidarity’ was formed which demanded, among others, “the right to strike, and the right to freedom of expression”. In 1981 Solidarity’s membership exceeded 10 million. Therefore, it was “evolving into a mass social movement committed to the democratization of political life” (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 273–274). According to Marta Toch, the independent, that is uncensored press flourished when Solidarity existed legally. In a Helsinki Watch Report of 1986, Marta Toch provides a data that hundreds of printing plants were set up in the whole territory of the country. Moreover, each regional branch of Solidarity had at least one newspaper, sometimes even several newspapers. Even major industrial plants had their own paper (Toch M., 1986, p. 43).

Yet the repression against Solidarity started in 1981 when martial law was implemented in the entire territory of Poland. As a result, “6,000 Solidarity activists, including Walesa (the leader of the movement), were arrested and interned” (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 276). However, Solidarity leaders, who were not arrested, rebuilt the structure of the organization underground and started long and massive propaganda war against official authorities and communist party. Illegal samizdat journals and books were largely published from secret printing presses. In general, wide underground and samizdat activities continued until the legalization of Solidarity movement in 1989.

However, “it is virtually impossible to tabulate all the underground periodicals published” in the period when Solidarity was in the underground, because “maintaining a bibliography itself was illegal” (Toch M., 1986, p. 43–44). Still Marta Toch provides a data that 560 periodicals were set up in the period of six-month (December 1981 – June 1982). Moreover, a total number of 650 titles were published in the period of two years (1984 and 1985) (Toch 1986, 45). Besides, between 700 and 800 titles (books and booklets) were published during the first year-and-a-half after Solidarity became the underground movement (Toch M., 1986, p. 54).

The center of underground press was Warsaw, but every major city, factories, some small towns, villages and even prisons and internment camps had a lively publishing movement. The amount and power of the underground press can be imagined by the following facts. According to the estimation in January 1986, about one-fifth of the underground newspapers were weeklies, almost the same proportion was for bi-weeklies and

more than a third of the newspapers were monthlies. For the same period of time the average of 50,000 copies was for each weekly issue. Furthermore, it is believed that each copy of an underground newspaper was read by more than one person, because Poles widely circulated the underground press between each other (Toch M., 1986, p. 46–48).

One of the important factors that supported Solidarity movement both spiritually and financially was the West. For example, it is thought that the “substantial amount of printing and communication equipment supplied by the CIA via American trade union organizations, was smuggled into Poland” (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 276). Timothy Garton Ash believes that Solidarity enjoyed the unique range of support from the Western countries: ‘No other movement in the world was supported by President Reagan and Mr. Carillo, Mr. Berlinguer and the Pope, Mrs. Thatcher and Tony Benn, peace campaigners and NATO spokesmen, Christians and communists, conservatives, liberals and socialists’ (Ash T., 1991, p. 320).

Another important factor of support of Solidarity and other dissidents’ movements in Poland was the Roman Catholic Church. On Bronislaw Misztal’s opinion, it has been a national institution for centuries and “Polish Catholicism represents the embodiment of Polish cultural values and traditions” (Misztal B., 1985, p. 70). In Communist Poland, the Church served as an umbrella for some clubs, schools, newspapers, because it was the only place besides private apartments where independent cultural meetings took place. Therefore, “the churches made independent culture accessible to large audiences” (Toch M., 1986, p. 16). The Catholic Church “contributed significantly to the creation of a broad-based movement in defense of human rights, which embraced Catholic and secular intellectuals active in the opposition” (Lukowski J. and Zawadski H., 2001, p. 271). As Bronislaw Misztal states, “Many Poles, perhaps the majority, looked to the church [...] not only for spiritual guidance but also for political direction” (Misztal B., 1985, p. 72).

As a result of the underground movements and their activities in Poland the country existed under two societies: ‘The official society, composed of the regime establishment, with a good number of people willingly or unwillingly cooperating with it; and the alternative society – with heavy participation of the youth – “with its own media, literature, cultural and educational activities”, well-organized and self-sufficient “receiving strong moral and material support from the West’ (Halecki O., 1993, p. 436).

Altogether, underground movements in Poland existed in Poland under communism. They were very widespread in the territory and among

citizens, including both intellectuals and workers despite regular repression against underground movements. Samizdat was well developed as one of the main forms of activity; the amount of publishing copies was large and reached different strata of society, including the working class in the 1980s. Thus, the developing 'dual society' was successful in Poland with the help of the underground movements and their samizdat press. All this signaled that civic culture, which is, according to Putnam, closely connected with civic traditions, was rather well developed in Poland under communism.

Conclusions

The underground movements existed both in Ukraine and in Poland under the communist rule. Those movements used samizdat as one of the main activities among several others. To sum up, they can be seen as movements for freedom of speech and freedom of associations. The fact of their existence showed the affiliation with these freedoms in Polish and Ukrainian societies. However, we define three main differences between Ukrainian and Polish underground movements, which are essential for the conclusions of this paper.

First, the basic goals of the underground movements in Poland and Ukraine were close that is speaking for human rights and various freedoms, showing the mistakes and violations of the communist rule and, thus, changing the soviet system. However, the main directions were also different. In Ukraine dissidents were not against the Soviet rule, they wanted to reform it for better, usually speaking from communist positions. Even though voices of nationalism and Ukrainian identity were heard, they were in the stream of greater cultural autonomy of Ukraine. Including all the features of Ukrainian underground movements, Polish dissidents worked to undermine the communist system from within and, for that, to create the 'dual society' by their actions and samizdat publications. Thus, the goals of Polish underground movements were greater than that those of the Ukrainian movements.

Second, as it was shown in this paper, the movements in Poland and Ukraine differed greatly by the number and social origins of their participants. In Ukraine the movement included intellectuals mainly from the largest cities and the number of them was not big in the whole period of the 1970s. However, the Polish movement was close to be called the mass movement. Indeed, it seized almost the whole territory of the country; different strata of the society participated actively in it, including close inter-

action between intellectuals and working class, and the number of the participants was big, as oppose to the Ukrainian situation. Repression against dissidents characterized both Poland and Ukraine. However, in Poland, repression could not break the movement, as happened in Ukraine, and it flourished even more strongly after each wave of repression. This fact shows that the single factor of strength of the communist regime cannot explain the existence or non-existence of underground movements and other forms of activity for the freedoms under communism.

Third, samizdat publications, as one of the main forms of the underground movements' activity, differed in Poland and Ukraine too. If the underground movements in both countries published belles-letters, Ukraine emphasized more on the letters of protest to authorities, whereas Polish samizdat specialized in the political leaflets and newspapers for the Polish population. The difference in the numbers of samizdat newspapers varied sharply (from one newspaper with six series in Ukraine to a greater variety of the newspapers in Poland with many copies, as it was shown in the paper). Thus, samizdat publications in Poland obviously reached much greater audience than in Ukraine, where mainly small number of intellectuals were able to enjoy reading the underground press. One needs not to forget about the factors of Western influence and the Catholic Church close affiliation with the underground movements and press in Poland.

UWARUNKOWANIA HISTORYCZNE I WOLNOŚĆ MEDIÓW: POLSKA I UKRAINA W LATACH DZIEWIĘDZIESIĄTYCH XX W.

(STRESZCZENIE)

Celem podjętego dyskursu jest ukazanie historycznych uwarunkowań różnych poziomów wolności mediów w postsocjalistycznych krajach Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej w latach dziewięćdziesiątych XX w., ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Polski i Ukrainy. Autorki zauważają, że chociaż te dwa kraje pod względem geograficznym są sobie bardzo bliskie, a także w tym samym okresie rozpoczęły proces przejścia od komunizmu do demokracji i zainicjowały reformy medialne, to jednak w ciągu ostatniej dekady XX w. osiągnęły diametralnie odmienne rezultaty. W Polsce osiągnięto poziom wolnych mediów, a na Ukrainie – nie. Autorki w celu wyjaśnienia tych odmienności sięgają po teorię zależności ścieżkowej Putnama, zgodnie z którą rozwój danych procesów zależy od ich historycznych uwarunkowań. Oznacza to, że wspomniane odmienności dają się wytłumaczyć przede wszystkim jako skutki różnic w dziejach poszczególnych krajów w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej oraz różnic w reformach gospodarczych, jakie po upadku komunizmu były przez poszczególne postkomunistyczne państwa wdrażane.

HISTORICAL PATH DEPENDENCY AND MEDIA FREEDOM: POLAND AND UKRAINE IN THE 1990S

(SUMMARY)

The paper's objective is to explain the different levels of media freedom in the post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s, particularly in Poland and Ukraine. Even though these two countries are very close geographically, they started the process of transition from communism to democracy and initiated media reforms in the same period, in 10 years the results of these processes were different: Poland achieved the level of free media whereas Ukraine did not. The theories of Putnam's deep long-term historical path dependence approach, East Central European historians and path dependence approaches of the economic reforms in the 1990s in the Central and Eastern European countries of post-socialist transitions are combined and applied for the analysis of media freedom in the 1990s and its deep historical predecessors in the sample countries.

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