

Contents

Foreword	7
Acknowledgement	9
Introduction	11
Chapter 1	
Media and politics in the ‘gray zone’ between democracy and authoritarianism: an interdisciplinary approach	23
1.1. If not ‘transition’ then what? State capture and formation of a disabling environment for democratization	25
1.1.1. State capture	25
1.1.2. Bad habits from the past?	28
1.1.3. Informal institutions	32
1.1.4. Informal institutions and state building in transitional societies	34
1.2 The case of Ukraine	39
1.2.1. Ukraine’s oligarchic system	39
1.2.2. The role of informal rules	43
1.2.3. A trajectory of institutional change in Ukraine in 1994–2013	45
1.2.4. Institutional void, flawed formal rules, and the supremacy of informal institutions	50
Chapter 2	
Media capture in post-communist Ukraine	55
2.1. Media capture in Ukraine: actors, methods, and effects ...	59
2.1.1. Who are the captors of private media in Ukraine?	59
2.1.2. How does media capture affect Ukrainian media content?	70
2.1.3. What methods do media captors use?	75

2.2. Disabling environment: media regulators and media law .	82
2.2.1. Regulatory and monitoring bodies	82
2.2.2. Media-related laws	88
Chapter 3	
The media market and ownership, and economic dimension of media capture in Ukraine	95
3.1. The Ukrainian media market.....	95
3.1.1. Size and wealth.....	95
3.1.2. Dependence on political advertising	97
3.1.3. Unfinished privatization	98
3.1.4. Foreign investments.....	101
3.1.5. The Russian factor.....	105
3.2. The dark side of media privatization and commercialization in Ukraine.....	108
3.2.1. Oligarchic media ownership.....	108
3.2.2. Concentration of media ownership and its nature in Ukraine.....	112
3.2.3. Implications of oligarchic media ownership	116
3.2.4. Market-driven tabloidization or 'political yellowing'?.....	119
Conclusion: New obstacles to media reform in post-communist Ukraine	127
Bibliography.....	137
Name index.....	165
Subject index	171