

political agenda. The second consists of case studies (the analysis of qualitative research). The research was based on television broadcasts, which are constantly the most important source of information about politics in Poland.

The author has applied quantitative and qualitative research methods and has proposed a novel approach to media effects research. However, one can not agree with all the conclusions emerging from the quantitative part of the research. This reflection applies mainly to the interpretation of part of the statistical data. Due to the specific character of the research subject, drawing conclusions from the quantitative data is almost unjustifiable and can lead to a misinterpretation. On the other hand, the qualitative part of the book perfectly complements the author's research and makes the mechanism of the news effect fairly comprehensible.

Ewa Nowak's study provides a compendium of information about agenda-setting research. Besides systematizing knowledge of previous research and theory development, the author introduced new issues and discussed the research trends emerging in recent years. To conclude, news media are essential in the process of political agenda-setting. However, as the author noted, the occasionality and conditionality of their influence should be borne in mind.

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**Maciej Miżejewski (2013). *Ochrona pluralizmu w polityce medialnej Włoch* [Protection of Pluralism in Italian Media Policy]. Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, pp. 204, ISBN: 978-83-763-8231-9.**

The reviewed book contains an analysis of the institutional arrangements in the field of media pluralism in a European way and their practical use in politics in Italy. The book discusses the main aims of media policy in the European Union, claiming media pluralism as a necessary condition for the effective functioning of democracy. The formal presence of numerous legal standards in Italian legislation, pointed out by the author, paradoxically contributes not to strengthen but weaken the realization of citizens' rights to information. The author explores what is the reason, pointing out the main characteristics of the Italian political system which are: provisionality (*provvisorieta*), temporality (*precarieta*) and the ability to return to a political equilibrium (*capacità di recupero*). These features, in the author's opinion, determine the shape of contemporary media policy in Italy.

The theme undertaken by the author enables understanding of protection of pluralism mechanisms in a democratic political system in relation to the standards

set out in international law and the Strasbourg case. The analyzed case of Italy, determined by conflict of political and economic interests, has been discussed in the context of making legislative initiatives by past governments aimed at strengthening and consolidating the market position of the media empire of Silvio Berlusconi and sanctioning duopoly in the Italian ether.

Therefore, the author formulates the following thesis of the research: “Protecting media pluralism is the guarantor of democracy”. As a result of the author’s analysis of the law of the Italian Constitutional Court (*Corte costituzionale*) and its impact on the legislation in the mass communication field in Italy, it shows that the realization of citizens’ rights to information guaranteed in the Constitution of Italy, faces serious limitations as a result of the Italian political tradition, of which the main feature is the weakness of the state and its organs. The author proves that this media policy, established in order to protect media pluralism, acts only formally, and the main problem is not only the lack of appropriate regulations, but also their ineffectiveness. The aptly observed direct influence of numerous political parties on the public media in Italy, with the limited role of the parliamentary committee (CPIV) as one of the state bodies for media pluralism protection, defines Italian media pluralism as a legal fiction. Although the Italian Parliament plays a leading role in the exercise of political control over the public broadcaster RAI, designating at least 7 out of the 9 members of the board of RAI, according to the formula of political parity is that the statutory delegation had no longer application to private broadcasters, especially against Berlusconi’s Mediaset, who remains its main competitor.

The structure of the work is methodologically structured and well adapted to the purposes set. In reference to the subject and scientific monograph field, the author applied a descriptive, institutional, legal, historical, and comparative method. The first chapter content is theoretical considerations regarding the three main aspects of media pluralism: legal, political, and market conditions. Considerations are accompanied by the author’s reflection on the concept of media pluralism as a guarantor of the democratic order and the assessment standards in the field of media pluralism in the European way, with the author’s reference to the so-called political realities of “Old democracy”, especially in Britain, France, and Germany.

In the second chapter the author presents the legislative solutions in media policy for the European Union for the protection of pluralism, with particular emphasis on the Council of Europe standards in the field of creation and functioning of regulatory bodies in the broadcasting sector. The author insightfully analyzes their position in the political system and competence of the example of the Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, French, and German model. He examines their role not only as public institutions, which uphold media independence, but their effectiveness and real and effective impact on the quality of media pluralism, which gives the author’s discourse, by a strong dimension of political science.

The third chapter takes up the issues of media policy in Italy as a result of the case-law of the Constitutional Court and the effectiveness evaluation of the activities of other state bodies acting as guarantors to protect media pluralism, including in particular the Italian regulatory body (AGCOM — *Autorità per le garanzie nelle comunicazioni*). In this chapter, the author explores the political consequences of interest conflicts, significant for contemporary Italian media policy, which was caused by the fact that the holding of public function derived from political choice is entrusted directly to the economic group, which the former Prime Minister of the Italian government has become the head of. The conflict was intensified by the undertaking by successive governments, created by Silvio Berlusconi, of legislative initiatives aimed at weakening the market position of competitors, especially public television RAI.

The author rightly proves that the political and economic power focused in media magnate Silvio Berlusconi's hands was a real threat to Italian democracy. The political consequences of this conflict are apparently visible. The author points out that the enormous scale of such a concentration of power in the media and politics was easy to predict. The then President of the Italian Republic, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi recalled that the citizens are longing for the idea of political pluralism, which is a consequence of the existence of independent sources of information, at the forum of the Italian parliament in a message addressed to the Italian Parliament, which called for the protection of media pluralism, reminding us of the inseparable connection between information and democracy.

Analyzing the political consequences of the transformation of the Italian media system, the author recognizes that in legislative solutions' view in the audiovisual sector (*Legge Mammi*) this process is still in the so-called transition phase, which is a result of the nature of the Italian political system, despite being an absence of solutions in this field dictated by a lack of political will, and has remained constant for nearly forty years. Furthermore, the Italian media system transformation as a society sector and its role as a tool for the proper functioning of democracy in contemporary Europe is a special case. In the author's opinion, this transformation is carried out from the model of subordinated to the government media.

The political system in Italy, which is characterized by a high level of party activity and bureaucracy, makes state institutions acting as subjects of media policy, because of its many competences, are often mutually exclusive rather than cooperating, and competing together causing a conflict between political factions soliciting for the favor of the media and economic groups trying to consolidate their market position through the media. Furthermore, the specified media model of performing parliamentary control over public broadcaster RAI still triggers constant political pressure over the following ruling coalition, although the possibility of privatization of the public broadcaster recorded in the 2004 Gasparri law (*legge Gasparri*). The author points out the lack of political will in carrying out the privatization of RAI, as evidence of low quality media pluralism in Italy.

At the conclusion of his book, he refers to analyzes of Italian media expert Paolo Mancini, examining the Italian media and politics connection, which emphasizes that both the authors and the major recipients of media messages in Italy are part of a closed palace establishment (*circle of il palazzo*), participating in the individual phases of political negotiations. In this situation it is therefore difficult for Italian journalists to play the role of gatekeepers, creating a forum for public discussion. In the majority they rule over the circulation of information in a strictly closed elite circle. In the case of Italy, we have to deal with the classical model of horizontal communication, where public action in the name of protecting the party interests, under Italian political life grows almost to the reason of state. Bias of the mass media in Italy is also accompanied by a common system of values and interests of political leaders and media moguls. The mutual support of both professional groups, according to Mancini and Italian media experts like Mazzoleni and Grossi, have identified as political parallelism. It is a system of the world of media and politics on the basis of organizational, economic, and thematic interdependence. Supporting the political system by the media is conducted so openly with the full approval of the Italian political elite. The scale of common interests and mutual benefits system makes the media an effective tool for effective governance.

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