

Media and Communication

Mediji i komunikacije

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NOVINARSTVO - KRIZA PROFESIJE
JOURNALISM - THE CRISIS OF THE PROFESSION

Priredivač/Editor

dr Veselin Kljajić

Reč priređivača

U potpunosti izmenjeni načini komunikacije, kroz dominantno nove komunikacione kanale, uz kontinuirano smanjivanje resursa za prikupljanje i obradu vesti, značajno su doprineli radikalnoj transformaciji savremenog žurnalizma pod uticajem pre svega Interneta, digitalizacije, platformi, društvenih mreža i unapred izgubljene trke sa vremenom, a u poteri za profitom. Ekonomska kriza na globalnom nivou, probleme je samo dodatno usložila, izazvavši tektonske poremećaje na ionako uzdrmanom medijskom tržištu širom regiona, ali i sveta. Novinarstvo je bitno transformisano: javna debata preselila se na društvene mreže i druge platforme podstičući pojavu participativnog novinarstva i deprofesionalizacije, publike se fragmentizuju i polarizuju, tražeći šansu da i same učestvuju u kreiranju sadržaja. Razlog više za radikalno preispitivanje profesije su temeljne i paralelne tehnološke, ekonomske i društvene promene, sve veći uticaj izdavača, oglašivača i stejkholdera iz polja odnosa s javnošću, kao najozbiljniji izazov za savremeno novinarstvo.

U izmenjenom društvenom kontekstu tradicionalni a pogotovo “novi mediji” bezuspešno tragaju za novim uspešnim poslovnim modelom, pritisnuti imperativom komercijalizacije i digitalizacije. Još uvek bez jasnog odgovora na pitanje “ko će u budućnosti platiti za vest?”. Naravno da u takvim okolnostima prvo strada profesija, koja se nalazi (usudili bi se reći) u jednoj od najvećih kriza od svog nastanka do danas. Kako u pogledu zanemarivanja profesionalnih standarda, tako i kodeksa i etičkih načela.

Ovo su samo neki od brojnih razloga koji su podstakli organizatore Druge međunarodne naučne konferencije Mediji i PR pod nazivom: “Novinarstvo – kriza profesije”, da ovu temu uvrste u agendu zajedničkih promišljanja teoretičara i praktičara iz sveta, Evrope i regiona, okupljenih u junu ove godine u Bijelom Polju u Crnoj Gori. Međunarodni karakter ostvaren još na Prvoj konferenciji (prošle godine u isto vreme) ovoga puta je dodatno izražen aktuelnošću i akutnošću zajedničkog problema. Potvrda je i učešće čak 34 eminentna autora iz 10 država, sa 16 fakulteta i dva istraživačka univerzitetska centra. Poseban doprinos dali su (svojim prisustvom i izlaganjima) svetski priznati profesori: dr Ričard Ruk, sa Berlinske škole ekonomije i prava (BSEL), Univerzitet primenjenih nauka, HWR, Nemačka i dr Paolo Manćini, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Perudi, Italija. Sve ove okolnosti, ali pogotovo rezultati istraživanja izneti na ovoj međunarodnoj naučnoj konferenciji, baš kao i kvantum krize profesije, bili su ujedno opredeljujući faktor za priređivača ovog izdanja, da se prihvati priređivanje prvog broja međunarodnog naučnog časopisa “Media and Communication / Mediji i komunikacije”. Izborom 31-og rada, koji su pred vama pokušali smo da obuhvatimo što širi medijski i profesionalni dijapazon od Crne Gore, Nemačke, Italije, Španije, preko Mađarske, Ekvadora, Srbije, Makedonije, do Velike Britanije, Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine. Svi autori iz ovih zemalja našli su se na zajedničkom zadatku traženja rešenja, kroz neophodno potrebnu

naučnu, stručnu i medijsku saradnju, u potrazi za odgovorom kako novinarskoj profesiji povratiti tako neophodni dignitet i kredibilitet. Kroz, verujemo, zajednički interes uspostavljanja kulture dijaloga, slobode i tolerancije, a u cilju razvoja novinarstva i medija, kao nezamenjivih pretpostavki demokratske konsolidacije svih društvenih zajednica.

Istovremeno priređivač se nada da će ovaj međunarodni časopis nastaviti i u budućnosti da daje svoj doprinos i podsticaj najširoj naučnoj i stručnoj javnosti, kao i studentima medija, novinarstva i komunikologije u naporima na stvaranju nove medijske paradigme i profesionalnog demokratskog medijskog, pa samim tim društvenog, političkog i kulturnog diskursa.

Prof. dr Veselin Kljajić
U Beogradu, jun, 2014. godine

PhD Richard Rooke, full professor
HWR Berlin School of Economics and Law, Berlin (Germany)

The crisis in journalism: fact or fiction?

Abstract: The debate about the crisis in/ of journalism in the digital age, hinges not only on the possible widespread use of generic, trans-national internet-based media players but also fragmentation and the loss of possible objectivity as the market seeks audiences and readers (ratings as well as readers and viewers) in an over-crowded glocal (global and local combined) marketplace.

This paper, however, argues that actually the so called crisis in journalism is a classic tussle between the fact of a changing context in which journalism operates, but a fiction that it necessarily undermines the necessity and importance of journalism in contemporary society. The present era is full of uncertainty but equally full of opportunity. The future of journalism is being differently contextualised but remains a key element of any society.

To understand this is to analyse journalism in its real varied contexts. This means tackling 1) journalism perceptions of its place in society 2) how to enhance production to different forms of media within new business and corporate models 3) the impact of delivery disruption, the development of new brands and subscriptions, and 4) patterns of consumption. Not least we need to engage in the debate on the changing relationship between private and public spheres and the huge differences in the work of journalism around the globe. We need to make a distinction between the journalist and reporter and netizens, for example, but then also associate them.

More specifically, to make sense of journalism in the digital age, it is necessary to divide and categorize the changes in media in general into three and step beyond, but not forget, the normal worries over content: a) The changing nature of production linked to the different forms of the media and the role that journalism plays in this new context b) The revolution in delivery and its relationship to audience participation and c) Changes in the consumers and their attitudes towards what they perceive/ receive from journalism. Then we can analyze how to react to the complex changes that impact on the media and their impact on to the practice of contemporary journalism.

Key words: *journalism, crisis, media, digital age*

dr Richard Rooke, redovni profesor
HWR Škola ekonomije i prava, Berlin (Njemačka)

Kriza u novinarstvu: činjenica ili fikcija?

Apstrakt: Rasprava o krizi u/o novinarstvu u digitalnom dobu, zavisi ne samo od moguće raširene upotrebe opštih, trans-nacionalnih medijskih igrača zasnovanih na internetu već i na rascjepkanosti i gubitku moguće objektivnosti dok tržište traži publiku i čitaoc (rejting kako čitalaca, tako i gledalaca) u prenatrpanom globalnom (globalnom i lokalnom) tržištu.

U radu se, međutim, tvrdi da je zapravo tzv. kriza u novinarstvu klasično rvanje između činjenice o promjenjivom kontekstu u kojem djeluje novinarstvo, ali i fikcije da nužno potkopava neophodnost i važnost novinarstva u savremenom društvu. Sadašnje doba je puno neizvjesnosti, ali jednako puno prilika. Budućnost novinarstva se drugačije dovodi u kontekst, ali i dalje je ključni element svakog društva.

Da biste razumjeli ovo, znači da treba analizirati novinarstvo u svojim stvarnim različitim kontekstima. To znači rješavanje: 1) novinarskog shvatanja svojeg mjesta u društvu 2) poboljšanje proizvodnje različitih oblika medija unutar novih poslovnih i korporativnih modela 3) uticaja prekida isporuke, razvoja novih robnih marki (brendova) i pretplate, i 4) obrazaca potrošnje. To ne znači da ni najmanje ne trebamo da se uključimo u raspravu o promjenama u odnosima između privatnih i javnih sfera i ogromne razlike u radu novinarstva širom svijeta. Moramo napraviti razliku između novinara i reportera i netizena, na primjer, ali ih takođe i dovesti u vezu.

Naime, da bi novinarstvo imalo smisao u digitalnom dobu, potrebno je podijeliti i kategorizovati promjene u medijima uopšte u tri koraka pa i dalje, ali ne zaboraviti, normalne brige nad sadržajem: a) Promjenjiva priroda proizvodnje povezana sa različitim oblicima medija i ulozi koju novinarstvo igra u tom novom kontekstu b) Revolucija u isporuci i njen odnos prema učestvovanju publike i c) Promjene kod potrošača i njihovih stavova o tome šta oni vide/primaju iz novinarstva. Onda možemo analizirati kako reagovati na složene promjene koje utiču na medije i njihov uticaj na praksu savremenog novinarstva.

Ključne riječi: *novinarstvo, kriza, mediji, digitalno doba*

Introduction

To locate the present debate on the crisis in journalism, and its role in society, it is important to have some sort of starting point. Maybe we can start by accepting that the topic of a 'journalism in crises' is not a new one and in many respects journalism will always be at the frontline of controversy by its very relationship to both political and social change and the technology of innovation that surrounds it (Rooke, 2009; McChesney, 2010).

The role is not an easy one. Journalists, and their profession in general, have to overcome many an obstacle along the way. They are constantly confronted with the constraints and encouragements of media ownership and employment, conflicting agendas, political, social, private, public and corporate interference, lies and misinformation, and then, finally the all-powerful editors and the editing process.

Additionally, academics continue to delve into its craftwork and its subject matter because of its importance. For example, one recent doctoral thesis, explored the complicated way in which Saudi Arabian journalists handled the 9/11 attacks, noting how an analysis of journalists' motives illustrated the real efforts made to actually balance the reporting on such a sensitive subject. Even so, and in context, they still needed to frame their response to their own audiences and newsrooms (Alarfaj, 2013), not an easy task. Another researcher, in another doctoral thesis has recently shown the careful interweaving of old and new journalistic styles in the Spanish internet setting of news and media production (Mato-Veiga, 2012).

Journalists die much too frequently, but often overlooked, they are pressurised, confronted mentally and physically, and in many cases, are brave beyond words. What they tell us, informs us. They are often the frontline between warring suppositions, and warriors for the unspoken. In 2013 it was estimated by one organisation there were 211 prominent journalists in jail across the world because of their work: Turkey, Iran, China stand out but so do Eritrea, Vietnam, Syria, Azerbaijan, Ethiopia, Egypt and Uzbekistan. (1) Soon we might be adding to this list Crimea and Ukraine (2) and then wherever, whoever by the end of the year. In 2014 (so far), another organisation estimates world-wide, 4 journalists have died, 3 netizens and citizen journalists killed, 169 are imprisoned, and 166 netizens incarcerated (3).¹

But yet, and depending on where they work, because it varies from one society to another, journalists are often depicted as amongst the least to be trusted in society, and in many respects even despised for their inaccurate, often lurid, invasive journalism. They, like politicians, face a critical audience it seems (Miller, 2013).

Taking all this into account, can the contemporary digital age enlighten us, and is the contemporary so-called crisis in journalism a fact or a fiction?

Finding an easy answer brings us to one of the essential problems: the context in which journalism works. In many respects we treat journalism as a subject in itself,

¹ See also as corroboration, Giles, R.H. 2010.

when, in fact it is deeply related to the media context in which it plies its trade.² In the same way, media is often conflated with the role of journalism as if it is one and the same thing. The truth is they are inter-dependent but distinct (Gittens, 2011).

Perhaps more than this, the contemporary age is also changing the fundamental bedrock upon which journalists work. We appear to live in a new, profoundly different, technological, age when compared to eras before it: a technology of convergence (OECD Digital Economy Papers, 2014), of new access to knowledge, to data and sources unbelievable not too long ago³. This is sometimes referred to as 'the digital age' and it is mutating in ways which is shaking the structures of accepted media provision.

This is what is imposing itself on journalistic practise and is at the heart of much of the talk about 'a crisis' in journalism. This has all become very uncomfortable for many in the profession and even the regulatory, legal framework that has surrounded, supported, sometimes hindered journalism in the past, is increasingly being seen as inadequate (Gajda, 2009).

Moreover, there is a new, even wider, expansive, geo-political context imposing itself on journalists and the media: the drivers of globalisation and the parallel rise of a multi-polar world, following the alleged, or should we say assumed, end of the Cold-War.

This has been accompanied by the rise of the BRICS into the world-economy and in particular the rise of China to world importance. For journalists, no matter their dedication or locality, they too like the rest of us, are linked to these changes in the economy (Uchitelle, 2011) and the business or corporate models that finance their profession, be that public or private or a mix of both.

Finally, there are those that see the practice of journalism being demeaned from within. The dumbing-down of content in search of a mass audience. A world of celebrity and make-believe that used to be more associated with film and drama in the broadcasting industry. Even political leaders appear, at times, as a continuing mix of soap opera and emotion and advertising and political brands which when combined has undercut the value of the work of the journalist and the politician alike.

Some aspects of modern journalism, it is often argued, their craft, is besieged like no other time. The moral and ethical standards by which they work are under the spotlight more than ever before and not just in conflict zones but on hum-drum local, domestic stories. What has been exposed in too many countries, in too many stories, is, too often, bad practise, lies, too much private gossip made into the material of mere reporting.⁴

But real journalism, not just reporting, remains at its best a noble art, no matter the failings. Without transparency there is no informed opinion, no accountabil-

² See this kind of approach in D'Vorkin, 'The New Language Of Journalism', 2012; D'Vorkin L., 'Our New Model For Journalism' ; D'Vorkin L., (2012), 'Journalism's New Reality'.

³ See also the impact of mobile phones on newspapers in ENPA Newspaper Publishers' Association Annual report, 2012; and changes in digital television in Iosifidis, P. 2011: two illuminating examples.

⁴ Zintel, E. 'How to fix the failings of Today's journalism', editorandpublisher.com, January 2014.

ity, no bottom-up political or social participation, and no means to real justice, and transparency is rightly lauded as a virtue.⁵ Without true, thorough, investigatory practice there is no real journalism. But are the contemporary pressures too hard to bear?

Certainly, the pressures on journalists are enormous, noting that this has always been so, but it is also apparently increasing. Not least because journalism and stories, 'History' ('histoire in French), are one and the same thing: the telling of the story, any story, that has always been, on one level, a 'confirmed-accepted-text': a sort of game of interpretation and validation of what is to be reported and is almost always in 'draft' form ready to be amended. This was famously encapsulated in the two following views on the nature of journalism:

"So let us today drudge on about our inescapably impossible task of providing every week a first rough draft of history that will never really be completed about a world we can never really understand... (Graham P, 1963 see – "history:" in Jack Shafer, Slate, 30 August 2010; and, "News is only the first rough draft... (of History)..." (Alan Barth, review of The Autobiography of a Curmudgeon by Harold L. Ickes in The New Republic, 1943, collected in The New Republic, Volume 108, p. 677)

And with this comes importance comes pressure. Holding to the meaning of the story and text becomes as much a matter of politics, and politicians, and any of those in a position of power; including celebrities and public relations, businesses and their owners, criminals, anyone who may be affected by 'the story', are aware of the pressure that can be applied to journalists, and often apply that pressure remorselessly.

Maybe on one level this is normal, even acceptable, but the media can be special, and times are changing. It is no longer just a matter of political pressure but changes in how society talks to itself and in technical ways not seen before. The access to information, even gossip, superficial and serious, are no longer a restricted game in the digital age.

From local newspapers to cross-national broadcasting, online there is open trumpeting across the e-platforms of individual as well as group content.⁶

The Twitter effect is one of the best examples, perhaps, but the list of social media and new means of communication is long and established media is embracing the new connections and audience/reader participation. This is sometime referred to as 'Citizen Journalism' and is spreading across the world.⁷ This too, it must be said, is not really as new an idea as some believe, and often local newspapers in the past were deeply embedded in their communities⁸.

⁵ See Audiovisual Observatory report '10 years of transparency in the Audiovisual sector', 2003.

⁶ Ojajarvi, S., Valtonen, S. 2012; and see the reaction of the Seattle Times to e-journalism – 'Community Journalism' - in editorandpublisher, January 2014.

⁷ See an Indian case study, Noor, R. 2013.

⁸ See a fascinating recent account of the local press in Lancashire UK between 1855-1900, Hobbs, A, doctoral thesis, 2010),

It is not that Twitter, or the other similar social media, is more truthful than anything else, but it has opened the controlling portals of the managed text to a wider community (Mythen, 2010) beyond the affiliated, and controlled, often 'stay-at-home', editorial journalist-politician set, and this is an inherently powerful, meaningfully disruptive change in emphasis.

Taken together these strands represent the key arguments in the present-day debate on journalism. But our analysis needs more than this to discover the roots of the newer problems so often discussed. Finding working-definitions of journalistic practice which help us are an essential first step.

Journalism in the present day and its normative contexts - including commentary on journalism teaching

None of this is helped, therefore, when the defined role of the journalist is not actually agreed upon. Nor probably can we suddenly agree on what journalism should be. Too often in academic articles and books, media studies education, even reporters talking to themselves, journalists are described generically, the same everywhere, a strong band of bonded brothers and sisters fighting for truth, objectivity when in fact the roles of journalists are varied, diverse and above all contextualised (Hallin, Mancini, 2004).

This question was recently taken up by the Reuters Institute for the study of journalism based in Oxford University, UK, and the responses to the question 'What is journalism?' are interesting just because they reveal the complicated contexts in which journalism finds itself. They are worth a cursory glance, with two examples, to make the point:⁹ (4)

*"Definition of Journalism: Journalism in Germany is often called the fourth pillar of the state; its rights are stated in the German constitution that guarantees the freedom of speech. The founder of one of the most famous journalism schools in the country, Wolf Schneider, defined journalism as follows: To cut a path of information through the jungle of worldly affairs and to keep an eye on the people in power. Its greatest challenges: At the moment, the greatest challenge to the freedom of the press in Germany is the uncertain economic situation and, because of this, the pressure on the media from declining advertising revenue as well as growing demands of proprietors to cut costs often to the detriment of journalistic quality."*¹⁰

"I really can't speak on behalf of the 'scientific community' or all the practitioners, but I would say that the accepted and prevalent definition refers to journalism as a process of conveying information in an objective and impartial way. Briefly, the major challenges relate to 'infotainment' – sensationalism and triviality which are seizing an increasingly larger proportion of the media content (in mainstream dailies and weeklies and on the national public television); lack of quality investigative and

⁹ <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/resources/definitions-of-journalism.html>, 2014.

¹⁰ Germany (ibid) / See also for comparison, Datamonitor Industry profile: Broadcasting and Cable TV in Germany, 2010.

follow-up reporting. Also, studies of journalism have questionable standards and too traditional curriculum (they lag behind the times, and don't keep pace with numerous changes in the profession, such as online journalism, new communication technologies, etc...)."¹¹

These individual statements emerge from their own contexts: all of which could be legal, political, social and even historical. In wider, philosophical terms journalists are laden with values and competences which relate to the diversity of their subjects as well as their economic and social contractual relationship to those who employ or use them. And these too are diverse. They will be bound by the legal restraints in situ, and these, no matter the role of international law, will vary from story to story from context to context from one form of media to the next.

There are common traits to the best of journalism and these could be seen as universal, but by its very nature the craft of journalism is more interpretative, riddled with interpretative incertitude and a lack of full concrete information in many cases. This is different from other professionals such as doctors or engineers even lawyers who have their own problems but at least are prescribed by legal or medical or structural cases and in-depth historical precedence surrounding both prosecution and defence, workable or not.

The American Press Institute describes journalists as citizens who are 'committed observers' linked directly to and associated above all with democratic values (5). But even this detracts from the valuable work that journalists perform in what might be termed less-than-democratic or even non-democratic countries, often to the point of putting their own lives at risk: and their work, no matter where they are, entails, as with others, dissemination, accuracy, even sheer doggedness. It demands persistent knowledge based enquiry and needs to be crafted by a level of common sense based on verification, and independence of mind just as much as in democratic countries where freedom of speech is more widely accepted.

And these skills only work when placed in context. Journalists are the classic 'in-betweeners' making some sense for their readers, audiences and followers of the context in which they find themselves. This does not preclude them from being opinion formers, strong commentators, but this is secondary to their role of contextualising the story.

Unfortunately, too often, mere reporters stumble at this stage. International let alone national journalism is full of examples of reporters' misunderstanding the context in which they find themselves, reporting their own or supposed audiences' moral even political outrage rather than making sense of the events on the ground.

Hence, for some critics, the idea emerges that the internet has opened the flood gates to unedited commentary and unverified opinion. But true journalists do not make this mistake so easily and they are different from reporters or fly-in, fly-out presenters or even ad-hoc bloggers, or obsessive Twitter users let alone the

¹¹ Croatia / Ibid Reuters institute.

role of freelancers in the mix.¹²

It is undeniable that the modern age of image-driven, 24 hour rolling news, contemporary news-gathering allows for too many opportunities for superficial reporting and adds to the accusations of dumbing-down. Sometimes it is forgotten that reporters have their place in the scheme of things but journalists should carry an extra sense of 'meaning' in their travelling cases. Journalism is more than reporting, but understanding its real nature depends on how it is produced, delivered and consumed. And this is where we need to widen our view.

The changing nature of production, including new business and corporate models, linked to the different forms of the media and the role that journalism plays in this new context

Often an analysis of journalism depends on the scrutiny of its message, and especially its writing, its use of culturally-set images, its relationship to the aesthetic such as photo-journalism or video programming. This occupies journalists and the teaching of the subject increasingly and quite rightly. But too little time is spent on establishing and then understanding the financial and contextual models that provide society with journalists and their products. And you need both, creativity and finance, to define the role, to fully appreciate how this socially, culturally-based occupation actually works.

This is not to say that the technicalities, the cultural creativity, the legal competence, the intuitive investigatory abilities, the art, embedded in journalism, are not important: they are very important. But the organisational and financial contexts in which they operate are equally paramount in our understanding of how journalism works in society.

Media courses do touch on this subject but less than some may believe. For example, should there be a functional separation between public and privately owned media and if not what are the standards needed to maintain quality work? They are often treated, wrongly in this author's view, as fundamentally different. As if their journalism was different when in fact it is the ownership, and the influence of either state or private owner or advertiser or lobby group that is the question that needs further exploration, not the split in public-private journalism alone.

In simple terms, the former public broadcasters, for example, were tied neatly to what is often called the public sphere, and the underlying financial model was based on licenses and on a direct or indirect tax provision through state control or state constitutionally regulated means. The classic description of its role was often to inform, educate and entertain its audiences for the public good, so enhancing the public, social fabric in its own defined public sphere. This public good though was not the global sphere and universal values, but the public sphere normally of the nation and the states that regulated it.

¹² Jennings, R. *A Matter of Principles Should freelance reporters be held to the same journalistic standards as full-timers?* editorandpublisher, September 2013.

This was the model used after the Second World War, in the main, across Western Europe. It is a system that has been developed and adapted anew to the trans-nationalism of the EU at least in part.¹³ Equally, with the end of the Cold War, and across Central and Eastern and Southern Europe media change has been inevitable.¹⁴ The public sector's bottom line was depicted as one based on public accountability and the enhanced public-social fabric that resulted (Voakes, 2004).

On the other side, most publishing (newspapers, journals) historically were privately-owned or orientated until the 1920s/30s in Europe when, in parallel, we saw the rise of state journalism, be that nationalistic or communist, as one might expect in the great ideological divide of the twentieth century.

As for radio (Evens, Paulussen, 2012) and television technology, broadcasters for example started off in the public sphere (in Europe not the USA) and then later allowed for new competition with private broadcasters entering the 'market' later, or the public space, depending on how you envisioned its purpose. Since the end of the cold war, blatant state journalism has retreated somewhat, with a wider public-private market-sphere (the 'duopoly' system which is now under threat) in most societies, even if this is a subject of heated debate at present.

The private sector media financial model relied heavily on advertising, and private sector investment to develop.¹⁵

Its role was often crudely linked, again this author begs to differ on the accepted consensus in this argument, to merely attract advertisers first. Secondary was to see audiences or readers as a target to enhance the financial model not an end in itself. The 'bottom-line' was profit, returns to shareholders, or influence to owners foremost, and the role of the journalist was to provide wide, popular-based journalism for audiences or readers, lively in content, relevant to individual as well as social and entertainment stories that would enhance this model.

Even if, traditionally, a separation existed between the public and private sectors, the modern era has challenged these lines of difference (Bennett, Strange, Kerr, Medrado, 2012). The digital age has opened up access to producers, deliverers and consumers alike in new forms, and whatever the type of media, they are all having to adapt.¹⁶

¹³ Barosso, 2011; Slade C., 2010; European Parliament, Lebedeva, V. 2014.

¹⁴ Bron, C. in Iris plus 2010-2014 extract.

¹⁵ For a contemporary American view, see Nyilasy, Reid, 2011.

Another excellent and recent survey of the USA is to be found in the Pew report (2014) <http://www.journalism.org/packages/state-of-the-news-media-2014/> (6) which clearly shows some of the strains of American newsrooms. However, in line with the rest of the argument in this paper, American data does not necessarily carry across the globe as a standard model. Context remains different in different parts of the world and there are different examples of the model of newspapers and broadcasting for example in Europe. It forms one of the foundations of the author's book on the subject published in 2009 but still relevant (Rooke, 2009). This explains why I have used few statistics in this more generalised paper even though the data is very important in context. Good sites for the European data are available in Eurostat, European Audiovisual Observatory, WAN, etc.

¹⁶ See a fascinating doctoral thesis Cummings, D., *Television News Construction in Converging Environments: Emerging Paradigms and Methodologies*, 2012.

Those who grasp this change (note not necessarily a 'crisis'), those who create and innovate and provide for acceptable new forms of media communication and with it relevant journalism, will be more likely to succeed. Those who do not, will more likely fail: either financially, or in terms of reputation, ratings and audience participation.

Delivery disruption¹⁷: the revolution in delivery and its relationship to audience involvement

The communication revolution, through digital delivery, has been game-changing and still the impact of this revolution is not yet fully clear. Its impact continues and widens every day and the world of work and social inter-reaction is, it seems, on the verge of a major change through automation and robotics let alone the 'internet of things' and media delivery.

More specifically in the media, the older publishing world, and the television broadcasters, are now both faced with telecommunications' providers and software manufacturers (Apple, Microsoft, Amazon, Google, Sony, Netflix, Spotify, to name but a few international players) who are increasingly the portals, the gatekeepers to content, no matter their original source.

To many audiences and readers still, the world has not altered from a content point of view and they watch the same bulletins, they read the same papers, but the delivery techniques, who buys, if they buy, and from whom, and for how long is being changed.

Journalism and for that matter the news are not any different. Why buy a newspaper when the Google aggregator or Bing app is as good, if not better than the media product you are used to, and is most likely to be apparently free! If anything the turning off of the analogue provision across Europe, and across the globe, starting from 2006, and continuing today, was this moment of symbolic change towards easier digital competition. Add to this the phenomenon of the mobile and tablets' app and you have a game-changer.

Does this mean that audiences and their television, for example, have divorced each other and all is immediately altered? No, but the period of convergent, disruptive, digital provision is now the certain future and not just a concept. The small media company *InsideClimate News*, winner of the Pulitzer prize in 2013 is indicative of a new type of digitally embedded journalism emerging in new forms with high grade results (Miller, 2013). (7)

All existing publishing, broadcasting, even the new players, are operating in a somewhat neutral technological framework ('net neutrality' is a hot topic) which is unlike anything before it. Private, public, corporate, new start-up ventures, digital industries are now 'converging' into a world not of separate television or radio or

¹⁷ The subtitle deliberately avoids using the normal media terminology of 'distribution', because the disruption is deeper, technically, in the new era and more relevant to on-demand, streaming services, and new brands and digital subscriptions, for example.

newspaper industries linked to a World Wide Web but one network of screen, video and audio, and even print development that is touching the whole of the business development of any industry let alone the media and its journalism. This has raised issues for journalists and their managers (Koch, 2008).

Does the new technology mean, in delivery terms, the role of the journalist has fundamentally changed? Again no, but the organisations, all of them, surrounding the production of journalistic products is being, and will be, heavily altered by the digital revolution: at the workplace, in the studios, in the newsagents, in accounts and archiving, in public broadcasting and private sector print, in the film industry, television programming, publishing techniques, music delivery from the end of the CD/DVD, to download to cloud streams, product development is changing. In the midst of this, and not least, this is influencing how the media structurally delivers and how journalism is read and understood.

The potential is breathtaking. No matter the genre – politics, social change, security and crime, international relations, economies, entertainment, weather, tourism, nature and the environment – the available content and data for analysis for individual and teamwork journalists is widening, increasing and transforming. New techniques have to be added to the old to make it sufficiently value-added, saleable and/or journalistically valuable. A world demanding of new subscriptions, new branding, new value, and an audience and readership which is potentially adapting to a new age.

In this heady mix, journalism is adapting and will continue to do so. Research is no longer just interviews, the archive, the library and a good nose for a story, but data research and statistics from reliable trustworthy sources. This means open data portals from government sources¹⁸, to sophisticated datasets at the World Bank, UN, OECD, and the IMF, for example, where visualisation and deeper analytical skills for developing the story on the internet/online have become widely available where previously they were difficult to access.

The changes in the delivery system, based on converging technologies, is the prime mover of this change in work practise. And although it has its challenges, it also contains the seeds of considerable opportunity for journalists in the twenty first century.

This is not the view of some. The reaction to the digital age is scattered with disappointments and industrial action which is both almost Luddite and probably short-sighted in the present economic market system. The editor of *Libération* in France and the senior editor at the *New York Times* may bear witness to those sentiments: both losing their jobs (2014) over the failure, allegedly, in part, to develop

¹⁸ Incidentally, and in parallel, these are developing rapidly in the new twenty first century political environment and is opening data for stories.

digital technology fully for their newspapers.¹⁹

The role of many public broadcasters is now more challenged than before, as tax allocation or subsidies for PBS become more difficult and scarce. Investment in online technology is expensive and usually can only be justified in terms of mass, public audiences.

This often means drawing in the popular entertainment programmers who may well have private sector provided products similar, even better, than in-house provision. The phenomenon of the award winning, acclaimed television series scheduled outside the normal public or private broadcasting channels through *Netflix*, '*Breaking Bad*' (2008-2013), after a slow start, turned into a hugely successful global product, and is indicative of changes in delivery imposing on existing media organisations relative to the now trans-national nature of the market.

Think back also to the immediate previous telephone technology and compare this now with the services on stream through cloud technology: The world of *Skype* and *Twitter* and *Facebook*, *YouTube* and *Vimeo*, and all the new competitors of similar software emerging around the world.

They exist of course in their own contexts and with their own versions, from the Russian Federation, Brazil, India and China, as well as the USA. But they are all potentially inter-linked and networked, legally or even illegally, providing for a new trans-national media landscape upon which journalism must act because their consumers are already doing so.²⁰ No matter the protestations from some, this genie will not go back into the bottle.

Patterns of consumption: changes in the consumers and their attitudes towards what they perceive/ receive/ engage with from journalism

In this sea of change what then may be curious is the steady loyalty shown by some readers and television audiences to their existing newspapers and broadcast services. Many journalists, on the back of this, have every right to criticise the doomsayers wielding too many notions of impending technological change, when in fact, consumers still look to the continued popularity of journalism and entertainment from older well known sources.

In many ways this is linked to social behaviour written into audience and market analysis, and this apparent loyalty is often linked in journalism to a key word 'trust': reliability and accuracy of reporting coupled to the partiality of the receiver of news or entertainment to a particular view. Content then is a matter of taste, and no matter the newness of the technology human behaviour remains a constant.

¹⁹ As with all these types of affairs the actual reasons for resignations or sackings was complicated: in the case of the French newspaper it was accompanied by a strike and action by staff who appeared to be against the implementation of a digitally driven plan to change the format of the newspaper; and in New York, there were, again allegedly, issues over management practise and allegedly again gender issues.

²⁰ See a more generalised view but dynamic analysis in Datamonitor, "*Evolving Consumer Landscapes: Key Socio-Demographic Trends Driving Consumer Choices*", 2013

Better the devil you know than the new might be the adage.

Of course, equally, this behaviour varies from country to country, even state to state and region from region²¹ and there is no simple trend formulae to explain the variety across the globe of reactions to technological change.

Even so, with all its generality, the trends indicate a publishing industry increasingly under financial strain and the public broadcasting system heavily competed against by private and international, cross national private and other public sector providers.

The film industry and popular sport producers have also heavily invested in television programming and these alter the balances between the older nation-based media and its associated journalism.

Most important, advertisers are transferring their allegiances to more focused marketing strategies disrupting local, national television, radio, newspaper, even general online services. This is impacting on existing media outlets.

Combined, all this means the market place, employment and career structures let alone salaries of journalists are having to adapt. It is not their journalism in many cases which is being challenged but the means by which to pay for it which is in question.

If the producers of the media industry are changing business infrastructures based on the new technology, and its delivery system is being enhanced and developed, what then is driving any fundamental change in consumption if any? Here there is real argument and no simple answer. Again it all depends on context.

Ratings and audience and reader figures, advertiser choice and public broadcasting eventually come down to citizen, consumer and market choice. And this goes to the heart of the present debate about a crisis in journalism.

It is not that journalism is unvalued but whether anybody is using it as they did previously. And if the readers and audiences are beginning to change their choices will it have an impact on the media industry and therefore its journalists?

The simple answer is yes. The technology is changing the delivery systems and the producers of the media and its journalism are adapting with major shifts within old and new providers, and almost all of this change is because of the changing contact, relationship with audiences (participants in the media discourse) be that in the public sphere or the private market place. This is happening, for some, much slower than many claim, but it remains a key driver within the media industry.

In many respects the distinction between the public sphere and the market place is also now questionable because of the digital environment. Or, at least, the distinctions have become much more blurred. What if a Twitter comment of less than 140 characters was more accurate, truthful, than that of the public broadcaster news headline? Do you believe your friend, or the Twitter message or the official statement from the State, or the original headline?

In the past, we had a clearer delineation between a public statement and personal comment, often separated in our minds, a public space and a private one. Nowadays, the personal message is often made instantly, widely public, and the public statement relies upon the private commentary.

²¹ See Kerrigan, F., Graham, G. 2010.

In the past this dichotomy, of public-private, was conveniently almost hidden, technologically, culturally, even legally but now the public space is more transparent, and the mobile phone, the internet, the software messaging, the blog and blogging, the cloud streaming, the immediacy of difference is exposed in real time and has changed the dynamic of the private and public discourse, merging them and thereby altering the media landscape as it does so (Rooke, 2009; Rooke, 2014).

The journalist's role in the past was to interpret this discourse relationship and make meaning of it, but now a lot of the message, the facts, the lies, the misinformation are made openly public and immediate and instantly visible and alters the job, even the role, of the journalist: it demands greater commentary and opinion forming rather than reporting, never losing sight of the 'trust' factor and accuracy in the process. And the question of 'trust' or 'belief' in what the journalist says has become now, in the information age, even more serious than before.

Data journalism is a perfect example of this changed dynamic. Telling stories through numbers is not new and in many publications, broadcasts and informative works, the use of statistics and visualisations have been common but are on the increase²²

Moreover almost all policy and corporate analysis demands statistical clarity and often publication. From such sources, stories can be built and the visualisations created by a journalist or more likely a journalist team, can be surprisingly valuable, exciting and useful. The Global Editors Network data journalism awards, for example, for 2013 and the prospective 2014 are full of exciting, relevant projects (8) (9). Other data work can be found in leading, international newspapers such as Guardian Datablog (10). Newsrooms around the world are taking note.

There is also the growth of what is known as 'big data' – large datasets demanding considerable computer power – which is also changing our data perception of the world including how companies but also computers and software delivery systems which are altering our perception of what is happening in society: the core of what good journalism always set out to explore (Hoffmann, 2013).

The new large-set data too are creating in themselves new insights and new journalism. The *Financial Times* took this to be such an important subject they even created their own dedicated in-depth web page in 2012 with examples of 'Big Data' use and its impact. (11) Most significantly, perhaps, the page has now been archived on the assumption that the 'newness' of the subject has been normalised into mainstream journalism. One argument one can see in the FT archive video is clear: it is the importance of the consumer in design and development and the inter-relationship between the producers, product makers and the consumer who are all treated as equal partners in the process (12).

To create data journalism means building new skillsets, for journalists and all those associated with journalism and includes web design, visualisations, some coding, in addition to the normal skills of who, what, where and when (the research) coupled to good writing and an aesthetic sense. Teamwork based on differ-

²² editorandpublisher, 'Data Journalism, January 2014.

ent skills becomes even more important. Equally, data is quickly out of date and the new pressure, in some news rooms, is to translate, understand and visualise data which is less than a year old, and preferably streamed 'live'.

Why is this happening? Because consumers and citizens alike are now becoming used to up-to-the minute, streaming knowledge sets. News, journalism, in all its forms, are like messages from friends, from groups from institutions, from media outlets, carried with and to them on their mobile and instantly accessed. Access to their universities and schoolwork, shopping reviews, let alone digital library archives²³ search engines have transformed how the consumer and the citizen adapts to, and uses, knowledge: these are sometime known as 'knowledge communities'.²⁴ The battle that some academics ranged against Wikipedia, for example, and other internet knowledge based material is lost, and remains widely used.

The riposte has been an opening up of state and other sector libraries to open access: The British Library archive access is an excellent, reasonably priced product for all types of customers.(13) The initiatives that have created European library networks, useful for research and stories, are simply stunning. (14).

New journalist-based associations such as the *European Journalist Centre (EJC)* (15) are also opening up best practice for journalists around the world and add to the already established portals such as the *World Association of Newspaper (WAN)* (16) or the *European Broadcasting Union (EBU)* (17), both of the latter tend to be top-down owner editorially focussed, rather hierarchical in structure, but who will have to adapt.

The *Neiman Foundation* (Harvard) in the USA also remains an important source for innovation and reports on the new journalism, (18) as does the *Poynter* organisation (19). There are similar organisations around the globe opening up all the time.

And what is the customer doing with all this new technology and new journalistic techniques? The reactions are plenty and most revealing. And here we have the core of a question on consumption, which when answered properly says: "It depends".

For journalism, in the end, who reads you, pays for you (directly and indirectly) is of prime importance to the journalist but also to the society he or she operates in. Customers, like citizens, in public and in private are rounded, complicated, changing, demanding, prejudice, often biased, increasingly fickle. They are held by political, social, cultural, moral, historical differences and most of all they have been handed a technology which gives them the ability to express themselves in ways unthinkable even a few decades ago.

Some see this as a threat to journalism as formerly practised and especially the existing press and broadcasting outlets. Many other journalists see this as an opportunity for even better journalism and one based on a new dialogue between them and their consumers-citizens.

Of course we have to avoid the hyperbole, the quick line, the assumed inevitability of a consumption trend analysis, when most of all the question on consump-

²³ Jasserand, C. extract from the publication *IRIS plus* 2013-5.

²⁴ See Lăzăroiu, G. 2011.

tion will end where it often does, with purchasing power and household spend: the money and the economy and affordability.

Choice too will always be personal and peoples' choices are often slower to change than many product hungry salespeople advocate. But the figures are telling and on a global scale impressive.

Concluding comment

Is there a crisis in journalism? The simple answer 'yes' is not enough. The fact is, if it can be reliably measured, and there are many caveats to over-generalised comments, change is happening in the media environment and journalism needs to change with it, but it is a fiction to say that the fundamentals of good journalism are threatened by the new age.

What the media industry is going through is a deep, disruptive change to its production process, with new providers, new innovations pushing the industries towards a converged network which is digitally orientated. This does not mean that the old broadcasting industries or the publishing world are just about to collapse, as we are in a transition period, and the variety of media across the globe means this will not happen over-night. But we are at a stage where new journalistic practices meet old and journalism has had to react within this changed environment.

Moreover, the delivery of content has been turned upside down in the digital age and with it content is beginning to change. The demands upon journalists and journalism in general means having to adapt, add new skills, new ways of presenting stories for consumers whose use of media appears to be changing. This is both a challenge and an opportunity.

On a deeper level, as we enter a more trans-national, global, internet-driven networked era, it is often assumed, almost McLuhan like, that the system itself drives a normative change to content, and we view journalism almost generically. This is, for the time being, probably wrong, although there are levels of convergence.

Journalists have in the past and will in the future work in their given contexts with a diversity of views and pressures, different financial models²⁵, mixtures of public and private provision, national and international imperatives that are complex, and which are more important, or at least determining, than the underlying universality of any given story or message.

Journalists and journalism will continue to operate within geographic or even geo-political constraints and this should not be forgotten in our view of the future of journalism, even in our analysis of the past.

Nonetheless, and bearing in mind the opportunities that new research and data journalism offer, for example, the wider platform for innovation, and new models of finance that impose themselves on the craft, the driving values of accuracy and transparency are needed as much, if not more than ever before in this new digital age.

²⁵ See Powers, E., Yaros, R. on non-profit news organisations, 2012.

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PhD Stjepan Malović,¹ full professor
Zadar (Republic of Croatia)

Mass Media – Create reality

Abstract: What is the reality in the media? Is it based on a true story, accurate data, impartially conveys facts and balanced reporting?

James Reston, American journalist, believes that a journalist must convey reality as closely as possible to the truth, but that is hardly the whole truth attainable ideal. It is important to be honest and report with the conviction that this is the best you can do as a journalist.

What is really the tragedy of Malaysian Boeing? What is the truth? Or, do we know what really is going on in Ukraine? Was really a reporter from Crimea telling the truth?

Increasingly, we see that the mass media create a new reality, portraying events in a certain light, forgetting professional standards and serving to something else, which is not either truth or reality. Instead of the reality, the reality show prevails in the media. Not only as a form of entertainment, but as a way of representing reality.

Why is it not a play of reality? Or, representation of reality? The show perhaps? Reality is not real thing, but a concoction that poses as a real thing. The show is a performance. The term indicates the unreal media format.

Everyone knows that “Survivor”, “Big Brother” and other shows are not real, that people are placed in an imaginary situation, but is seen as a reality.

The reality is hidden in asylum of news programmes, and from there runs in infotainment, and further more into a reality. So our politicians argue that copying someone else’s thesis is not punishable plagiarism because the author is not only a respected politician, but also a man of honor who was carrying his comrade for five hours on his back in order to save his life. Journalists accept this newly created reality and pass it on, never questioning whether it has anything to do with the event which is being reviewed.

No guilt until the court proves it, no corruption, audio tracks are not valid, just because political party leaders do not accept the reality and convey it to the general public and mass media blindly transfer this well played reality show.

So, the election results are in this reality show turned into something other than the will of the voters. We choose one, and in the parliamentary benches someone else is sat.

Eco suggests that the political scene is not real, but a reality, thanks to the mediatization of politics, and thus reality.

Key words: *mass communication, mass media, journalists truthfully reporting, creating reality*

¹ E-mail: stjepan.malovic@zgt-com.hr

dr Stjepan Malović, redovni profesor
Zadar (Republika Hrvatska)

Masovni mediji - Stvaranje stvarnosti

Apstrakt: Što je stvarnost u medijima? Je li ona temeljena na istinitom događaju, točnim podacima, nepristrano prenesenim činjenicama i uravnoteženom izvještavanju?

James Reston, američki novinar, smatra da novinar mora prenijeti stvarnost što je moguće bliže istini, ali da je puna istina teško dokučiv ideal. Važno je biti pošten i izvještavati s uvjerenjem da je to najbolje što novinar može.

Što je stvarno u tragediji malezijskog boeinga? Što je istina? Ili, znamo li zaista što se događa u Ukrajini? Je li zaista izvjestitelj s Krima govorio istinu?

Sve češće uočavamo da masovni mediji stvaraju jednu novu stvarnost, prikazujući događaje u nekom svom svijetlu, zaboravljajući profesionalne standarde i služeći nečem drugom, što nije ni stvarnost ni istina. Umjesto stvarnosti u medijima prevladava reality show. Ne samo kao oblik zabave, već kao način prikazivanja stvarnosti.

Zašto to nije igrokaz stvarnosti? Ili, prikaz stvarnosti? Predstava možda? Reality nije stvarnost, već izmišljotina koja glumi stvarnost. Show je predstava. Termin ukazuje na nestvarnu medijsku formu.

Svi znaju da "Survivor", "Big brother" i ostali nisu stvarni, da su ljudi stavljeni u izmišljenu situaciju, ali se doživljava kao reality.

Stvarnost se sakrila u azil informativnih programa, ali i odonuda bježi u infotainment, a sve češće u reality. Pa, tako nas političari uvjeravaju da prepisivanje tuđeg diplomskog rada nije kažnjivi plagijat, jer je autor ne samo ugledan političar, već i častan čovjek koji je svog ratnog druga pet sati nosio na leđima da mu spasi život. Novinari prihvaćaju tu novokreiranu stvarnost i prenose je dalje, ne propitujući da li to ima bilo kakve veze s događajem kojeg preispituju.

Krivnje nema dok se sudski ne dokaže, korupcije nema, audio zapisi ne vrijeđaju, samo zato jer vrh stranke ne prihvaća stvarnost i to prenosi u javnost, a masovni mediji slijepo prenose ovaj dobro odigrani reality show.

Rezultati izbora se tako u ovakvom reality showu pretvaraju u nešto drugo od volje birača. Biramo jedne, a u parlamentarne klupe sjedaju drugi.

Eco ukazuje da politička scena nije stvarna, već reality, zahvaljujući medijalizaciji politike, pa time i stvarnosti.

Ključne riječi: *masovno komuniciranje, masovni mediji, novinari, istinito izvještavanje, stvaranje stvarnosti*

Introduction

Do we know what is happening around us? No, do not answer that you are informed by the media, but think about it, do you really know what is really going on around you?

Do you know what happened to the Malaysian plane? Disappeared with no trace? Is that possible in this present, globalized and controlled world? Maybe it is, but are you really satisfied with the information you receive?

And what is happening in Ukraine? Or, in your immediate neighbourhood?

Today's globalized media swamp us every second with bunch of information, and the subjective impression of consumers of media is that they never knew less about what is going on in the world.

If you go in life we confront situations that are unknown to us from the media, on which journalists do not report. And people are saying something completely different than what we hear on the almighty TV screens.

Almost as if the media create their own parallel reality. Is this possible?

An increasing number of media theorists warned on a new occurrence unknown to the media until now, and that is creating a totally different reality, as if our news programmes and informative programmes have become a kind of reality show, in which the roles are the pre-casted and everything that the media provide is only a well orchestrated performance.

What are media doing to us

Croatia is shaken by series of trials of former Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, once the most powerful man in the country, a very prominent leader in regional and even European context. One of the trials is for accepting bribes in selling domestic oil company INA to Hungary's MOL. The media have reported extensively on the case, but only after the justice department initiated proceedings. The footage from surveillance cameras in a Zagreb elite restaurant, which shows that Sanader gives a piece of paper across the table to Zsolt Hernady, CEO of MOL, and Hernady writes something and returns a piece of paper to Sanader, is published in all media as the ultimate proof of a bribery, because the on a piece of paper, apparently, is written a sum of a bribe.

Croatian authorities were asking Hernady to testify, and issued an international arrest warrant for him. But nothing happened, since Hernadyj was not to be found when, suddenly, a global TV station interviewed Zsolt Hernadyj, who reveals some new, unknown and surprising information about Ivo Sanader trial for bribery. All media released it bombastically, or as it is said today as *breaking news*, but only the Zagreb *Jutarnji list* of 07. April 2014. as the main information about the incident stated that Hernady in the picture that was posted on Interpol's warrant for them had – a Croatian tie!

Neither bribes nor charges against the main witness Ježić, nor that he wrote to Sanader on a piece of paper a phone number of one of Hungary's public employees, rather than the amount of offered bribes – none of that. Tie! "Important" information that sheds light on all of the complex relationships in the one of the biggest scandals in Croatian politics. Why is the tie important? Because, and this is very well known fact, the tie was invented by Croats and this is a great sign of patriotism. Editor and journalist have decided that a tie is the most important element of the event, because it averts the attention from the really important issue. They are creating a new reality.

Well, the sceptics will say, the usual manipulations to which we are accustomed to in the media, but not a creation of new kind of reality. Readers of *Jutarnji* will not say anything, for if it is their only source of information, then they only know that Hernady has got a Croatian tie.

The second example: editor of public TV² station interviews leading opposition politician who, unprovoked, proudly asserted that his party has such an economic program that will pull the country out of a deep economic crisis. Viewers remain astonished, because the party was not exactly praised when it was the ruling party and expect from the editor to uncover such self-commendation by asking him the tricky questions. But nothing will happen. Editor bows his/her head, stares at the paper in front of him/her and happily finds the following question that was pre-written, and he/she proudly reads it. Of course, it had nothing to do with guided conversation.

Is that the journalistic incompetence of editor of such rank or is it creating of new reality? The truth and facts to such reporters and editors are not in the foreground, but creating something that has nothing to do with reality.

The third example: France, the Left lost the local elections by a large margin, the Right wing has exulted, and there have been inevitable comparisons with the position of Croatian politician who is rapidly losing popularity. Indicative information was that French voters ignored the election, and that the turnout to the polls was very low. And it is an analogy with the Croatian elections. Jean-Marc Ayrault, the French prime minister, without hesitation resigns because he feels responsible. As a reminder, these are local elections, which have nothing to do with parliament. Nevertheless, the prime minister resigns, so does a large part of the cabinet, in a word, a break in the French political scene.

One of the commentators, Hall Gardner, professor of political science at the American University of Paris, says: "...a record low voter turnout and weak support to socialist candidates is clear message of voters to Holland³ that he must change the cabinet and stir his ranks"⁴

² We do not mention the details, because such examples occur every day, so there is no point to choose only one

³ Francois Hollande, president of France and socialist politician

⁴ Gardner, H, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/31/french-prime-minister-resigns_n_5063387.html, visited on 28. April 2014.

Editors of regional media have regularly ignored this analysis of low voter turnout, because it drastically changes the awareness of the reality of going to the polls. Regional media, faced with a weak turnout, regularly foist blame on a low awareness of people who do not understand democracy, or if it was a good weather, so people barbecued, or if it was raining, so the voters do not feel like going out and such things. Nobody wants to say, "The emperor is naked," that voters actually sent the message that they do not want to play anymore parliamentary democracy in the Balkans way, and that this is the boycott. In France, they immediately recognized it, learn lessons and tried new political measures in order to restore confidence.

Not in our country. The media do not even want to report about the French elections, because in self-censored heads of editors and journalists that information brings the reality of political life in a global democracy, and that is neither an objective, nor the means for us so let's not burden the media auditorium with superfluous and confusing data.

The role of media

The role of media and journalism is to provide us answers to these questions, doubts and concerns. Responsible journalism is not going to deal with Zsolt Hernady's tie, and the disappearance of the Malaysian aircraft will be illuminated from all possible, but the relevant sources. And no, it will not ignore the message of voters in French local elections.

What is the role of the media and journalists in reporting? What is the reality in the media? Media theorists are not in doubt. W. Lance Bennett, one of the leading American and international scholars, who began working as a journalist, says the following:

"The reality given to us by the media very clearly defines the boundaries of what we think we are in the world as people and what we think we do in this world" (Bennett, 1988:14).

Nothing less, nothing more. Determination of reality does not involve creating a new reality.

Journalist view is not much different. James Reston, a long-time leader of the New York Times bureau in Washington, highlights essential qualities of journalists/reporters: "First, sincere belief that the obligation of journalists to report as accurately as possible. If he/she considers it for his/her duty, then he/she may be believed. Second, appreciate the difficulties of work and the importance of the presented topics for people. Third is the recognition of deeper meanings of news" (Mencher, 1977:15).

Reston knows that it is difficult to report completely accurately, but he wants to do it as accurately as possible. A journalist who holds this *credo* is worthy of our trust. A journalist who conceals or gives us only partial information is not worth of our confidence. It is crucial to establish the credibility of the media. A journalist who recognizes the importance of topics for people can also enjoy our confidence.

It is not a journalist who finds the fact Hernady wears Croatian tie important, but a journalist who will give us as accurately as possible whether the Croatian prime minister is bribed. It is also a journalist who recognizes the implications of the news and knows to properly judge the importance of analysis of reputable political scientists and its possible implication in their own environment.

Mediatisation of politics

Renowned Italian scientist and writer Umberto Eco, brilliantly analyzed the contemporary democracy, politicians like Berlusconi - and they are all around us, just look around you – and media populism.

Eco in his humorous, but very sharp analysis of contemporary political life and role, or rather the use of the media, concludes: “...We cannot help but think that the Roman democracy began to die when its politicians realized that programmes should not be taken seriously into account, but only need to be thought of as to look as likeable to its (shall we say?) television audience” (Eco, 2010:149).

And, that’s it. All that was characteristic of political life, the programmes of the parties, the vision of statesmen, the struggle for a better world or life, and all other decorative attributes of democracy disappear before what is important now: to be likeable to its audience.

Eco only confirmed a long time known fact about creating a good impression in politics. The first TV debate of presidential candidates in the United States was held by Nixon and Kennedy, who, according to the unanimous scores, left a better impression, responded eloquently, and, yes, was better looking!

Since then, generations of *spin doctors* successfully have been convincing – and have convinced – politicians that good choice of a tie is better than a good attitude about renewable energy!

Some new criteria and new scales of values that are accepted by contemporary media as its *modus Vivendi* are imposed.

A little by little, sensationalism crawled into globalized media corporations, newspaper have become more tabloid than ever, it does not matter if we have confirmation of the news from two independent sources, and the audience must attract as more as possible number of advertisers. Soon the media is adjusted to taste of advertisers and their understanding of reality.

Ads that have flooded the media discovered to the publishers the real strength of the media: they are carriers of ads. If someone wants to increase sales of toilet paper and invests huge sum of money and creative energy into a promotional campaign for toilet paper, which suddenly starts to sell well thanks to the publicity, why not make these methods applicable to other contents? And, why the method of promotion campaigns should not be applied to matters which were previously created by journalists, more or less respectful for the principles of professional and ethical standards?

Is the trial of former Croatian prime minister not followed as a campaign of creating the image on a new product? Is Hernady's tie not similar to commercial that tells you all the spots are best cleaned with just this very miraculous detergent? Is the reporting of missing Malaysian plane not like some *soap opera* or *telenovela*, where the new characters and plotlines are inserted the moment audience's attention subsides? It does not matter if they're well thought out conspiracy theories, semi information or solid data of some prophetess. The important thing is whether this event will be devoted attention or will it be archived as a media uninteresting.

The power of *reality show*

The media, then, once again discovered that they draw strength best from their own content. If so, then the media content should be tailored to their needs, desires and intentions. Facts are no longer important, because we are satisfied by the news from PR sources, and programme content must be attractive to viewers. This definitely gives a whole new meaning to factual programming.

Fictional content such as *films*, *soap operas*, *telenovelas*, and *shows* are the backbone of the entertainment program. These contents are unambiguous and do not pretend to replace reality. It is entertainment done according to laws made by commercial films and series, and entertainment programming.

TV stations pay great attention to the entertainment programme. That is their backbone and a lure for viewers. One part of the programme can be purchased from major world producers, such as Hollywood and Bollywood, and in the last decades of the Mexican, Brazilian, Spanish and Turkish production companies. But the regional TVs are becoming increasingly important producers of films that are produced so that they can be broadcast as a TV series, so its production attracts viewers who want their own topics, actors and scenery. Regional TV producers model to the Latin American *telenovela* producers, and are, more or less successfully, try their hand in the production of local soap operas, some of which have become real hits. Given the fact that the market is small, then the regional image is created, and in the Croatian series one or two leading characters are from Serbia or Montenegro, and in the distribution of roles popular actor or actress from neighbouring countries is in the cast, in order to ensure viewership across the border. TV business breaks all boundaries, including ideological, and does it very successfully.

Sport has its undisputed place, by the fact that the leaders of the commercial sports fully accept the rules of entertainment in contemporary media. Large sporting events have become the first-class media facilities, and from the Olympics to the Champions League they have their audience, and thus a significant place in the programming in all media.

The news programme, in the broadest sense of the word, which includes news and interviews, discussions, analyzes, commentaries, documentaries and similar facilities have longest resisted commercialism.

Any adjustments of the content and the introduction of some new value were made somewhat difficult by very strict journalistic standards.

Therefore, the journalistic standards are changing; sensationalism is introduced, gossip from the world of *show business*, VIP, starlets and such is imposed as a value. The news production strongly includes *public relations*, which supplies media with juicy reports. If there aren't any, you can always invent something, so it's not hard to make a *pseudo event*, tiny little adultery or irrelevant argument. In that manner the methods of presentation are adjusted and "merry" programs on radio and TV are created, in newspapers switching to small format that submits big headlines and photos which cannot tolerate long text is also being made. Web portals are eagerly accepted, so the presentation of informative content has undergone crucial changes.

But that was not enough. Journalistic standards needed to be neglected. Instead of serious life content, the attention should be directed to the junk events. Sensations by themselves were not enough, because they are visible and identifiable. *Pseudo events* are often very transparent, so the audience does not believe that the information of the popular singer and star athlete that suddenly found each other in love on the sandy shores of the lonely tropical island is true, and, quite by accident, in front of numerous lenses of the *paparazzi*.

Reality has become a problem. Do we really have a serious report on the summit of the seven leading countries of the world? Is it really important to our consumers what conclusions have they made, when it already means nothing to us. Is it not better to inform as what did the world leaders eat at the dinner table and what wine did they drink? And, if at that Berlusconi blurts out something on account of Merkel, or a "funny" remark that Obama has tanned really nice, what more do you need for *breaking news*.

And so the media, little by little, began to change reality. The creation of a new reality is learned from the new form, which gripped the TV screens: a *reality show*.

The new form of entertainment content revolutionized the media perception of reality. The formula is simple: a group of real people is put in an unusual situation, shut down for a while and everything that happens is recorded. These people do not act, they are real, not fictional characters as in some *telenovela*, and are often known to the general public (celebrities). In this new reality – that is quite unrealistic: farm or a fictional house – participants develop relations, and the audience is watching them through the "keyhole" of their TV screen. Their drama in a glass of water, creating new relationships, love, friendship and strife, show the worst side of character and very similar life situations hold audiences riveted to the screen.

The basic message is that everyone knows that this is a fictional situation, that relations are fake, but the illusion of reality pushes it all into the background. *Show* becomes a reality. *Reality show*.

The name itself says it all about this form of modern media. For all non-English languages the original name is retained: *reality show*.

Why it is not the play of reality? Or view of reality? *Reality show* is not reality, but a concoction that plays a reality. The *show* is a performance. The term indicates the unreal media format. Everyone knows that *Survivor*, *Big Brother* and the others are not real, that people are placed in an imaginary situation, but is seen as a real thing, although they are *reality*.

Many critics of the *reality shows* objected most to the use of the term *reality* (Wikipedia, 2014).

The biggest complaint refers to it as a television *reality show* it is not a reality, but it is created according to the laws of entertainment media, such as *soap operas*.

Such media content is taking the right to show the reality to its ideas. Great objections that are very frequent are the occurrence that anonymous people are turned to the stars, although it does not have any base, except that the force of the *show* itself turns them into a star.

However, the formula has been successful and has gripped the world's media. This successfully changed the perception of consumers of media on the news program, which is still the only one that respected the facts. Which facts, ask the managers and producers who have taken the role of editors in the media. Is the fact that one of the characters of the *reality show* shared caresses under the duvet in a recent episode of the *reality show* is not real? A viewership is skyrocketing.

Commercialized media, in which the merchantability is crucial for attracting advertisers, can no longer afford the luxury of serious journalism, which is interested only in a small percentage of consumers. It is still possible in large markets, where the small percentage of people who are looking for serious media content is large enough to maintain the market. But they, one by one, are decaying. Counting has become the main criterion of success of the media: the number of copies sold, the number of listeners and viewers and *clicks (hits)* on the Internet. Those *clicks (hits)* "prove" how easy it is to determine the quality of the content. Number of *hits* on the *news portal* has become a measure of success. The journalists, whose contributions do not have enough *clicks (hits)*, are deemed bad. It sounds paradoxically that one journalist of Croatian news portal asked friends to *click* on her texts, which were "boring" to other consumers. And, suddenly she became *the most clicked one*. Publisher was happy until it was revealed how this *clicking* is happening, so he fired her. Nonsense, were not the basic criteria the *clicks*, and that she was making them?

And, suddenly, instead of the reality, the media are dominated by the logic of *reality show*. Media consumers have begun to lose track of what is real, what is the artistic product, and what is created reality to the idea of media moguls. We came to a *catch-as-can* syndrome, where two giants "kill" each other in the ring. The crowd is going crazy, and they, alive and well, walked off to have a beer. The main thing was to make sure that the *show* was good and that the illusion of reality was achieved.

Media populism

The actual reality remained in the shelter of news programs, and from there escapes into *infotainment*, and more often into *reality*. Well, that kind of rewriting does not exist until the court proves otherwise, no corruption, audio tracks are not valid just because party leaders do not accept the reality.

The election results in the *reality show* are turned into something other than the will of the voters, and people who are voted for the Parliament are not the representatives, but become ministers, and we, the voters, are represented by someone totally unknown to us. Political *reality shows* are so developed that they can change the Prime Ministers, and they did not pass genuine electoral process, as it is happening in Italy.

Eco called this creating a reality “a mediatisation of politics” and explained it very clearly (Eco, 2010). The political scene is not real, but a *reality*, thanks to the mediatisation. Berlusconi is a grandmaster of media populism, which is not surprising, because he first became a media mogul, and only after that the politician and president of the Italian government and one of the most powerful Italian, and the world’s politicians. Media populism is far more efficient than the former censorship and manipulation of the media that has demonized political opponents and/or did not give them access to the media.

Quite the contrary. Political opponents should be given to the possibility of public appearances, but so that the audience gets an imaginary reality, not actual reality. Eco explains this in the example of parliamentary debate. Berlusconi – or any political leader – experience criticism in parliament and opposition critically destroy his proposal of new measures. The reports do not keep the statements of opposition quiet, but start with these statements, but then comes the explanation of the government in the report, which make the opposition criticism relative. The impression of the audience was clearly on the side of the government, because we believe the one who has the last word. And, we are outraged that our government was attacked by some dorks.

The media thus create a reality in much more serious level than a *reality show*. In realizing of that concept of media creativity highly sophisticated instruments are used, such as *Eye tracking*. It is a device, similar to some large glasses, that respondent put on your face and that measures what the person will first look. On the monitor of the *Eye tracking* something is broadcasted, say an advertisement. Device measured in bits per second at which part of the ad fell the view of respondents, how long did it stay in that position and what he viewed next. In this way, one can very accurately measure the elements of ads that are commercially most valuable. *Eye tracking*, according to research by Anita Jeličić in her doctoral thesis, establishes the importance of visual elements for the perception of advertisements (Jeličić, 2010).

Slobodan Hadžić in his Ph.D. thesis went a step further in the study of how *eye tracking* can influence the content of newspapers. He analyzed how newspaper

readers perceive newspaper page and what they noticed first, and in which texts readers tend to spend the most time. By changing the position of newspaper articles on the page, he managed to achieve a better insight contribution, and therefore have a greater impact on the reader. This means that a skilled editor, using this device, can arrange a newspaper page to “sell” the reader the text he/she wants. Experienced editors will confirm this, as they came to a similar conclusion without *Eye tracking*, but personal experience.

What do the creators of reality say

How do journalists, opinion leaders, people who hold in their hands the media system, see at the role of journalism, and do they think that they are creating a new reality? Let's use the attitudes of some of the most influential Croatian editors said in a panel discussion on the topic “Is the true journalism dead?”, which was held as part of the Weekend Media Festival, which gathered about two thousand participants from across the region in Rovinj 2010.

Mladen Pleše, former chief editor of *Jutarnji list*, which he led for eight years, and before that he was editor of a number of prominent newspapers, believes that “...print journalism is in a different position from other media, and it is in great transition. Print journalism cannot live on the news because it is no longer part of the newspaper, but must make its own goods.” So the chief editor of daily newspapers, one of the most influential in Croatia, creates its own goods. That's why Hernady's tie is so important.⁵

Newspaper report – do we trust it – did not mention someone refuted this view. Indeed, Milan Ivkošić from *Večernji list* wondered if there ever was a real journalism to die in the first place. – “There is as much real journalism as there are real authors” – said Ivkošić.⁶

And when we say “the author journalism”, it means that the reporter promotes a particular idea. In practice, it is usually a strong centre of power, or some ideology. Own goods and own opinion results in a new reality, in which the media impose some of its views and ideas, camouflaged as information.

How far is it from Reston understanding of journalism, but completely in line with the development of mass media and journalism in general.

The theory has long observed that

This trend of journalism and mass media development, worldwide science of mass communication and mass media has noted and scientifically researched and studied.

Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, have developed a theory called *Propaganda model*, which purpose is to explain the behaviour of the mass media. The

⁵ Pleše, <http://www.jutarnji.hr>

⁶ <http://www.jutarnji.hr>

propaganda model is published in the book “Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media” and was published back in 1988.

Andrew Mullen and Jeffery Klaehn from Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne and the University of Strathclyde analyzed the propaganda model and concluded: “In terms of its application, mainly by those working within the aforementioned tradition, the PM is one of the most tested models within the social sciences. However, it has received very little attention within the mainstream media and communication studies, sociology or the wider social sciences. Although the model is one of those mostly tested by sociologists, the leading mass media and communication science was almost withheld” (Mullen, Klaehn, 2011).

Herman and Chomsky believe that the media “...decide what the general population is allowed to see, hear and think and that media “shape” public opinion by regular propaganda campaigns... action of media systems is in serious conflict with reality” (Mullen, Klaehn, 2011).

Soon this critical look at the role of the mass media was enriched with new authors, including the famous Michael Parenti, who in his book *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media* was very critical of the media actions, and he described specific examples of events that have stirred public worldwide.

What is truth to what the news media serve as news? Who controls our understanding of the world? Asks Michael Parenti, and he passionately, and for some – controversially – criticizes media exploring how they influence and manipulate public perception of reality.

Shirley Lendvay in his review of Parenti’s work says that he points to an important role of the media to be in the service of distribution of the image and the reality of an ideology, using symbolic environment and limiting political understanding and discussion. Thus, according to Parenti, moral panic or “rational hysteria” is produced. And, when one network is set, all scapegoats are hopelessly caught (Lendvay, 2010).

Conclusion

Creating reality in the media is not far-fetched theory of an idle scientists, nor is the plot of a science fiction book, and much less another conspiracy theory. Modern media consumers are faced with the fact that they really do not know what reality is and what really happens in the world.

Rare journalistic oasis that still comply with professional standards, are bitterly faced with a growing wave of *reality shows* who rules the modern world. True, accurate, fair, impartial and balanced information in such an environment has no chance of survival, it becomes boring anachronism and cannot withstand the race in a competition with an interesting, easily acceptable reality created by similarly to the *reality show*.

Is there a way out? Does journalism have a force to become the fourth power yet again, to restore media freedom and ensure itself independence?

Judging by global trends, especially to our reality, it is difficult. The only possible way out is to strengthen the public, which will seek ways and means to be informed in order to make decisions in accordance with democratic social order. And that, looking at our reality, is only the idyllic notion of mass communication theorists.

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PhD Neda Todorović, full professor
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Media tabloidization and the populism

Abstract: Defined as media products of the lowest denominator, tabloids are being created only to make profit. Current politicisation of modern tabloids is relatively new phenomenon: serving to political structures, they encourage populism. By detecting three phases of tabloidization of the media in this region (seventies in XX century, nineties in XX century and first decade of XXI century) the author points out to the correlation of tabloidization and populism that results in new socialization. In this process, tabloids, teletabloids and tabloid formats are replacing the traditional institutions – family, school and church. Celebrities and celetoids (examples of one-time popularity) became new identification objects and new roles models. The consequence is that we have new generations raised on the content of such a media culture, who do not make a difference between the incompatible categories such are the elite and the show business. Applying the method of content analysis in the three periods with tabloidization characteristics and with the comparison of social effects this causes, the author treats the chameleonic nature of the tabloids underling its tendency to transform the news from goods to a service. Concluding that in both the tabloid “ethics” and editorial policy, political and market management are being interlinked, the author indicates to the fact that such processes are in parallel followed by dying middle class and backwardness of the society in transition in which half of its population is functionally illiterate, disoriented and without any perspective. Populism-oriented journalism, under the illusion that it acts in the interest of a small, ordinary man, is radicalizing the society that goes backwards for decades when compared to the EU role models to which it looks upon.

Key words: *tabloids, populism, media culture, socialization, celetoids*

dr Neda Todorović, redovni profesor
Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Medijska tabloidizacija i populizam

Apstrakt: Definisani kao medijski produkti najnižeg imenitelja, tabloidi se stvaraju isključivo radi profita. Aktuelna politizacija modernih tabloida relativno je nov fenomen: stavljajući se u službu političkih struktura, oni podstiču populizam. Detektujući tri etape u tabloidizaciji medija na ovim prostorima (sedmadesete godine XX veka, devedesete godine XX veka i gotovo decenija i po XXI), autorka ukazuje na međuzavisnost tabloidizacije i populizma koja rezultira novom socijalizacijom.

U tom procesu tabloidi, teletabloidi i tabloidni formati zamenjuju tradicionalne institucije - porodicu, školu i crkvu. Slavne ličnosti i celetoidi (primeri jednokratne popularnosti) postaju novi modeli identifikacije i novi uzori ponašanja. Posledica je da su stasale generacije vaspitane na sadržajima takve medijske kulture koje ne prave razliku između nespojivih kategorija elite i estrade.

Koristeći metode analize sadržaja medija u tri karakteristične etape tabloidizacije i komparacije socijalnih efekata koje ona proizvodi, autorka se bavi kameleonskom prirodom tabloida ukazujući na tendenciju da vest od robe prerasta u uslugu. Zaključujući da se u tabloidnoj "etici" i uređivačkoj politici prožimaju političko i tržišno upravljanje, autorka ukazuje na činjenicu da se ti procesi dešavaju paralelno sa umiranjem srednjeg sloja i zaostalošću tranzicionog društva u kome je polovina stanovništva funkcionalno nepismena, dezorijentisana i besperspektivna. Populistički orijentisano novinarstvo, pod prividom da deluje u interesu malog, običnog čoveka, radikalizuje društvo koje već decenijama nazaduje u odnosu na uzore iz EU kojima teži.

Ključne reči: tabloidi, populizam, medijska kultura, socijalizacija, celetoidi

Tabloidization

There are many definitions of the term tabloid. This term is most often implied the American daily press arose between the two wars that the lower price, smaller format, sensational contents (a little bit under the politics but an exclamation mark) and the form of short texts under strikingly large headlines and plenty of photos insisted on the popular, accessible to everyone editorial formula near ordinary man. Addressing the growing, employed audiences large cities, which had less free time and where the top side and distant cultures, these leaves attain a high circulation and become a serious competitor to quality daily newspapers that are in rival ship with new electronic media hardly fought to retain the previous auditorium. Relationship tabloids as popular creations by quality newspapers of that time was similar between the mass culture to the elite.

History of tabloid journalism is far longer than they used the term established in the twentieth century: its elements already existed in the sixteenth century Venetian Gazette whose pamphletic and popular character testified to the aspirations of the owner, and a printer to attract and have fun the audience amused. Even before the emergence of printed newspapers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sensationalist style of writing adopted by the vibrancy of oral, entertaining narrative so it could be concluded that the "tabloid story telling people about the original, the original form of journalism and that is what we now call 'serious' journalism has developed in response to the class differences and different needs" (Atkinson, 2003:321).

The relation between the tabloid and populist (democratic) was immediately established and understanding of journalism as an activity whose laborers tend to higher goals towards informing, socialization and education - has developed much later. Nowadays tabloid is less convenient, compact format and much more on the content of (which is dominated by) human interest¹ was treated to a sensational and melodramatic way and whose authors use the simpler forms of journalistic expression, very often hybrid, such as soft news (interesting), features, reports, as a rule richly illustrated graphically and strikingly emphasized, playful.

In the recent history of journalism method expressed tabloidization mark the global five characteristic periods although it is not far from the truth either conclusion that every form of journalism is only form in popular culture (Allan, 2004), in which there are elements of the tabloid: penny press of the thirties of the nineteenth century; the golden era of journalistic press magnates of the late nineteenth century; Jazz "age" twenties of the twentieth century at the time of establishing the radio; Sixties and seventies of the twentieth century during the expansion of television; the end of XXth and beginning of XXIst century - the period of the new, the Great Depression and the boom of new media, the internet.

¹ HI - stories about people, specific cases, peep into privacy

Three stages

Three periods are characterized by the development of entertainment phenomenon of the press in Serbia during the four and a half decades since the last third of the twentieth century to the present. The seventies of the twentieth century; nineties of XX and beginning of XXI century; and the current decade post journalism of the XXIst century. The master's thesis "Phenomenon trash in the entertainment press (content analysis sheets entertainment contents such as 'Čik' and 'Adam i Eva' in Serbia in the period 1971-1974.)" (Todorović, 1977) the author has presented the original classification of contents trash (sex, erotica, pornography, crime, crime sex and crime team, uncomprehensible appearance and unbelievable events, HI, (known showbiz personalities), sportsmen, managers, - Olympians and their private lives are exposed to "public" violence and finally contact headings as a substitute for institutions that citizens did not offer right assistance, investigating modalities of application of sensational to the communicated contents. A comparative approach was used to point out what extent is analyzed local entertainment press was just an echo of the world press of the same orientation, so-called. Western models, but also to determine which were its original characteristics caused by Yugoslav specific social, economic, political and cultural events. Half of the sixties time is that, after decades of rapid reconstruction characterized by economic prosperity marked by transformations in the rural industrial urban civilization, problem caused by the influx of unqualified peasants in the cities, a higher general standard of living, offer mass-produced goods. Printed by the contents divided into ideologically informative political as well as commercial entertaining revue.

In the period from 1966th to 1972nd year, in response to a drab uptight press one party Yugoslav society, it was appeared a specific type of show periodicals whose part defined by the common term - the trash. Although the facilities that could fall into this category under the guise of decency infiltrated and family fun illustrated periodicals, the so-called magazines for men openly announced new "freedom" longing the survival of some smaller press agencies ("Jež", "Duga") which are standard editions indices a decline in circulation. Then in Belgrade arose "Adam i Eva", "Magazin za muškarce", "Čik". "Adam i Eva" in 1971 was reached circulation of 200,000 copies, "Čik" of 276,000 copies too! For the first time it was clear in the era of self-managing socialism that the goals of the magazines, comics, exclusively commercial - profits, including extra profit. Insufficiently educated consumers, new citizens, mainly young, did not gain clear criteria imposed on the (non) values. Evening first press aggressively respond to the new medium of television and to the "needs" readers for faster and shorter information by jokes humor, feulltons, comics, pictures of naked girls, gossip, disasters, crime - under the catchy headlines. These contents and such presentations in the latter revue newspapers become dominant, overt alibi to the topics first "serious" parts of newspapers, and phenomenon highlighted commercialization was explain with the openness socialistic society which receives the characteristics of the market. At the

beginning these sheets were kind of valves that were further ensured by strength ideological discipline.

At a time of great progress of society, in 1971. the analysis of the "Čik" contents indicates that most of the space was devoted to "celebrities", in the second place there were the "contact sections", the third "sex and pornography". The third content is, however, appeared as a spice previous topics, just like everyone else. Practically, sex and pornography are the dominant materials. In fourth place there was science fiction, the fifth violence and crime at the end of a strange, supernatural events (Todorović, 2006). The lively graphics formulas, a lot of photos, big headlines that did not always correspond to the content of the texts which were strictly attract readers were fed up with gray informative political press.

Sexually theme that was justified by primarily young audience for information about sex life and sexual education. Cheap editions with color pictures bare imported beauties replaced the authentic response to the real needs of commercial and pseudo products that were ready to occupy the empty space. It was obviously their production was in accordance with Marxian theory began to generate power by encouraging the consumers need for products that created and how they were spending and the very tendency towards consumption. Looking for motives of costumers' for the press came to the question of value systems appeared, as well as needs and it was stated that at that stage of need for trash began to equalize with the needs for entertainment content in general. Addressing primarily younger and lower educated population groups, using street slang and non-literary language, the press formed a new reader who was less critical than the reader quality newspapers approached to the offered contents. When the press began shyly to criticize quasi social values started to touch the ideological sphere, it created its own picture of the world and the sex ratio, a measure was in 1972. Legislative year technical offensives which were taxed so incriminating publications. "Trash" as it is either abolished or forced to change content types and names. However, the trash has never been uprooted because it is transformed into chameleons quickly adapted to every age and every community in which they exist.

The nineties of XX and beginning of XXI century (till 2006th years) with a turning point that occurred in 2000th year, the specific time period in the history of Serbian society, which first began to be called the tabloid. The wars, the collapse of the state, changes in the social order, during the prolonged crisis all spheres of social life from across the political culture to the media, the era of brutal transition and poverty have brought to the specific type of tabloids that are in addition to the common features of the genre and had a specificity resulting from the unique social and historical situations. The crises established a division to achieve quality and made popular press surprised. The first is expensive, requires effort to decode complex texts, unattractive and inaccessible to the extra educated, and poorly educated people. It becomes circulated marginal then It has appeared one subcategory - achieve quality - popular daily and periodical press or half tabloids ("Blic", "Glas", "Evropa", "Standard"), which is compared to the first, high-quality, powerful market oriented

and does not hesitate to content deals with the sensationalist, tabloid manner which has brought significant circulation dailies. Third, tabloid print (“Svet”, “Zona sumraka”, “Čudo”, “Kurir”, “Pres”, “Skandal”, “Nacional”, “Svedok”, “Balkan”, “Identitet”, “Revija 92”...), achieved in some cases, high circulation and has had a bigger influence on people than its “serious” competitors. The world, for example, had a larger circulation than all of Belgrade’s political weeklies together proving the hypothesis that popularity is more cost-effective than “elitism”. The differences among the analyzed species of the press are evident if we compare their distinctions in advocating for certain values, in the form of address, style and language, as well as the kind of readership that they address (Allan, *ibidem*).

The most significant difference between the so-called quality-press and tabloids rests on a different approach to information of which the profession is expected to respond to requests for known actuality, importance and curiosity seeking truthfulness and ethics. A third of characteristics of information, fun, was used in print quality as a spice whose function was to make the communication difficult, complex, demanding content easy. At a time when high-quality print circulation dropping in competition with the Internet as a medium primarily for young, and it was in some segments tabloid clothing information in attractive attire and infotainment. Tabloids amused and informed “light” activities less subject to the requirements of truthfulness and ethics. These examples are called new manipulations which are largely based on falsehood, which points out the low instincts and that holds the attention of the public is very short, only until the next profitable untruths. Internal research conducted for the purposes of the editorial board of “Zona sumraka” has shown that this magazine that the largest part of the content has based on a naive constructions and half sementific theories mostly bought by facile housewives, pensioners and naive high schoolchildren. The tabloids public and private spheres have changed their places so HI has been personalized, softened news with interesting elements of the individual, personal case and dominant experiences. Before 2000 year, some tabloids second phase have started to be politicized unlike foreign models whose owners insists on apolitical except when it has come to intimate lives and financial fraud of politicians and crowned heads (Todorović, *ibidem*).

The question is why the Serbian tabloids recent time to have been fascinated by politics and politicians, and why are classic tabloid topics (sex, showbiz, crime, gossip) is moved from the front and top side in the second, lighter part of the magazine. Part of the answer lies in the fact that it is a huge difference in the experience of the citizens of Serbia in the recent history of the survivors are in relation to the citizens of Europe and USA. The absolute ruler’s regime, the bombing of the country, unemployment, the collapse of the state and the institutions of the system, the decline of standards and education, the mass influx of refugees, the decline of the general cultural level of media interest in turning to private political scene. From the political actors are expected solutions existential problems of the citizens, seeking to be able to get out. On the front page of the analyzed numbers

of "Kurir" and "Pres" (according to the authors of this analysis was carried out at 2006) is dominated by politicians, criminals, cops (Seselj, Karic, Maja Gojkovic, Zvezdan Jovanovic, various mayors and officials of the Ministry of Interior). An unholy alliance of politics and showbiz (Dinkic - Keba, Bekuta - Mrkonjic) is especially welcome because of impressionable printing. Celebrities businessmen are required to spice in politics as supporting subjects of tabloid publications which proves Allan's thesis (to Franklin Allan, ibidem) that the news is always designed and processed to a particular media market in accordance with the interests and needs of the market and with the current estimates of what the editors at any given moment attract the largest number of readers and bring the greatest profit. The "newszak" (Allan, 2004:203) term was used by Alan to draw attention to the fact that the ideological control of journalism as appropriate is replaced by management. As appropriate the revolved process has happened in Serbia too.

The accuracy of the previous paragraph vividly illustrate the changes which has gone through tabloid "Svet" was founded in 1991 in Novi Sad as part of the media empire of Robert Coban. During this time Miloshevic's tabloid published a column by renowned journalists like (Olja Beckovic) and politically intoned an interviews in addition to the usual, tabloid topic - marriage affairs of the political elite among people and criminal affairs of "heroes" Belgrade mobsters who have either given the right to manifest one. This magazine has been affected by measures of state repression against the media who have resisted the absolute ruler's regime, this magazine has, after trips to the PSC sphere 1997th year again been turned to sex, underworld, crime and gossip, paparazzi photos, which has brought new circulation (Todorović, 2006) so in 2001 it was printed on 150 000 copies.

Paradigmatic example is ruination and media lynching of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in some tabloids, but not only them (the "Nacional", "Kurir", "Balkan", "Svedok", "Revija 92", "Glas javnosti", "Identitet") after the 2000th year to the murder of the prime minister. According to data published in the Media documentation Ebart² of 3259 newspaper articles about Zoran Djindjic, published during the peak of media contra campaign from 2001th to 2003rd year, only 3 percent of the texts was affirmative, 2823 texted (86.62%) were neutral texted and 350 (10.74%) texts were condemnatory and extremely negatively. Campaign to their critical texts gathered in these tabloids began publishing so called "tobacco scandal" in Croatian "Nacional" they passed the Montenegrin and Serbian "patriotic" tabloids nationalistic and populist orientation. It is about the tabloids, which are Legija and JSO idealized and glorified to the murder of Zoran Djindjic, and when they were regrouped after a state of emergency and the change of government in 2004th, started with a systematic campaign of media support for the accused prisoners and relativization of the accusation, the evidence and the judgment (Vasić, 2005). Such actions tabloid media Milos Vasic called "political workshops uninformed" and "great articles about patriots and traitors". Propaganda, according to this author, expanding and creating special media disposable supporting malicious conspiracy

² Analysis of articles about Zoran Djindjic published from January 2001 to March 12, 2003.

theories. Ideological manage of these tabloids were evident. Two examples of their common diary “Nacional” and the weekly “Identitet” was in the year 2003 prohibited.

A year after the murder of Prime Minister Djindjic, 2004 year, two important political events marking the tabloid reporting in Serbia: violence in Kosovo on 17 March 2004 and examples of the non-Albanian population and endangering Serbian sacred receive strong media support as well as the launch of various scandals against co-workers of the late prime minister with immoral affairs. The circulation of “Kurir” with the initial 30.000 copies (2003rd when after quenching tabloid “Nacional” running) was climbed up during the Kosovo crisis in 170.000 climbed up then it was almost doubled by reporting directed “lost” porn tape of the famous singer named Severina and incriminating footage explicit sex published on the inside of the list when it reached 300,000! Although showbiz theme in combination with sex scandal brings circulation current upswing, this tabloid is still permanently insisted on the politicization of the content and processing murders and crime. These facilities offer the audience a lower educational and financial states at low, dumped prices which explains their popularity and circulation.

And the second stage tabloidization XXI century is characterized by a tendency politicization of Serbian tabloids. Topics politics and sports, and showbiz chronicle dominated tabloid content. Characteristic example, case studies, ruining a politician (former mayor of Belgrade and Democratic Party Dragan Djilas) in tablod “Kurir” in articles published from November 1, 2012th-28th February 2013.³ In the analyzed period of four months was published 59 articles related to D. Djilas which was on the front page 49 times and the author of this study concluded that this politician accused by various irregularities without physical evidence, that has been demonized and that tabloid taken upon itself to the role of the prosecutor before raising any charges.

Nor any other politicians in the tabloid were not protected but the sharpness of their choice and deal with them can suggest pieces belong to the camp. In April 2014th year, just as the politicians usually personality with the front cover of a tabloid. Editorial with photographs of political figures whose affairs were written on the inside of the cover sentencing, exhibiting attitudes: “Mrka and Drobnjak are ready for jail” or “Shame on you fraudsters - these are the politicians who hide assets” (“Kurir”, April 18, 2014). Or: “Mrki i Velji threatens jail for stealing!” (“Kurir”, April 23. 2014). The only positive intoned heading this month is the one on the front page of the formation of the new Serbian government: “Good luck to all of us! Prime Minister Vucic: Reforms begin! Members of the parliament will eat, sleep, wash their face in the Assembly” (“Kurir”, April 28. 2014). The impression where there are no untouchables creates the very next day, and on the front page of the same magazine can be read: “He’s going to the end. Prosecution of Thoma’s

³ A case study is part of a study from Master degree student on Faculty of Political Science University in Belgrade Ileana Milic: “The political abuse of tabloids: the demonization of former Mayor Dragan Djilas, in the tabloid Kurir”.

friends!". Or: "He worned his Minister. Vucic: Kori, sorry you 're late! Kori: Vucic, you're right, a session must start on time!"

Firstly, the front pages of this tabloid (6 of 40) are reserved for the most important topic - politics, politicians and political affairs. Other part is devoted to other facilities but the four pages in the section "Planet" dedicated to foreign politics. Crime is on three pages represented in the "Chronicle" etc.

And in "Informer" in the same analyzed period on the front page is dominated politics covered crime, party's accounts or health bulletin: "Life Drama Miki Rakic one of the most powerful Serbs in the recovery room", "Power" tycoons robbed EPS ("Informer", April, 18. 2014); "Slavica evaded 15,740,365 dinars!"; or "Goran Jesic hid apartment of 116 m2 and Harley" ("Informer", April 23. 2014). Or "In vain reform with this prosecutor. Scandal! Miljko forgiven 50,000 euro's bribe for 115,460 dinars!" ("Informer", April 29. 2014). In this tabloid politics and politicians under the heading "news" strike occupy the top five of the 32 pages. Its actors are subject to the following articles in the section "News". Can extent that they are comparable to only a showbiz personality ("Milojko Pantic - I'm fed up with dance, I'm not clown anymore", "Mitrovic threw Popovic out Pink"), scandals and heavy tragedies, "Adriana Lima - Jaric are getting divorced because of her naked pictures"; "Terror in Kaludjerica - Mark was accidentally killed by his classmates".

"Blic" on the cover there are many headings of which is devoted to politics or political figures: "The Minister Zoran Mihajlovic teaches her son to paint eggs" ("Blic" April 19 and 20, 2014); "Vucic: Flies who is not doing well" ("Blic", April 23. 2014); "The first day of the government - cried for Dacic" ("Blic", April 29. 2014). In some numbers on the front page no political theme: "Who is the famous singers mobster Kristijan Golubovic - Sold drugs, robbing grannies, now TV star" ("Blic", April 24. 2014). And this tabloid is the first 9 out of 44 by dedicated politics, actors, political columns and foreign politics.

In "Naše novine" politicians don't have to be on the front page: theme HI, victims internet pedophiles, different tragedies, athletes and politicians were present when the victims: "Not welcomed the new government - Krka Grandpa died when he was 84!" the tragedies are dominant themes: "Tragedy in the schoolyard - A friend killed him kidding around?"; "Killed woman in the eighth month of pregnancy and her brother-in-law who went to see his newborn son" ("Naše novine", April 23. 2014). And in this politics for tabloid occupies the first pages (5 or more in the section entitled "The focus" of a total of 32 pages).

And in the current situation tabloids counted with the audience lower educational levels (with malcontents different determinations and voters populist political options). Aggressive discourse, street vocabulary, lack of relevant sources that provide topic analyses and objectivity, cheering access to one option and ruination opponents, a growing number of unsigned articles which are characteristic of the editorial work that is called tabloidization. But it is realistic to expect changes: SNS victory in the elections, dissolution and marginalization of the opposition, crisis persists, hint gradual depopulating of the content in the

tabloids. There are no more enemies, the other side, so it is logical to expect that the tabloids again facing to classic tabloid facilities, and that will deal mainly individual and private affairs of politicians who do not fit the image of the general political consensus. This will cause a drop in the coming period, their circulation and desperate searching for new “heroes”.

Populism

The phenomena of modern Serbian tabloid points out, according to key characteristics that distinguished them - discourse, sensationalist approach to the analysis of text and images, method of use of sources of information, the use of simpler, shorter less analytical forms of journalistic expression, the absence of verification data, sensationalism, inflatable insignificant, invasion of privacy, production celetoids in cooperation with teletabloids and tabloid online formats - on their strong populist orientation. The style and language (national discourse, the use of storytelling, simplified texts, headlines, popular spoken language, the absence of foreign expressions and complicated phrases, street slang, intimation of the reader, the ratio of reduced to you, call a media personality names and nicknames, without last name) adapted the readers of low educational level. There are many vulgarisms (rude and offensive words, swearing, terminology from crime’s area), which are used in places where it is not needed, and there are nonverbal presentational symbols (common punctuation marks, paparazzi effect, vulgar pictures, explicit eroticization, photos of victims accidents, suspects infraction that draws attention to something, use bright colours - red, black, yellow). Vulgarisms used in our desire to contribute to the lively style and authenticity of the characters and events, dominated headlines whose aim is to attract attention, shock, s and underline the text when it does not exist. “Tabloid treatment of the events, media processing, connects important and unimportant in ‘infotainment’ - superficial, fun, interesting lightly spiced actual facts of public importance” (Todorović, 2006). Among the forms of journalistic expression used less complex, easier to read, lives, often hybrid (news, report, columns, interviews, and their hybrids). Methods and ways of using information sources are limited to using one named or unnamed sources (“says our source”, “according to the words of our interlocutors”, “claim person of the investigation” ...), rarely intersect data obtained from multiple sources indicating a lack of time to research the topic, the sensationalism and the construction of the truth.

The issue of respect for the professional and ethical standards of journalism in the tabloids opens a new topic. The domestic media space in which exists ruthless competition no responsibility for publicly spoken or written word. Media laws in force to bring the changes slowly, even harder to be applied. While the internet magnetically attracted to young audiences. Tabloidization almost all (over) other media accompanied by a lack of objectivity, absence of ethics, a loss of credibility. The hypothesis of a breaking the Code of Journalists of Serbia, which is another

name for respect for the rules of the profession, has repeatedly proved using the results of the study (Cvejić. 2009), show that in the Serbian press usually violates the presumption of innocence combined with disrespect the privacy rights of suspects or injured persons. In the third place it is disguised. The tabloid is common that even in the headings do not respect the right of presumption of innocence and that the suspects blamed prior court judgment. Editorial Office tabloid excuse that they slow down the codes in the work and a survey conducted for more than ten years has shown that journalistic ethics possesses a small number of journalists but most of them did not even know that they exist.⁴ Among the reasons for reporting unethical tabloid able to specify how much journalistic ignorance, uneducation and incomprehension of responsibility and consequences that tabloid reporting products so much, and to a much greater extent, the pursuit of profit owners and editors.

Tabloidization is a consequence of the creation of media products with the lowest denominator for profit (Kelner, 2004). Announcing the contents of populist character they attract maximum number of customers that shock, entertain and inform prejudice to create their image of the world. The new instrument of socialization "whose characters and celebrities replaced the family, school and church to the education of taste, values and ways of thinking, creating new models for the identification and resonant performances of style, fashion and behavior" (ibidem). Grown generation have already been bred on the contents of that kind of media culture that can not distinguish between so unlike categories and showbiz.

In the past thirty years, from the nineties to the present, tabloids passed through various stages of development. In the totalitarian nineties are just some of them, as a safety valve, supposed not to say that what they obey state media usually yellow. They are columns and political dissidents interviews with a journalist dissidents who published in other newspapers are not able to cooperate. Wounded by measures of state repression and half-tabloids and quality newspapers and magazines, were returning with a safe recipe of apolitical sensationalism that does not affect the foundations of the system and maintains the circulation.

In the era after the millennium years, some of the tabloids have been strongly politicized putting into service of an ideology that advocated the restoration of the old regime. The wars, the collapse of the country, the NATO bombing, the murder of the democratically elected prime minister made the political scene far more attractive and cost effective, more circulated of showbiz. Two tabloids were of prohibited because they crossed the border social tolerance but the chameleon nature of what they are responsible, in prolonged crisis that has affected all areas of life, again assuming policing ideological leadership of the market again. Journalists who do not insist on signing below identify with prosecutors and judges and their sources of information (unidentified, secret, confidential, one-sided) dictate texts published. At the current stage, they are designed and processed the news in accordance with the interests of political patrons which coincided with the

⁴ Medija centar Beograd i IREX, 2004.

estimates of the owner and editor of what will bring them the greatest profit. The news culture represented by the news are not just goods, but they have become the service now.

All this is happening at a time when Serbia dying middle layer, when the majority of the population is functionally illiterate, uneducated, disoriented, hopeless, when the state stumbles into debt while the economy is drowning in non-liquidity. Legal *laissez faire* and newly designed populism erode the criteria of what is valuable news and public interest for bare political scandal, showbiz gossip, a crime and a single accident becomes more cost-effective than the topic of public interest, dry and repetitive themes of economy, ecology and culture. Articulated populist tabloid journalism radicalized the society under the slogan that it's done in the interest of the ordinary, little man. Formula top of bread and circus guarded by profit but kills the culture of free journalism and democratic narratives in which they formed generations of educated, enlightened, free people.

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PhD Rade Veljanovski, associate professor
Faculty of Political Science, University in Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Entertainment, technology, commercialization - Incentives or threat to journalism¹

Abstract: There are many phenomena of mass communication that contribute to the development of the journalistic profession or slow down the development and hinder it. There are, however, those events and trends in the activities of the modern media and their labourers, which operate in two ways being contradictory, simultaneously stimulating activity of journalists, but also endanger their work, or just create the illusion of progress and development, and actually challenge the very essence of the profession. Entertainment, technology and commercialization with them, give much indication of the aforementioned ambivalence. Fun, as a token of circulation and ratings, mixed with information creates a construct of reality, which is not virtual reality, but it is not realistic either, and the technology displaces professional communicators, chops the audience and contributes to partial relevance. All this, in the background or as a justification has a commercial interest. The paper, by analyzing individual cases with the use of appropriate literature deals with the presence of these categories in contemporary informing and suggests ways to those active in the field of media and the public sphere.

Key words: *entertainment, technology, commercialization, media, public*

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dr Rade Veljanovski, vanredni profesor
Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Zabava, tehnologija, komercijalizacija – podsticaji ili ugrožavanje novinarske profesije²

Apstrakt: Više je fenomena masovnog komuniciranja koji doprinose razvoju novinarske profesije ili taj razvoj usporavaju i otežavaju. Postoje, međutim, i one pojave i tendencije u delovanju savremenih medija i njihovih poslenika, koje deluju dvosmerno i protivrečno, istovremeno podstiču delovanje novinara, ali i ugrožavaju njihov rad ili samo stvaraju privid napretka i razvoja, a zapravo dovode u pitanje samu suštinu profesije. Zabava, tehnologija i uz njih komercijalizacija, daju mnogo indicija za pomenutu ambivalentnost. Zabava, kao zalag tiražima i rejtinzima, pomešana sa informacijama stvara konstrukt stvarnosti koji nije virtuelan, ali nije ni realan, a tehnologija istiskuje profesionalne komunikatore, usitnjava publiku i doprinosi parcijalnoj relevantnosti. Sve to, u pozadini ili kao opravdanje ima komercijalni interes. Rad se, analizom pojedinih slučajeva uz korišćenje adekvatne literature, bavi prisustvom ovih kategorija u savremenom informisanju i ukazuje na načine kako one deluju u sferi medija i javnoj sferi.

Ključne reči: *zabava, tehnologija, komercijalizacija, mediji, javnost*

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Introduction

In today's world there is no area that is as dynamic as the field of media and journalism. Modern technological, regulatory, conceptual challenges open a number of new issues daily and it is difficult to find adequate answers in increasingly accelerated development. The theory has sometimes difficult to catch practice so the visible indicators are that more theorists take note and analyze what has already occurred in media, explaining, at best, causes and implying consequences, without more visible and effective efforts to forestall possible negative outcomes.

Some trends in the development of their own, at first sight, attraction, act seductively, and with success at the public and with commercial effects in advance eliminate suspicion and possible opposition. However, careful weighing the possible impacts and consequences, gives reasons for deeper thinking. There is almost no innovation in media and journalism which, in addition to modernizing the profession and adjusting to the needs of the audience, do not bring certain, hidden flaws that may have more or less negative social effects. An increase in the number of media, which is a logical consequence of the communication necessity of people, development of media industry and media markets, liberalization and democratization of media conditions for entrepreneurship, good and bad sides can be detected. Undoubted benefit is pluralism of organizational and ownership forms of establishment of media, and thus what is more important – the diversity of content. But along with that, a problem is the audience fragmentation, the growing phenomenon of superficiality and trivialization of content, frequency of certain formats and repetition of the same, which brings into question the idea of pluralism and points to its illusion of reality. All this in its own way, makes the future of journalistic profession questionable and requires deeper reflection on contemporary reflection of media activity.

Entertainment – supplement to journalism or part of it

Since the creation of the media, first printed, then radio, television and now what is called new media, journalism and entertainment were their main content. These two forms of media creativity go hand in hand until, in recent times, have begun to permeate to the extent that among them nearly all the boundaries are erased. French theorist Jean Claude Bertrand believes that this limit has never been clear, but that both sides of the aforementioned creativity can be useful. "The line between journalism and entertainment has never been clear and it is becoming blurred: the popular press has always been prone to pastime, whereas today, many commercial media most of its products present as 'show businesses. Therefore, some overlaps are unavoidable: news may be interesting, yet irrelevant, and vice versa, entertainment can teach a lot" (Bertran, 2007:18). When it comes to serious journalism, of course, we cannot talk about the thing that the news may be interesting, yet irrelevant, but about the news that are interesting but also important

or very important. Recognizing this fact Bertrand also notes that although both entertainment and serious journalism serve the public, “the rules of conduct can hardly be identical.”

Bertrand only mentions the press, and now no one needs persuasion that the entertainment as media offer, is mostly taken by television. Cultural theorist Ahim Barsch recognizing that the concept of entertainment as well as the notion of literature is subject to historical change and conditioned by cultural factors, gives an explanation of entertainment with reference to the phenomenon of television. “Because of the talk-shows on television and the subsequent development of new show-programmes, reality TVs (whose predecessor is TV quest staged as a detective story) and various collage reportages of entertainment character, genres frequent on private TV stations, it seems that the strict distinction between entertainment and education, and entertainment and information, has become almost untenable” (Barš, 2008:159).

History of media records moments when entertainment has helped some of the most respected media companies to maintain their lead and secure future. The mighty BBC is felt that need only after three decades of operation as a public broadcaster. When in the fifties the ether of Great Britain, hitherto sacrosanct media area of this public corporation, was penetrated by Radio Luxembourg and its unofficial, colloquial speech, a simple programming concept with a lot of popular music, endangered BBC radio, paradigmatic public service had to adjust. “BBC radio found itself in a position to lead the competitive struggle not only against television, but also against Radio Luxembourg that the audience found more entertaining than ‘serious’ and ‘highly educated’ BBC radio. A number of changes have been made in the production programme and many innovations to improve listening audience were introduced, but without much success” (Šingler, Viringa, 2000:59). Quaintness of entertainment, then, made “too serious” BBC to try with more effort and to accept challenges. Fortunate circumstance is that in this period there was one of the technological revolutions and it brought stereophony and transistor sets as an innovation that could not be used by television, contributed to the survival of radio in general, including BBC radio, but this media giant was more helped by conceptual adjustment. BBC has introduced programmes on the radio, and on television that are popular, fresh, witty with hosts who speak the way people speak to each other, with more popular music and new shows of humorous and satirical type. But with all the changes, this media company has not accepted the populism and pandering to the low tastes of the audience, but the dilemma: the seriousness or popularity was solved by formula of serious but popular contents, which strengthened the dignity of public service.

Entertainment is one of the man’s needs. The more civilization and culture of living advanced man had more free time and tried to organize his leisure time creatively. Entertainment, as Archim Barsch interpreted it is “conceptual layered complex, associated with pleasure, enjoyment, relaxation, play, and it is contrary to boredom. The concept of entertainment is often encountered in phrases such as

the entertainment industry, electronic for entertainment, media for entertainment, entertainment music, popular literature, the entertainment sector” (Brans, 2008:769). Theorist Joseph Turow talks about the enjoyment and connects this need with the media. “The desire for pleasure or personal satisfaction is one of the basic human instincts. Watching a television programme, Bible study, solving crosswords in the newspaper, and even reading an ad can cause a feeling of satisfaction for many people” (Tjurou, 2012:52). Turow notes that “news, TV soap operas that are broadcasted, sport and drama in prime time can stimulate conversations with friends, relatives, colleagues at work, even with strangers” (Tjurou, 2012: 52), which shows communicative value of entertainment.

Range of needs and possibilities to meet them, when it comes to entertainment, is really complex and in modern times completely legitimate. But it is one thing when it comes to entertainment separated from the information that is “oxygen of democracy”, the basis for forming opinions about the most important social issues, political decision-making, and quite another when such information is mixed with entertainment or given in a fun way. This creates a kind of construction or “banal communication”, recalls Dragan Štavljanin referring to theorist Bourdieu. “It is widespread opinion that the purpose of the media is not news production as a function of democracy, but profit. That is why the media are increasingly becoming part of the ‘entertainment circus’, and journalism is becoming more tabloid, trivial and banal, thus ignoring the alternative options, favouring the dominant trends, so that, as pointed out by Bourdieu, we have ‘banal communication’ at work” (Štavljanin, 2012:467).

When the gauge of social relevance and necessity slips to gauge of needs of the audience, how the form “entertainment journalism” is usually justified, the trivialization of content that was named “New moronism” is reached. “Media commentators are increasingly disturbed by the idea that serious informative journalism (in printed form and on TV) threatens what the *Guardian* reporter, Nicholas Fraser, called ‘new moronism’. Fraser, during the attack on ‘the vanity of modern media’ mentions a common topic in the campaign against increasingly lower journalistic standards – an example prompted by news companies in United States” (Prajs, 2011:634). Stewart Price in his book mentions other examples of trivia in which are privacy and the death of an individual, in the reckless way in “humorous” form presented to the public.

These trends in journalism and media content lead not only to summarizing of the contents which can hardly go together and have in the activities of traditional media always been separated, but also to unifying forms, journalistic practices, or genres. In other words, the scene is hybridized which has the aim of maintaining and multiplying the audience. “Media labourers who work in the fields of entertainment, news, and education question the value of hybridization in order to use it to attract and retain an audience” (Tjurou, 2012:102). Turow therefore concludes, the occurrence which represents an organized, systematic, thoughtful way of finding new forms of attracting audience, where synthesizing of forms is

not put in question, even when entertaining elements of information water their cognitive and, for the formation of relevant social attitudes, significant aspects.

The practice has already legitimized journalistic style that combines informative and entertainment, and that is combination of two English words information and entertainment creates a phrase infotainment. "Infotainment is information based on media content or programming that includes entertainment content in an effort to enhance popularity with audiences and consumers" (Demers, 2005:143). This interpretation of infotainment is not the only one, but it is not much different to other interpretations. Many practitioners and analysts interpret it as a statement of information in a different, more relaxed and fun way. In journalism, the popularization of the idea of adding entertainment content to the news led to the separation of the so-called "serious" and "light" news, i.e. the contents that are more and less socially relevant. "Journalists often consider serious news as place for fair, accurate and balanced reporting, with very little (or no) comments, but at the same time they believe that the light news are area where you can display thoughts and affection" (Tjurou, 2012:97). Light news, under this analysis, should include content related to cooking, amateur theatre, voluntary neighbourhood actions, but practice shows that very serious news are often interpreted in a similar way, with a touch of fun.

The media today are more and more becoming more organized arena of spectacle. The need to attract audiences and better positioning in the market is increasing and the abandonment of traditional forms of journalism increasingly resorted. Reality must include spectacles, and if there aren't any, media will create them. Thus the spectacle permeate tabloid ethos, sensationalism, triviality, with the justification that "the audience loves it." "All epochs had their own distinctive spectacles but modern media make a decisive break in the history of the spectacle because spectacle in ancient palaces was representative only due to the high status of their contractors and immediate audience. The representativeness of the modern spectacle is inseparable from its spread to many and to remote media audiences" (Couldry, 2008:162). So the representativeness, in this formulation of reality, actually is not there, because neither the global audience can be spoken about in this sense, since global cannot be representative, nor the content can meet such a large number of individuals. Theorist Douglas Kellner speaks about the permeation of media spectacle and infotainment: "Today, society and culture of the spectacle creates a new kind of entertainment information of society, or what might be called 'infotainment society' ... Currently, we are entering into a new form of techno-capitalism marked by synthesis of capital and information technology and entertainment industries. All or most of it is the production of 'infotainment society' and the Culture of Spectacle" (Kellner, 2003:11).

Mixing fun and serious content is dangerous to journalism because it leads to the "popular journalism", which reinforces the question of trivializing the content, says Stewart Price, noting also the excuse that "the audience likes something". "Media commentators allege that serious journalism is in danger because of the

increasing lower standards and preferences to sensationalism. Media companies in Britain and America justify increasing informal approach to the news by saying that the audience prefers it that way. There are two aspects of the problem of ‘dumbing down’ of news: content and form” (Prajs, 2011:712).

Entertainment has, therefore, largely become an integral part of the media offer, but recently began to dominate over other contents, informative, educational, and artistic. It is a legitimate part of the broadcasting media, but if it is mixed with the serious news content, it may seriously jeopardize the journalistic profession. In other words, if journalists become performers, creators of entertainment and light content, then they are useless for serious information, reports and journalistic research. In these circumstances, the question of credibility, convincing and confidence of what is journalist working on behalf of the public. That is why, for example, the attitude of inadequacy of appearing journalists in the commercial ads, has long ago become standard. Today, we could consider the extension of this standard to other forms of journalistic engagement.

Technology – big chance or hidden danger

To deal with the technological aspects of media at a time when the latest technological revolution largely overwhelms the world media on a global scale, takes into account the phenomenon from all angles, with, as far as possible, observing the direction in which this process can continue to go. The famous media theorist Denis McQuail, once thought about new media setting the request to theory to predict the implications of development and to imply consequences. “New media will certainly have a rich heritage when they reach maturity, but the question is whether they will be attributed the high value or remain too attached to the old reality and therefore little usable in the near future... The theory should reliably illuminate reality of implementation, implications and consequences of new media and to offer terms or concepts to describe that reality” (Mek Kvejl, 1994:7/8). At the same time, which means some twenty years ago, Wilson Dizard observed the changes that were happening at that time, stating that they are not so great. “Despite many improvements in media technology, media industry still makes most of its products to the old – the classic way. Newspapers are thrown on the front porch. Magazines make their way through the uncertainty of the postal system. Hollywood movies are delivered in cans. Until recently, the only significant change in this practice is the use of communications satellites for the delivery of products of radio, television and cable TV networks” (Dizard, 1994:38).

Practice has proved that the new media already have “rich heritage”, in the words of MacQuayl, and that his scepticism regarding the “attribution of high-value” was justified. Although in some places still retain the old way of distributing newspapers and magazines, as Dizard reminds us, today, much more common way of reaching their content is via internet. Way of using new technology in media practice largely leads to compliance of both practitioners and theorists that new

technological possibilities expand and accelerate the process of communication. As the value of these processes it is usually found that there has been a further democratization of the public sphere, because many forms of public and mass communication are no longer one-way as before. The audience, people can not only be used to select better content and get them on the request (TV on demand), but can participate in the creation of content, participate in radio and television broadcasts so that they create content that shape through blogs, websites on various social networks or in a way that is seen as citizen (civic) journalism. These forms of interactivity and participation, without doubt, have shifted the boundaries of the occupation of public and media coverage by the citizens and that is the good side of the latest technological revolution. There are more, as it is easier and faster, text, audio and video clips processing and their better delivery to those who decide what and when it will be aired and ultimately efficient and better distribution to the final users.

Using the Internet and digitization, along with other technological innovations have contributed to the greater diversity or media pluralism as it is commonly called, and this is something that is highly valued in the media and the public sphere, again as a process that contributes to democratization. In media pluralism several parallel threads loom that are considered desirable, and it is the diversity of the founder, media types and, mostly, content. There lays, however, the first trap of the latest technological changes. New technical means have enabled not only the integration of different media types, which is a process of convergence that goes towards multimedia, but also the consolidation of capital. During the last twenty years, and it is the period of technological explosion in global, but in the regional scale as well, there is a coarsening of capital in the media industry. Researches and analysis largely discuss the moguls, power figures, magnates who rule the media sphere. Analyst of European practices and media policy Richard Rooke states: "Before the eighties of last century most television programmes in Europe were produced within the public broadcasting service of individual countries. A handful of European public broadcasters, primarily the ITV Company in the UK and ZDF in Germany, commissioned a number of programmes from the independent sector, but by the beginning of the general expansion of commercial television and the establishment of Channel 4 in the UK this sector had greater significance. The situation changed when the number and size of independent production companies gradually began to grow." (Rooke, 2009:189) Separating the production of broadcasting programs, was also one of the consequences of the technological revolution and it has encouraged producers of programmes that act only as a production and sell its contents to those who have licences for broadcasting or distribute via cable. However in some cases there has been a consolidation of producers, distributors and broadcasters, which led to a concentration of major proportions. "At the forefront of audio - visual production now are groups that apply international strategy, especially huge horizontally, vertically and diagonally integrated media groups" (Rooke, 2009:189). These forms of integration imply

the unification of all types of media, press, radio and television to online media, including media production, thereby creating monopolies.

Entrepreneurs in the media industry, those who are engaged in the production and distribution of programmes, such integration justify with rational business, using better infrastructure capacities and human potentials. That is true, but it the other side of this medal is also evident, and it's too big impact on the media market and thus the public sphere in general, the ability to impose programming formats and standards and largely resorting to those products that make the most money. Media concentration in any form contributes to the existence of monopolies, and they damage the democratization of the media and the public sphere. On the other hand, despite the large number of media products, that are creating the illusion of diversity of content, this diversity is not adequate to the volume of production, because the same material is being sold to a large number of media, mainly television, and instead of diversity the same is often repeated. In addition to that, new technologies have enabled something what Baudrillard called "Information blizzard", the plethora of information that swamp the modern man with the increasing difficulties to make a selection and separate the useful from the unnecessary. "The Internet has enabled communication and diversification of journalistic voices and added communication chaos in the flow of news. Informing flows with increasing speed and volume, making it difficult for an individual to keep pace" (McNair, 2005:40). Thus, the modern citizenry still has problems with feigned and insufficiently supported media diversity and also excessive concentration of ownership in the media, which is considered illegal and that is why Europe, in terms of its media policy, has a handful of positions and documents that require greater attention of the state in relation to this issue.³

Interaction and participation are concepts that we have already mentioned as the welfare of technological progress and led to civic journalism. About this form of public communication, opinions are divided and can be observed in the range from complete approval and support as something that contributes to the democratization of communication, to a very sceptical attitude which expresses resistance to this mode of influence in the public sphere.

There is an obvious need to make a distinction between the types of personal initiative of citizens in mass communication, where individuals often inform the public about the valuable information and provide information that otherwise would not be found in traditional media and journalism as clear, fairly defined professions which involve trained professionals. No matter how much the initiative

³ Recommendation R (99) 1 of the Committee of Ministers of Council of Europe to member states on measures to improve media pluralism,
Recommendation R (2007) 2 of the Committee of Ministers of the member countries of the states on media pluralism and diversity of media content,
Declaration of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of the role of the media and democracy in the context of media concentration, January 2007.
Political declaration and resolutions of the Conference of Ministers of member countries of the Council of Europe, Reykjavik, May 2009.

of citizens contributed to public information, one cannot deny the fact that this is what is called citizen (civic) journalism, even when it is in completely good faith, often amateurish attempt that does not respect and does not include the rules of the profession. However, the tide of citizen journalism increasingly leads to the question whether it is nearing the end of journalism and journalists, or is it a future that is only postponed. "With the rapid development of the internet and the enormous possibilities it provides, the question is whether it foretells the end of journalism as it terminates intermediary to the audience, which at the same time, becomes the author?" (Štavljanin, 2013:103). This "abolition of intermediaries" is actually a key product of so-called citizen journalism, which can have dangerous proportions and consequences, if the public speaking is exercised as the dominant form. It is impossible not to notice that many representatives of the public, government, political institutions, especially those belonging to the highest authorities or defence, military-strategic establishments, much rather prefer to communicate with the public through blogs, websites and other ways on different platforms, then they are willing to provide answers about the same or other issues from their scope to journalists. This avoidance of professional communicators is one of the crucial issues of the impact of new technologies and their use in the journalistic profession. And here, at the first glance, the illusion of an open, direct communication "without intermediaries" is created, which is supposed to create the impression of approaching of institutions and holders of political office to citizens, but in fact it is avoiding giving those answers to media professionals, who are specialized for particular topics, often to the expert level, searching, knowing the link that causes the consequences of knowing what is in the public interest. Dragan Štavljanin belongs to those analysts who believe that the right professional journalism has a future because "citizens who are 'online' will continue to be required interpretation of events and processes by professional *journalists, whose role is now more important than ever, because, besides providing the information, it is equally important to provide the context for their understanding. Therefore, assumptions about 'end of journalism' or 'death of the author' are unfounded, which is foretold by the emergence of new media that allow citizens to be not only recipients but also to create their own message... Nevertheless, regardless of the democratizing and emancipator potential of new media, the citizens as journalists cannot fully cope with this task" (Štavljanin, 2013:213/4).

At a time when new technologies were not as applied in the sphere of the media as now, there were theorists who, recognizing already visible trends, astutely predicted and possible developments. So Brian McNair analyzing the impact of new technology about fifteen years ago concluded: "This will be an epoch characterized by media interactivity, accessibility and diversity, with new freedom that will have the audience (or 'consumers', if we prefer to call them so). This will be an epoch of universally accessible 'cyberporn', IT congestion and decrease or disappearance of some traditional media" (Meknar, 2002:276/7). McNair perceived ambivalent value of new technologies in the sphere of the media, their good, but also the bad side.

With interactivity, variety and new freedom, he noted the problem of informative congestion and cyber pornography that will be possible, and that will be difficult to control. These dangers have been confirmed by the superabundance of information, many of which lack relevance, while real and necessary information lack, and as far as the misuse of cyberspace goes, internet and all sorts of platforms are concerned, long ago cyber trafficking in human beings, arms and drugs have been observed. Users of new media and new technologies have also witnessed the unintentional, but also the intentional distortion of information, and similar abuses.

Previous experience has, in addition to the aforementioned benefits and drawbacks, opened question whether modern technologies contribute to the sustainability of mass communication in the current understanding of the term, or do they contribute to fragmentation of audience and thus the sphere of citizens. It was noted that the audience chooses the specific media and their “formats”, largely due to the fact that the media is conceptually just directed at specific target groups. And users of social networks are more involved in group communication than the one that, in the current understanding of the media, were considered the communication with unlimited number of recipients. What will be and where, in such circumstances, a space for public debate about the most important social issues? Whether it will be possible at all in the future, and whether the promoters of the upcoming media situation want it to be possible?

The development of technology is unstoppable so it is its application in the field of media and public communication. The work and efforts of researchers in this field who are finding new opportunities is quickly built desire of media entrepreneurs and owners to cash in the new findings, to increase profits. It is not always in the general interest, nor in the interests of journalism.

Commercialization - reasonable profit or ignoring public interest

Commercial interest in the media field is a legitimate from the origin of the media industry. In older classifications of media systems mainly on two models were discussed: the model of public service and commercial model. The first was, and still is, characteristic of Europe and a number of countries in other continents, and the second the United States and similar concepts of media systems. But there are also commercial media in Europe and have long existed, initially only the press, and later radio and television, as well as there are PBS (Public Broadcasting Service) in the United States in addition to commercial media model, which do not operate on a profitable basis. News agencies have begun to occur in the world of mid-nineteenth century purely on a commercial basis, which gave the information the nature of the commodity which is being offered, sold and purchased. Earnings of those who produce and sell media content was logical epilogue of entrepreneurship, which, like many others, falls in economic activity. In other words, this type of business to a large extent contributed to the development of more advanced network media and information channels, and hence greater possibilities of public communication.

When we talk today about the commercialization of the media sector and give that concept negative connotation, we also refer to the overemphasis on commercial interests that are often in search for profit, neglect, avoidance and consciously rejecting the general, public, social interest. "The media, as mediators in the process of mass communication, have long since become the economic organizations and their corporate character is getting stronger. At the same time, the media, as well as structural elements of the public sphere as institutional framework for the promotion of opinions, attitudes, ideas – the scene of political influence, is often coupled with the interests of capital. In such circumstances, the public interest and a responsibility for it are becoming increasingly blurred, and the basic role of the media is often distorted to such an extent that requires redefinition" (Veljanovski, 2012:405/6).

The media industry requires more audience, and it is the desire that reveals one of the contradictions of modern media situation. There are more media, which globally increases the volume of audience, but it definitely causes a reduction in the average number of readers, listeners or viewers for each single media. So the battle for consumers of media content is becoming increasingly bitter and often any means necessary are used to raise circulation and ratings, which will motivate advertisers. "The basic genres of entertainment, news, information, advertising and education are the fuel that drives the media industry... If you talk with the person who is writing the comedy of the situation, an ad for cars or history textbook, that person will certainly know well the history of this area and will have firmly built attitude about what was good and what is bad in the old materials and media types... media labourers often adapt the popular ideas of the past in the hope that they can be transformed into today's success" (Tjurou, 2012:103). The current success is measured above all with the money earned, and in the media sphere less is talked about other forms of success, despite the fact that there are a variety of rewards and incentives for quality in certain genres and media domains.

Talking about the stages of development of the public sphere, a famous media sociologist John Keane notes: "The first stage of defining and defending the public sphere has highlighted problems of territorially defined state government that is not responsible to its citizens, unique to the modern era and, second, business egoism of civil society dominated by market capitalism." In this statement is contained the dual attitude of double irresponsibility towards the citizens which is refracted through the public sphere, via the media: on one hand the government and on the other "business egoism of market capitalism" that is often immune to the communication needs of modern man. In his book "The media today" Joseph Turow reminds us with another attitude about contemporary relation of the media towards the audience, which perhaps best explains the concept of commercialization. "The mass media industry is extremely appreciated on the skills needed to use genres and their formulae to create material that the audience likes. However, in order to create a product that the audience appreciates, it takes much more than just to think of it. As we have already pointed out, all the media organizations have to

produce, distribute, exhibit and finance contents in a manner that provides the greatest chance of success with the audience” (Tjurou, 2012:103). This approach to conceptualizing media is now dominant, and “skills to use genres and their formulae for creating material that the audience likes,” is just another name for formatization of the content, their standardization and stereotypes, production of light content, which will be subject to the requirements of the audience, thus lowering the criteria of quality and accountability. It talks about general connection of contemporary trends in journalism and media, where it is evident that highlights on entertainment and the use of new technologies have outcome in commercialization.

Silvia Harvey points to the fact that we lightly concur with the general trend in the perception of the market value of media products created with the help of new technologies: “At the beginning of the XXI century, we began to take for granted that communication technologies produce commodities – things and experiences that can be purchased and sold; This is called the industrialization of culture” (Harvi, 2005:337). Media products can be sold and bought, as well as the media themselves, but of their commodity character there are different opinions. They are primarily related to: whether these products can be treated like any other commodity or must it be borne in mind that these are attributes that do not allow the character of the trade talks as in the case of all other industrial products. Many contemporary theorists including an American professor Robert McChesney opposed to this barren commercialization. He criticizes the neoliberal ideas, which flourished in the USA and Great Britain especially during the reign of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, considering that it is necessary to oppose the spirit of the corporate media. “The logic of this criticism has become clear: those who are progressive needs to work on challenging the corporate domination of the media as part of a wider struggle for social justice” (McChesney, 2008:461). Opponents of such opinion must bear in mind that McChesney is not against the existence of commercial media and he is not contesting profitability. He talks about dominance and, as you can see, he considers it a threat to social justice.

British theorist Mike Feintuck does not deny the media industry the right to earn money on its products, but he like McChesney, he indicates the danger that over-emphasis of commercialization may have for democracy. “However, too great an emphasis on the economics of the industry is likely to be at the expense of protecting its democratic significance... It is clear that the media product is not just another commodity, but a part of the circulatory system of democracy and therefore requires regulation that goes beyond the economic framework” (Feintuck, Varney, 2008:249).

Conclusion

Phenomena of acting of modern media, such as entertainment, technology and commercialization, which this paper discussed, have a dual role and influence, both on the public sphere and to journalism as a profession. All three phenomena have

positive and negative effects. Entertainment contributes to readership, listening and rating, raises circulation and thus increases income, which contributes to the development of media industry. On the other hand, it is increasingly difficult to separate entertainment from other content, including serious information messages, which leads to a dilution of journalistic products, often to the trivialization and banality, with thematic and genre reduction. Technology improves and expands the possibilities of public communication, enabling operation of traditional media to new platforms, as well as the emergence of new media, interactive and participatory communication. But it also contributes to the fragmentation of the audience, illusion of content pluralism, "the Information blizzard" with difficulty of selection of content, the possible manipulations in cyber space. Commercialization, which is not simply the pursuit of covering costs and a reasonable profit, lowers the quality of media products, reproduces vanity and light contents, overemphasizes the corporate spirit of media and thus marginalizes the most important social issues and public interest. In such circumstances increasingly important question is what is the role of journalists and journalism today? Francis Balle belongs to those theorists who believe that the role of journalists in modern times is even more important from the standpoint of protecting those values which characterized traditional journalism. "While categories of traders triumphs, and traditional forms and institutions are being discussed, decided and debated, they are increasingly losing breath, and a journalist more than ever needs to fully play his role as a mediator and 'liberator', i.e. the one expert that relieves himself of immediate media management" (Bal, 1997:132).

And recent reviews give importance to journalists while insisting on knowledge and expertise, which in contemporary social conditions with the use of new technologies is imperative, along with the support of their independent work. "Future journalists need to be more formally and widely educated and should know how to clearly report in words and pictures, due to the convergence of different media forms. The challenge for the media in different countries will be to provide resources, support and autonomy for the best and brightest reporters, so they are not tempted to wander away from the serious journalism" (Weaver, 2005:55). Under serious journalism Weaver implies ability of selecting the right information from the chaos of everyday life in which the abundance of events all have equal relevance. "Journalism is selective, as we have seen, simply, because any explanation of reality must provide a sample from the chaos of events and focuses on some aspects and not on the other. In this way, journalism draws attention to some events, procedures and explanations while ignoring and not standing out for others" (Weaver, 2005: 35). This attitude is reminiscent of debates about journalistic objectivity, which in recent times called into question that aspect of the journalistic professionalism, mainly by the claims that complete objectivity is not possible. But it is not a word about journalism that needs to achieve absolute objectivity or truth, but to fight for them and achieve what is possible.

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PhD Gordana Vilović, associate professor¹
Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb (Republic of Croatia)

Self regulation in online media: never ending story

Abstract: How can the profession regulate ethics on the web platforms – from online media and blogs to social networks? If it was and still is a problem responding to ethical controversies in traditional (old) media, is there a possibility to react to the Internet? Who is supposed to do that, in what way and how regularly? These are questions that occupy the thoughts of many media workers – because journalists are no longer the only professionals who leave their papers and comments to the public. Everyone does it nowadays – civic journalists, or people who comment without special responsibility for the written word. The fundamental question is how to improve self-regulation in the freest media and does not contradict freedom of media? One should not give up the protection of all those who want to feel free to comment or say it anonymously about the world in which they live! And even at the cost that it is politically incorrect speech! But how to react when they hatred and intolerance are published, for example, towards the members of different social minorities.

The paper explains the relationship between professionalism and civic journalism in the online media and possibilities of securing social quality of media. What is the practice in developed democracies, and what are the trends in Croatia and other countries in the region? Can this question be answered by Press Council, *cyber ombudsman* or somebody else? In the European Alliance of Press Councils (AIPCE) lively debate about the ethical controversies on social networks and online media are led daily.

Key words: *self-regulation, online media, media freedom, ethics*

¹ E-mail: gordana.vilovic@zg.t-com.hr

dr Gordana Vilović, vanredni profesor
Fakultet političkih znanosti, Sveučilište u Zagrebu (Republika Hrvatska)

Samoregulacija u online medijima: nikad završena priča

Apstrakt: Kako struka može regulirati etičnost na internetskim platformama – od online medija i blogova do društvenih mreža? Ako je bio i još uvijek jest problem reagirati na etičke kontroverze u tradicionalnim (*starim*) medijima, postoji li mogućnost za reagiranje na mreži? Tko bi to trebao činiti, na koji način i koliko redovito? To su pitanja koja sve više zaokupljaju medijske djelatnike – jer novinari više nisu jedini profesionalci koji ostavljaju svoje radove i komentare u javnosti. To danas čine svi – građani novinari, ili ljudi koji komentiraju bez posebne odgovornosti za napisanu riječ. Temeljno pitanje jest kako unaprijediti samoregulaciju na najslobodnijim medijima i pritom ne osporavati medijske slobode? Ne smije se odustati od zaštite svih onih koji žele slobodno komentirati ili kazati što anonimno o svijetu u kojem žive! Pa čak i pod cijenu da se radi o politički nekorektnom govoru! No kako reagirati kad se objavljuju izriječom mržnje, nesnošljivosti i netrpeljivosti, primjerice, prema pripadnicima različitih društvenih manjina.

Rad pojašnjava odnos profesionalizma i građanskog novinarstva u online medijima i mogućnosti osiguranja društvene kvalitete medija. Kakva je praksa u razvijenim demokracijama i koji su trendovi u Hrvatskoj i u drugim zemljama u regiji? Može li na to pitanje odgovoriti vijeće za medije, *cyberombudsman* ili netko treći. U Alijansi europskih vijeća za medije (AIPCE) svakodnevne su žive rasprave o etičkim kontroverzama na društvenim mrežama i online medijima.

Ključne riječi: *samoregulacija, online mediji, medijske slobode, etičnost*

“New channels of communication, modern technology, lack of time and efforts to simplify and accelerate the flow of the increasing amount of information necessary influence to the nature of communication and mannerliness. ‘Old’ rules without cease to be valid - indeed one of the unmodified rule remains: ‘Treat others as you want others to do unto you’.”²

² Rossi, S. Klapan, A. (ed.) (2013). *E-bonton*. Zagreb Hrvatski Telekom. www.ht.hr/odgovornost/pdf/e_bonton.pdf, Visited 20. 5. 2014.

Introduction

Talking about self-regulation in the media is always current. On the one hand, all the discussions were alive with good proposals, but on the other hand it was very difficult to put into operation the available mechanisms and tools to protect the elementary rules of reality. Briefly, the problem was not to discuss and spot errors and ethical lapses, but the problem was how to take responsibility to solve doubts within itself and not to make the civil courts, which would ultimately be the empowerment of the journalistic profession. Meanwhile, early 2000 blogs and the blogosphere appeared to actually introduce citizen-journalists and in 2004 it began to activate social networks of My space or Second Life, to Facebook and Twitter, and others. Freedom of information has become so strong that really nothing can happen in the world to be hidden, at the same time it is news for everyone, everyone who wants can read and comment. It was the challenge of trying to find appropriate responses, ranging from proposing a complete ban on commenting, through advocacy filtering made by administrators, to the attitudes that support absolute freedom of comments even when it comes to promoting intolerance and hate speech. There is no unequivocal answer, and the practice is very different: in one part of the serious media in Sweden abolished the possibility of comments at the end of August 2011, which is variously understood. Whether or not to do? Is it stop of the freedom of expression or is it a part of our area we call - self-regulation.

So, let us remember, after the terrible massacre committed by Breivik in Norway has started a debate among readers of Sweden's largest newspapers such as (Aftonbladet, Expressen and Dagens Nyheter) in which there were "numerous racist comments left by a small number of people who hide behind anonymous names and the nicknames"³ after that editorial "announced to introduce strict rules of commenting on its website in order to prevent racism, sexism, hate speech and other forms of insults and attacks on the Internet".⁴

The solution was found in the decision: all who wish to comment must first register on Facebook and express their views under its full name. The problem is that there are fake profiles, so this is only partly resolved. This practice was followed by the media of other Western European countries, as well as one part of the Croatian media. Facebook is shown as a salutary form that allows commenting on where, as a rule, participants debate people who do not hide behind a pseudonym, but the reduced amount of inappropriate expressions. However, anyone who supports freedom of the internet is not advocating surveillance of any kind including this - because many non-public people believe that they can simply and without fear to articulate some views that it will bear the consequences. In this direction is the attitude of journalists Dagens Nyheter Bjorn Hedensjoa who says "it's an ideal

³ Because of hate speech Sweden introduces stricter rules of communication on the Internet, available at www.dnevnik.hr/vijesti/znanost-it/zbog-govora-mrznje-svdeska-uvodi-stroza-pravila-komuniciranja-na-interнету.html. (Visited 23.5.2014.).

⁴ (ibidem)

way of communicating and commenting on' open discussion where monitoring is not necessary, but unfortunately the reality is different', and he adds that everyone is disappointed because they had to take such measures, but nothing else was left to do. He is aware that the new system will work perfectly, but he is confident that it will still raise the quality of debate on the Internet and to encourage people to comment by the use of real names".⁵

Self-regulation of traditional media

Unavoidable name that we associate with the concept of self-regulation of the media in recent history is a professor of journalism Claude-Jean Bertrand (1934-2007), first he was journalist and editor, then a professor at the Sorbonne who spent a striking part of working life just in an effort to find an effective ethical model of media: a model that would evenly help to journalists, editors and media owners and media audiences. It authenticity reflects in the commitment to develop model Media Accountability System (MAS). In Croatian translation it was introduced as acronym NODO – The way of insurance of social responsibility of the media. For Bertrand (2007:82) "NODO is any non-state method or tool that is used to make media responsible to the public. (...) In normal circumstances, NODO operates only with moral pressure ... "The basis of its contribution within self-regulation and continuous checking of quality of media products reflects in understanding that no one has an exclusive right to the ethical judgment about what is good and what is not acceptable, but interaction of different ways can ensure more responsible media. Among others, Bertrand (2007, 86-88) talks about: 1) education for all (media professionals and media users), 2) evaluation - a critical evaluation of content; 3) systematic monitoring of the media, and 4) feedback (between professionals and the public). The key place in building accountable and present valid media belongs to individuals and groups that discuss the quality of media products, primarily the Media Council, Media Ombudsman and non-governmental organizations dealing with the media. It is the preferred following form of media quality, but is it possible to achieve? The experiences are different and uneven, but despite the efforts of OSCE and UNESCO, seems that still in the countries of South East Europe self-regulatory bodies are not acclimatize. If they exist formally, sometimes their actions are completely invisible to the public. If we want a credible media that will help consumers to know what is happening and to understand their background, it is necessary to take advantage of all the self-regulatory mechanisms that are (un)intentional errors promptly corrected, and sometimes to prevent the unfounded insults manipulating the facts. It is the duty and obligation of the media and journalism, which in no way undermines media freedom.

⁵ (ibidem)

The new media environment and the challenge of self-regulation

“The other side of every freedom is responsibility. The older I get, the more I seem to appreciate the need to respect that side of freedom” said the recent world-famous writer Slavenka Drakulić.⁶ We do not know when or for what reason the statement was made, but the statement is universal, especially when it is spoken by the person who always fought for the human rights of every man and every woman, writer, uncompromising journalist and now a popular columnist of news portals tportal.hr. Responsibility for its own expression is crucial for encouraging imputation of reason in the process of self-regulation in digital age. Certainly, laws enacted in any country should not in any way undercut freedom of expression, regardless of whether they are professional journalists or citizens communicators. Internet is free and should remain as such. It has reached the level of the modern age and the benefit of technology that has enabled us to be a part of the world at any time. But, like everything else, should be taken *cum grano salis* and responsibly.

We are convinced that the self-regulation of the mass media introduced quite difficult, and often journalistic profession had neither the strength nor the courage to resolve doubts. Therefore, some of the media was falling apart even before they have begun to act. In Croatia, for example, a legal entity Croatian Media Council, but we can say - at least - acting modestly? Or, there is no real incentive to react, or many do not even know that there is such a self-regulatory body? It is possible that it is also about a third reason, but the journalistic professionals evidently do not recognize the role of that body.

Since Croatia has introduced the campaign “Do not hate speech on the Internet”, then it clearly diagnosed the problem and the question is how to systematically respond and alert to ethical issues in all parts of the web platform! It is not easy to introduce self-regulation on the Internet - and all media theorists who deal with this problem agree. If the profession will not organize, then it will be done by state. Adeline Hulin, expert of self-regulation of online media, responding to a question about media self-regulation and relation to online media freedom says: “Self-regulation is the way to prevent governments to greatly interfere with the media content offline and online ... (...) On the one hand, traditional mechanisms of media self-regulation, such as the Ombudsman and the Council of the media, must adapt to the new media environment. On the other hand, Internet dramatically enhances the society to held the media responsible and to produce innovative forms of media accountability“ (2013:78).

Experiences from Croatia: Trend of users increasing in news portal

On which way to answer the challenges of time where more and more young people are only using social networks and web portals to inform and communicate with others? Data on consumers of traditional media are all devastating. There

⁶ Slavenka Drakulić, Jutarnji list, 3. svibnja 2014. (Rubrika „Rekli su“)

are many reason for this: the old media consumers leave, they leave literally, and financial abilities of average citizens in Croatia become weaker, as well as in neighboring countries, so most of people give little bit of everything, and often daily consumption of newspapers. Newspaper publishers are halved. People are increasingly turning to online editions of newspapers. This trend is evident in editions that are registered in the Chamber of Commerce of Croatia according to data from the 2013 and Croatia to the Agency ABC from 2012.⁷ It is very difficult to find out exact number of sold circulation, but the comparison of shown Copies may be obtained by approximate estimates. The differences are minimal data. It is a great pity that in Croatia is not customary in Imprint list nowhere indicates the current edition, so data (depending who uses them and how dispose with them) vary! Shown number of copies in this paper show that newspapers evidently lose old readers, but the number of new readers is not big enough to preserve the newspaper in the form that we know for the last fifty years. It is interesting fact that journalism students at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Zagreb, on question what newspapers read in print, the squad answer is negative, and they say that they are turned to the web pages of newspapers, meaning Facebook. Reasons cited for this are as follows: never acquired the habit of reading; simpler and more practical information via their smartphones, iPad, and PC! They do not see any problem in that. They simply belong to a new generation of interactive media audiences, quite satisfied with this way of quick information.

Table 1.⁸

Name of the best-selling daily newspaper in Croatia	ABC Agency (2012.)	Gospodarska komora (2013.)
<i>24 sata</i>	125.194	125.194 (sale) and 49.525 (free)
<i>Jutarnji list</i>	57.047 copies	58.948
<i>Večernji list</i>	62.472	62.494

The data presented demonstrates that compared to the previous year circulation fall, a growing number of readers of newspapers who do not buy them already reviewed/read in a coffee shop/cafe. According to unofficial data, the owner of one of the largest media corporations EPH, Ninoslava Pavic, it is assumed that one sold

⁷ "ABC Croatian Agency is an agency that brings together advertisers, publishers and advertising agencies whose role is to enable publishers to successful selling advertising space, advertisers and agencies to offer true information for efficient investment in advertising in the print media" Available at www.hnd.hr/hr/newslist/show/66590 (Visited 20.5. 2014.).

⁸ Data are made based on information available Croatian Chamber of Economy and Croatian Agency ABC.

newspaper an average of six people read at different public places.⁹ Ten years ago, relationship newspaper and the number of readers was 1:3. In Croatia, there is a current fight for every reader, so every newspaper editorial board, which is continuously falling, is trying with popular and cheap subscriptions to attract older readers. What is the share of subscribers in the paper is hard to find, but in the Croatian context is often considered a trade secret!

Another change, that occurred in 2012, according to a survey by international agency Gemius which measures incoming content of the web portal, is reflected in the fact that the previous (2011) year, “the most widely read portals was not related to print - the first was Net.hr and Tportal and Index” (Paparella, 2013). Trend, observed in 2013, continues in 2014, seen by the data in Table 2. The editors of one of the most visited sites 24sata.hr find that there are more reasons why users are turning to web sites. Renato Ivanuš, editor of printed daily editions, 24 hours says: “We have something what many are talking about - integrated redaction, where every news travels first to the web then there is reworked and finished in the press and they get extra value ... (...) We are fast, first we introduce the breaking news, where you are constantly enrolling at a new sentence and here we get new readers.” One of the most popular Croatian news portal has an explanation for that growing consumption of news portal in Croatia as well as in response to the “control” of comments. On the web portal comments are carefully read and followed. Hrvoje Dorešić, executive editor of the online edition of “24 sata” says: “Comment has become an important part of the content is so important that the comments sometimes change titles. (...) According to readers’ comments we made corrections to the main text, and sometimes the comments create a new topic. An additional benefit is that it opens a space for discussion.” Other web portals also take into account the comments of the readers, so for example, in one part of the Croatian newspapers avoid anonymous comments, which can be extremely intolerant and intolerant to post them on Facebook site where people comment on the full name, although maybe with the fake profile. But, this is one way to at least turn down the hate speech that has become standard under various pseudonyms. These efforts are a step towards self-regulation and to what alone journalistic profession and journalism professionals can do to bring in minimum liability for the sentence or paragraph in the public sphere.

Table 2. describes trends in the use of web pages according to audience research agency Gemius Audience. With comparative analysis from the last few years have seen an increase in visitors’ online editions of newspaper publications in relation to the “pure” news portal. It is evident that the newspapers want to preserve their traditional paper publications, but also open up the opportunity to invest in a website that is very much alive and carries everything that happens anywhere in the world.

⁹ Ninoslav Pavić: “Yesterday I received new information on circulation and readership Jutarnji. According to them, Jutarnji list every day read 360,000 people. We share readership of 9.8 percent in a population of 3,700,000 people. available at <http://www.jutarnji.hr/ninoslav-pavic---intervju-u-ovoj-zemlji-ne-bi-uspio-ni-springer--cak-ni-najveci-europski-izdavac-ne-bi-se-mogao-nositi-s-nasim-uvjetima-i-zakonima/1035329/>, Visited 23. 5. 2014.

In Croatia, the particular news portals simply abolished the comments below announcement modeled on the Swedish experience, for example, such as the popular www.net.hr. How it may affect the number of users is difficult to answer, but the abolition of comments caused a frequent practice - extremely rude anonymous comments. Editorial obviously thought that the abolition is a better and cheaper way to preserve the credibility of the portal, the hiring of additional administrators who will look exactly everything that is left after reading the text. Can we say that the abolition of comments is a self-regulatory process? It certainly is not the best solution because people want to express their views and to allow them to be, and respond to cases of extreme expression. Sometimes it is a painful experience for the author whose text causes an outburst of insults. It is even worse when the germ exchange of insults between couple of authors “commentators” who, after a few answering have nothing to do with the text which connected them in so-called online talk. The worse outcome is when completely innocent people appear as collateral damage in the discussions unsubstantiated “commentators”. Despite all this, continuous indication of elementary decency and adherence to a code of conduct on the Internet, it is far better solution than a ban or deletion. But this is a process that happens overnight, and any form of self-regulatory bodies or government regulation of electronic media will not be able to effectively respond to a vast forest of millions of web pages. The worst is to leave everything to chance. Finally, each individual man acts for itself, and not everyone reacts the same to offense that will not be erase from the Internet and are not true!

Table 2.¹⁰

1./2014	Number of visitors monthly	5./2013	Number of visitors monthly	11./2012.	Number of visitors monthly	11/2011.	Number of visitors monthly
24sata	1,221.334	net.hr	1.125.181	index.hr	1,014.033	net.hr	942.558
jutarnji.hr	1,090.307	24sata.hr	1,107.013	24sata.hr	1,006.112	tportal.hr	891.202
njuskalo.hr	999.698	index.hr	1.012.891	jutarnji.hr	936.713	Indeks.hr	887.729
index.hr	992.336	jutarnji.hr	940.111	net.hr	922.287	24sata.hr	828.213
tportal.hr	881.459	njuskalo.hr	912.413	tportal.hr	908.665	njuskalo.hr	800.966
vecernji.hr	862.791	tportal.hr	906.312	njuskalo.hr	865.694	jutarnji.hr	763.625

A growing number of Internet users in Croatia is encouraging, users’ interaction media and political and economic elites, profiling different audience, and encouraging freedom of citizens who have a need to comment on various devel-

¹⁰ Part of the table is taken from the Poslovni Dnevnik from January 14, 2013, from work, “How to prevent hate speech on news portals” by Robert Ivanuš, PhD student at Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. All data are available on the website GemiusAUDIENCE, www.audience.com.hr, Visited, 24. 5. 2014.

opments and leave its comments. This is the essence of freedom of expression, but also a challenge to which there is still no real answers.

“No to hate speech on the Internet”

In the context of the story of the self-regulation of new media undertaken projects and programs to help citizens and especially young people to understand that online behavior is subject to the rules of civil decency as well as behavior in real life. One such project for young people, is the campaign “No to hate speech on the Internet.”¹¹ The Croatian government in January of 2014, involved in the project of the Council of Europe “No hate speech movement”. Although the program is intended for young people, can have an impact on older people who do not understand how devastating can be written and intemperate words to another person. Milanka Opacic, Deputy Prime Minister presented the program with the help of several public figures who have launched a joint project with the desire to proactively work on the Internet, at school and in the community “awaking themselves and others about hate speech and what are the consequences of such an unacceptable way of expression can have”.¹² The Project “No to hate speech on the Internet” is actually an important part of civic education and that is introduced into Croatian schools, and will help media literacy in Croatia which is still in its infancy. New media only points to the need for both children and adults to further educate them, they are no longer in use and less harmed. How important is it to sensitize members of the Internet and especially social networks, the data on more tragic events that happened in real life on the basis of previous posts humiliation or insults that children are mutually exchanged. “Although based on the Internet, the campaign will have important on-line activities such as workshops, seminars and events for young people ...”.¹³ What will the effects be at the end of the campaign it is impossible to predict, but this is one of the ways to do without restriction and without prejudice to the freedom of expression operates on public education, awareness-raising and especially the conversation between all users of digital media, where schools have a special responsibility. That is one way to encourage responsibility airtime usage within a specific group of young people, through non-governmental organizations, and warns of the consequences of hate speech. The mass media can and should participate, not only in promoting this action, but to apply the recommendations on your site/releases/minute broadcast because this approach belongs to what we call professionalism and self-regulation of their profession.

¹¹ The national campaign “No to hate speech on the Internet”, available at <http://www.dislajkamrznju.hr/>, Visited 20.5.2014.

¹² “Dislike the hate: Presented national campaign against hate speech on the Internet”, the author Mia Biberović, available at: <http://www.netokracija.com/dislajkam-mrznju-kampanja-64682>, Visited 23.5.2014.

¹³ (ibidem)

Instead of a conclusion or critical thinking and the Internet

Self-regulation is not dead matter how dissatisfied by the achievements: a handful of the incorrectness, insults, humiliation, promote intolerance, copying/plagiarism, tricks, manipulation ... But despite everything, no one would give up the freedom that gave us the Internet. In closing, the words convey Vinton G. Cerf on the Code of Conduct on the network in favor of the empowerment of self-regulation in online media: "The power of the Internet is as a double-edged sword. It just as easily could provide misinformation and uncorroborated opinion. The thoughtful and thoughtless co-exist side by side in the electronic world of the Internet. What to do? There are electronic filters to separate truth from fiction. There is no 'V- chip' that separates the gold from iron. We have only one tool to apply critical thinking. This truth is applicable to other communication media, not just on the Internet. Perhaps the World Wide Web just makes me see this more clearly than in other media. The full distribution of valuable and valueless content thought-provoking. There is an opportunity to educate us all. We really need to think about what we see and hear. We need to evaluate and select. We must choose our guidelines. What better lesson than this to teach our children to prepare them for a new century of social, economic and technological change? Make a new resolution centuries to teach our children to think more deeply about what they see and hear. That, more than any electronic filter, builds a foundation upon which the truth can be built".¹⁴

¹⁴ Mijatovic, D. "Internet: Freedom of expression vs. regulation", http://www.pravo.unizg.hr/_download/repository/Mijatovic_Sloboda_izrazavanja.pdf, Visited 26. 5. 2014.

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PhD Veselin Kljajić, associate professor
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Serbian Print Media in the Changed Public Discourse - Causes of the Crisis of the Profession - ¹

Abstract: This paper critically reviews the most significant changes in public discourse in which Serbian print media function, and which caused the crisis in the profession, visible from a different perspective. The focus of the research are the most important aspects of impacts and pressures to which are the print media primarily exposed to, which have as a consequence of the increasing presence of censorship and self-censorship, as well as absence of interpretation and investigative journalism. The emphasis of the research is on the political and economic constraints of preventing the codification of the responsibility of the press, dominant through influences of formal and informal centers of power, the state, i.e. the absence of its presence in creating media strategies, advertisers, publishers and commercial or political PR and establishing the above mentioned as legitimate business model.

Key words: *public discourse, political influence, advertisers, PR, self-censorship*

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dr Veselin Kljajić, vanredni profesor
Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Srpski štampani mediji u izmenjenom javnom diskursu - uzroci krize profesije -²

Apstrakt: U radu se kritički preispituju najznačajnije promene javnog diskursa u kome funkcionišu srpski štampani mediji, a koji su uzrokovali krizu profesije, vidljivu iz različitih rakursa. U fokusu istraživanja nalaze se najznačajniji aspekti uticaja i pritisaka kojima su, pre svega štampani mediji izloženi, koji kao posledicu imaju sve veće prisustvo cenzure i autocenzure, kao i odsudstvo interpretacije i istraživačkog novinarstva. Akcenat istraživanja je na političkim i ekonomskim ograničenjima sprečavanja kodifikacije odgovornosti štampe, dominantno kroz uticaje formalnih i neformalnih centara moći, države, njenog prisustva tj. odsustva u kreiranju medijskih strategija, oglašivača, izdavača i komercijalnog odnosno političkog PR-a, i uspostavljanja istog kao legitimnog modela poslovanja.

Ključne reči: *javni diskurs, politički uticaj, oglašivači, PR, autocenzura*

² Rad je nastao u okviru projekta „Politički identitet Srbije u regionalnom i globalnom konetkstu“, koji realizuje Beogradski univerzitet, Fakultet političkih nauka, a koji finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, Republike Srbije. (broj 179076).

Introduction

The focus of the subject of this paper are dominantly referent and semi-tabloid print media in Serbia and perennial crisis which through agenda of the scientific community increasingly turns common problem of the crisis of journalism. Unavoidable to emphasize from the outset is that this problem is determined by a global trend, which implies a global change in the public discourse, or more precisely in the public sphere, the media in particular. Especially if one takes into account that not only the economic crisis but the general crisis of public fields predominantly influenced the crisis of the media industry and, indirectly, the very journalistic profession.

This paper discusses the structural causes of the crisis from the global trends that have swept the Serbian media scene, to the local specificities that the domestic media space carries primarily printed media. It also makes reference to the impact of a growing trend of publishers and advertisers, state, digitalization, commercial and political PR and other dominant economic aspects of impacts and potential pressures to which the Serbian print media are exposed.

The main objective of this paper is to show that the current domination of tabloid and semi-tabloid and PR content over journalism has its historical causes and complex changes in the media and industry of public relations, induce consequences that undergoes the contemporary journalism both in the world and in the region and in Serbia as well. The causes of this poor state of the profession are the constant changes in the public discourse (from political, to commercial fields to the fields of public relations, digitalizing and changes of structure of the audience), particularly changes in communication and business models in which the print media did not manage to cope well, other than the proverbial "skilled" tabloids, which, due and this situation, took an additional part of the media space. The consequence is the collapse of the media, especially print media, and tabloidization and "showbizing" of public and therefore the media field.

The concept of public discourse in this paper is discussed in the broader sense as the whole field of the public sphere, as opposed to e.g. theorists such as van Dijk, 2008, who provide considerably narrower predominantly political determination. The study emphasizes the statistical and comparative method, consequently to the objectives of analysis – determining cause and consequences. As such understanding is impossible without access to the development and structural change, the historical method is applied as well as the scientific method of explication.

Social significance lies primarily in contributing to the development of professional relationship of journalistic profession in the function of informing citizens and the development of the democratic potential of the society as a whole.

Scientific significance stems from the formulation of responses to the questions of further development and professionalization of the print media in Serbia (and beyond) and their importance for the democratization of society, with the necessary respect of the highest ethical and professional principles, rules and codes and also,

finding a solution for overcoming the economic, technological, professional and every other crisis in which for a long time.

The dominance of digital discourse

Twenty first century has brought us almost unanimous consent of theorists and practitioners of the media at the conclusion that the hyper accelerated development of new technologies has led to radical changes both to the ways of communication, and especially to the fundamental crisis of the traditional media, and the print before all. One of the reasons for this is the change in the audience of these media, which has undergone a generational shift of computer literate who are largely turned to easily accessible and above all, free digital content platforms and predominantly social networks. Click-stream generation has come of age, and its interest in traditional media, especially print, is far from being fulfilled, which further deepens the already great crisis of the publishing industry. In free space proverbial deftly is entered by the old and the new tabloids, and reference print (with honourable exceptions) are more or less become tabloid. The key problem of the existing business model of media is a waste of advertisers (revenues) from the ads that are moving into the digital sphere and according to researches on the accounts of just six major digital companies, primarily Google and Facebook. "In the pre-digital business model, the revenues from the sale of newspapers amounted to only 20%, while 80% came from the sale of advertising space. Example of The New York Times today is followed by many in America, and it is considered to be instructive for one reason: its editorial staff made very little compromises when it comes to quality of content, readers have recognized that and continued to pay for it in order to read it on their mobile devices from tablets and iPhones to the netbooks and smart phones" (Kljajić, 2013:15).

Confirmation of this global trend is certainly complemented by the latest Report on Digital Information for 2013 published by a Reuters Institute, showing relatively better performance of media companies of today on the Internet than outside it. "The statistics in the report suggest that major offline brands in the UK, such as The Guardian, Sky News, BBC and the Daily Mail, do well on the Internet, with more or less the same effect as offline, and with much better performance in case of Guardian. It is striking, and perhaps the announcement for the future development of the situation, that among respondents The Huffington Post, an online only brand in the UK is ranked ahead of the most popular and best selling tabloid, also the best-selling newspaper in the UK 'The Sun'. In France, it appears that both Le Monde (whose share in the offline sample is 6% and online is 13%) and Le Figaro is more successful online than offline, but French media companies find that it is harder to be successful on Internet than off it. In Germany, Der Spiegel dominates the Internet, and the media companies are largely neglected in favour of publishers and aggregators like Google news".³ The survey was conducted

³ www.ejo.rs, "True love - how media brands need to use the internet", visited: April 08, 2014

by polling company YouGov with the help of online survey in late January/early February 2013.

Mark Thompson, president and CEO of the New York Times says that the press could learn lessons from Hollywood how to generate a product of several sources of income. In the first few days after taking over, Thompson argued that the need for serious journalism is greater than ever. But now, industry must find a way to pay for it, and Thompson believes that the solution comes from the highest levels of the market. "Journalism in the serious press kept its modesty and it is still indispensable... we are now seeing more journalistic and creative digital innovation of this type of journalism than compared to tabloids worldwide and with broadcasters"⁴ Speaking at a memorial lecture at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at Oxford University, September 5, 2013, Thomson proposed the further development of online subscriptions as one of the options, as well as using the brand to popularize video, conferences, smart games and electronic advertising. "We do not believe that with the digital performance the thing is over. We expect it to step into a hybrid business in the years to come, both print and digital, with subscription and advertising", said Thompson"⁵

Imperative of presence on as many platforms as possible, while reducing resources for data collection and processing, has led journalists in the position that for the same or smaller financial impact publish much more content (articles) for reading, and then the speed, lack of professionalism, lack of a valid multiple checks, laziness, lack of information and lack of time – take their toll, above everything to quality and professionalism. We are witnesses of that practice in the world's largest print media, as well as domestic ones, especially domestic ones, but you could say regional media too, because the experience, just as mistakes made – are the common denominator. The latest example was the coverage of the devastating floods that hit the entire region when the false numbers of casualties, and also the fake heroes and fictional human interest story alternated filling the headlines and the first screens of portals across the region, almost without exception. In this context it should be noted that the self-regulation of online media is no different than traditional self-regulation, only the focus of interest is moved to the online sphere. The process of digitalization therefore influenced the idea of media self-regulation, and the "traditional and institutionalized forms of media self-regulation that are specifically created for traditional media have to adapt to the new media landscape" (Hulin, 2013:75). The director of the Network for ethical journalism Aidan White is in the same frame of thinking, and he points out that adaptation to new circumstances is necessary because "the internet and digital media are changing, radically and irreversibly, the nature and ethics of journalism" (White, 2013: 61).

All these media trends (of course with the expected delay) invaded the domestic media, impoverished and devastated from the nineties of the 20th century, with the still non-transparent ownership and suspicious concentration of capital,

⁴ www.ejo.rs, "Thompson: Bright future of serious journalism", visited: April 09, 2014

⁵ ibid

undetermined system laws, disrespect of ethical codes and their almost daily violations. Add to that the lack of real power and influence of regulatory bodies, near disappearance of investigative journalism and as researches show long-term trend of insufficient or total lack of interpretation, the picture becomes more complete. For these reasons some of the most respected media companies in the world such as the Associated Press and the Wall Street Journal defined very detailed written instructions which regulate the conduct of journalists on the social networks and the Internet. It should, however, be noted that with these guidelines it is still impossible to solve all the “online ethical dilemmas”, so it is not surprising that the Reuters Manual⁶ states that the world is changing so fast that journalists will have to apply common sense in many cases, so as much as to “like” someone’s page on Facebook at first glance seems incompatible with the objectivity of journalists, it is often the only way to monitor all posts on the page, but also to locate potential sources. This Reuters’ warning is perhaps best indicator of the complexity of regulation and the challenges faced by those who are trying to determine the best standards for online media. “It’s complicated, therefore, to distinguish between what is legal and illegal in online journalism. To decide what is right and what is wrong is even more complex. With the advent of the Internet, new kinds of ethical questions are opened, many of which are directly related to an online journalism” (Krejg, 2010:338).

Economic discourse and commercialization

Now in editorial boards the focus remains on “productivity, efficiency and profit”, while the central values of traditional journalism, “originality, responsibility and autonomy” moved to the margins. (Dahlgren, 2009:146). Therefore, it is no surprise another trend is visible both in Serbian print media, and especially on their online equivalents and that is that many “media events that attract a mass audience today is not news in the traditional sense, but rather extraordinary events and ritual views” (Nielsen, 2012:21). And not just those with a negative prefix, but different “projects” primarily by governing bodies which have as their background well-established strategies and tactics of PR sector. And behind them, as a rule, are political parties or companies and above all partial economic interests.

Increasingly important subject of interest becomes the media market, and the beginning of the 21st century as a dominant tendency brings the establishment of multinational, multimedia conglomerates. General liability is now replaced by the specific responsibility of journalists to the owners and other key stakeholders. In this way the media content becomes increasingly conditioned by the interests of those who finance them. “This means that multimedia companies often look at the information as goods or commodity intended for sale. In market economies goods which does not bring profit is being withdrawn”, White writes in his paper *Media and Democracy*. It is clear that this is the dominant Anglo-Saxon notion of mass

⁶ http://handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Reporting_From_the_Internet_And_Using_Social_Media#Using_Social_Media : visited: March 18, 2014.

culture as the product of a wealthy consumer society.

His thoughts on the same subject Hamilton places into the new economic model in which the news is the goods and as such it needs to answer the following questions: “**Who** is interested in that particular information? **What** are they (that are interested) willing to pay in order to find this information or how many others are willing to pay in order to reach those first? **Where** media and advertisers can reach these people? **When** does it become profitable to provide information? **Why** is it profitable?” (Hamilton, 2003:7)

The latest theoretical considerations, caused by changes in the mode of communication, displaced in an online dimension, leave even the theory of information as a commodity and talk about the model – services, searching for new business concepts bill the same services. The late 20th and first decade of the 21st century brought rapid merging and convergence of telecommunications and media industries, and increased integration of hardware and software caused the spread of the so-called global “information economy” as defined by Paterson. In this way, the media concentrated in the hands of a small group of people and media organizations are generally owned by large transnational corporations that have their own financial interests, not only in these industries, but also in the entertainment industry, tourism, real estate, in the oil and nuclear industries. All this affected the content and consequently to reducing the number of sources of independent media and commercialization of content. Some authors go even further, claiming that the proprietary censorship has created a “surface of trivialization and tabloidization of information and news” (Franklin, 1997:87).

Ed Herman and Noam Chomsky establish in the eighties American “propaganda model” going even further in the critique of political economy models. Herman even lays down five filters that are a prerequisite for anything in America be considered news. Namely, he insists that the media is not dominated by professional media personnel, but various checkpoints, networked with high-profit companies and organizations associated with the government and the world of business. At first glance, it seems like a conspiracy theory (for which he was accused in some circles), but when these filters are viewed individually and in causality (not only) the global picture gains some sort of transparency. The first filter, according to him is size, concentration of ownership, property and profit orientation of the major media companies. The next is the dominance of paid advertising as a business model and the impact of these same advertisers. Third, the dependence of the media on information from the government or large corporations which necessarily imply the inclusion of services in the field of public relations. Fourth, the so-called machine-gun fire i. e. orchestrated attacks by politicians, government, large companies and powerful interest groups in the news media for the purpose of discipline and censorship of critical thinking.

Non-transparent media ownership started with so called first privatization, with the exception of Ringier did not bring much desired “healthy” capital, unfair competition continued, a low or complete lack of profitability – continued. The

latest research, conducted at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade⁷ showed, on a sample of 10 Belgrade dailies that every one of them has on average 6.2 advertisements and with self promotion less than a dozen. Together with the profit of the circulation it does not reach not even 50% of the total profit which raises the logical question of how print media survive and who funds them? This data shows that the market is not the determining factor for the survival and successful business of print media, but the overlap of very different interests and influences is on the scene, which are likely the answer of survival of as much as two-thirds of unprofitable Serbian newspaper publishers.

Launched media strategy and a set of media laws remained unfinished, thus media market is unregulated system and all that is followed with the dominance of PR texts and almost tacitly adopting the PR business model as legitimate, of course with the inevitable economic alibi. Specifically Serbian ad market is one of the poorest in Europe, “with the average value of around 170 million Euros in the last three years. The share of print media is around 23%, which also lags behind the European average. During the peak of 2008, the market value of ad market was 2.5 times lower than the market in Slovenia, and in 2011, around 50 million Euros lower than in Croatia” (Matić, 2012:171). What aggravates the situation is the fact that the state is the single largest advertiser in Serbia with a share of around 40 million Euros, which means that from “the state to media institutions goes nearly a quarter of their total advertising revenues” (Kljajić, 2012:161). What’s its potential impact on the media, printed above all, one can only speculate. But despite the fact, of all dailies only four operate positive.

A true democratic society “depends on valid informing of citizens that are allowed by independent media that contribute to transparency and better communication and influence on the overall socio-economic development. All this, however, points to one of the dominant challenges facing the media, especially print media, face today due to lack of money and excess influence from various sides” (Kljajić, 2013:127).

Almost two years ago a report published by the Anti-corruption Board stating that the media in Serbia are under strong political pressure raises concerns, and that “there is no longer media in which citizens can obtain a complete and objective information, because, under strong pressure that comes from political circles, media are silent about some events or report them selectively and incompletely” (Kljajić, 2012:15). Consequence – independent journalism is marginalized and just as the research journalism it is “moved” to social networks and online sphere which is, one must admit, a global trend. The reason is simple – reduce the possibility of different types of listed influences and pressures. It seems that the journalists themselves are aware of it because in researches, as their biggest problems are cited poor quality journalism, dominated by sensationalism and tabloid journalism, and one-fifth (17.23%) believe that the biggest problem of the media at this moment is unfavourable economic situation.

⁷ Bujanja, I. (2014). Advertisements in Belgrade daily newspapers. master work, communicology studies Belgrade: FPN.

PR discourse and political influence

And while the state is still the single largest advertiser with a share of almost one-quarter, 509 newspapers in Serbia (as it is registered) continues to run the race of survival in completely altered public discourse of digital, through commercial to political, noting the changes in the context in which so-called independent journalism found itself, but not with ways to fit into these changes. This is especially true in times of election campaigns (before, during, and after) and if it's any consolation syndrome "political megaphone" is also one of the global trends. The study on the state of journalism in the United Kingdom and the impact of OSJ conducted by the University of Cardiff in 2008 showed that 60% of newspaper articles and 34% of the news in the electronic media, in whole or largely derive from previously prepared sources. Another research conducted in 2012, but on the other side of the world, in the U.S.A.,⁸ research of respected Pew Research Center, confirmed the growing influence of the PR industry. Based on data from the same 2008, (as in the case of previous research) on one journalist in America comes 3.6 "publicists" which is the common name for the staff of the Public Relations Department. Analysis of recent U.S. presidential election showed that only 25% of all journalistic texts were the result of journalistic work, and as much as 75% were the form of statements and press releases, i.e. PR machine! Just five years ago, the ratio was almost inversely proportional! Data that are revealed by two studies in 2012 and 2013 jointly conducted by Serbian Society for Public Affairs and the three press associations UNS, NUNS and NDNV Media Association and the Local Press confirm this trend in a representative sample of 248 media representatives and showing that "38.4% of respondents believe that PR generally helps the media, 28.2% were indifferent, and only 26% think that the representatives of the PR industry generally hinder."

Journalists working in traditional print media editorial boards or in their online editions confirms that the key flaws of so called new journalism are primarily increasingly less accurate reporting, reduced source checking, reduced number and influence of journalists in multimedia newsrooms and situations where speed and directness become more important than the accuracy of the news. Because of the increasing influence of social networks and the growing number of their audiences, the world's print media have the entire editorial staff in charge of monitoring the social network and then finding the topics for "their" audience, Twitter (i.e. its contents) is increasingly in the world and in our region becoming the topic even for the reference print. But of course all of this is known to the employees in the field of public relations and therefore is a huge part of their activities is social networks and new media. They induce the latter printed content and increasingly of course PR content, as the game inevitably includes aggregators who take up the contents.

The basic paradigm of traditional journalism, established as axioms of good reporting (at least two or three independent sources, mandatory source verification, fair relationship, complete and accurate information, etc.) are neglected and instead

⁸ http://www.journalism.org/research_and_analysis/Studies, visited: March 17, 2014

used sources (often unknowingly) are different “PR cuisines” and the content becomes subject to (un)desired spin. This phrase, therefore, as some tabloids publicly admit that when it is in their interests (political or circulation) knowingly publish spun information. Spin doctors seem to have mastered the methodology of media manipulation of public opinion of Noam Chomsky and the arsenal of methods include: diverting attention, creating problems, postponement, getting used to the upcoming unpopular measures, awakening emotions, creating a sense of guilt. For this purpose euphemisms are used, bad news are hidden or produced (when appropriate), pseudo events are created, off-the record information are pushed, etc. Everything is in service of the control of content, creating agenda settings and ultimately achieving the aim from the fields of political or commercial value. Of course, this all started in the online sphere, portals, blogs and social networks, to be spilled over the next day into printed publications and electronic media headlines.

In addition to the fact that domestic media space is characterized with the content of proverbially Omni-present politics and lately its blatant trivialization (through numerous tabloids) in the field of public relations through media content globally and locally increasingly, you could say predominantly, enter the entertainment industry and show business, sports, crime news and life style. In the new global village, all of them, “studios, producers, stars, they all have their own machines to create publicity that compete for global media attention” (Tench, Yeomans, 2009:681). Field for manipulation dramatically increases and a trend of presence of these contents is growing rapidly each year. Estimates show that their share in the Serbian print media today ranges from 60% - 75%. Unfortunately, numerous studies in the world and in the region show similar tendencies. Especially if one takes into account that due to social networking the stakeholders deliver their content – directly, i.e. without the mediation of journalists who in a way become redundant. Often this kind of manipulation is taking place under the guise of the increasingly popular participatory journalism, influential bloggers etc., while behind all is partial often economic or political interest.

Perhaps because in most countries (excluding the U.S.) information about the development of the public relations industry are not widely available, they are from the very beginning, followed by a critical analysis of social commentaries of those who doubted the potential domination of public communication. Today, there is no such doubt and there is general agreement on the establishment of a global trend of domination of PR content over “pure” informative – journalistic. With almost all scholars agree on is that the dynamics that led to the emergence and development of the public relations industry was similar in all countries and that it related primarily to the “industrialization, new forms of technology, development of democracy, the growth of literacy, urbanization and the emergence of mass media” (Baerns, 2000:147). Yet what is lacking in theoretical considerations is that the latest technical and technological changes but primarily digital changes (along with other factors caused by the economic crisis and change not only in the global economic model, but also the media and any other public discourse) – have further

accelerated the development of the PR industry. Consequently there are a growing number of theories that place the focus of this research on the problem of – first content strategy.

But while these theories do not come to life in journalistic practice, we will continue to have an almost uniform content, including those from the political field, i.e. almost always the government, instead of once just protocol news – now become an indispensable part of every agenda settings. Perhaps the best illustration of the current situation in Serbian media was given by the presenter of a very popular radio station the other day with her probably unconscious announcement which literally reads: “and now, time reserved for the prime minister...”. Any comment would be superfluous.

Concluding Remarks

Tectonic shifts that have occurred in previous years in the global media market, causing a radical transformation of modern journalism and the entire media industry, spilled over at one point on the local media scene. The economic crisis, the impact of the Internet, digitalization, social networking and general commercialization, and consequently the trend of increased influence in the field of public relations, mostly have hit the print media in Serbia. All of these significant changes in the field of public discourse have caught Serbian press unprepared both in the system and in terms of technology and human resources. Economically long time exhausted prints, stuck in the process of unfinished transition from one and the information society on the other hand, (rare honorable exceptions) are very slow to mobilize their resources in response to new professional challenges. Media crisis has continued to deepen inevitably causing a crisis of already broached journalistic profession. Impoverished journalists are forced to work on multiple platforms for the same financial impact in real terms at the same time, constantly under the influence of political and commercial fields, including the country (which is only nominally committed to their independence and autonomy), which is frequently converted into “extended hand” of Omni-potent PR industry. All prerequisites for (not classical censorship as we already know it in theory and practice of totalitarian systems) “censorship of critical thinking”, or more precisely self-censorship are not only acquired, but it is as a result of the foregoing causes applied to the newspaper contents. Increasingly rare research (which is particularly worrisome) and interpretative journalism moved to online sphere, leaving extra space to sweeping process of tabloidization and consequently vulgarization of each segment and even the field of politics.

Internet gurus and serious investigators had high expectations that at least Internet will provide us a new freedom and the potential for democratization. Unfortunately, empirical data that have been collected by two U.S. investigators Karin Deutsch Karlekar (Freedom House) and Lee B. Becker (University of Georgia) showed that this optimism was in vain: they estimate that in many parts of the

world freedom of press and expression, as well as other elementary factors of democracy such as freedom of assembly, independence of the judiciary and rule of law are ever more vulnerable. This happens in countries where authoritarian governments (e.g. in Turkey, Russia, Hungary and Ukraine) have endangered civil liberties, but also in countries with a long tradition of democracy, mainly Western European countries, where “mainly economic problems interfere with the ability to demonstrate leadership in these important issues”.⁹

To expect that the media and the profession be at a high or at least satisfactory level, at a time when the credibility of much of the institutional framework is seriously damaged is unrealistic. But the struggle for the return of professional standards and immeasurable role of print media in the democratization of society – it is not unrealistic. Many theorists and practitioners who, like the author of this paper are aware of that, and argue that print media will not only not disappear, but will with the inevitable changes manage and “after finish of crisis will be able to recover and adapt to the changed circumstances of the media market” (Kljajić, 2012:18). Until then, the only remedy for the acute condition is continuous respect of professional rules, standards, codes and ethical principles, with the necessary system solutions.

⁹ <http://en.ejo.ch/8838/research/sound-alarm-democracy>, visited: May 12, 2014

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PhD Gabriella Velics,¹ associate professor
Department of Communication and Media, University of West-Hungary,
Szombathely (Hungary)

Journalism – the crises of rising generation

Abstract: The article focuses on several different aspects which influence young generation whether to become a journalist or not. During the last 25 years - following the system changeover in Central and Eastern European countries – many has changed. This article presents specialities of Hungary, but most of the aspects and raised questions similar to other countries in this region. The aspects and questions which examined in this article are based on sociology, media-economy and media-policy. We summarize five basic factors: motivation on choosing a profession, condition of education, accessibility to practice, political regulation and influence on this profession, change of the behaviour of media-consumers. These five factors have determining impact in the life expectations of the new generations of journalists. My assumption is that changes in social environment and media consumption are the dominant factors. To prove my view and describe the situation I use statistics from governmental institutes, data from media-institutes and my researches too.

Choosing a profession is always influenced by anticipation. Everybody wants a prosperous future with good salary and high prestige. Conditions of the labour-market, economic circumstances and prospects influences all kind of professions, but journalism as a profession is also influenced by political circumstances. There was time when only the most trustworthy to political ideologies had the chance to become journalist. Time has changed, but nowadays regulation by media-act is stronger than by professional associates again.

Around 1990-1993 was the golden age of Hungarian journalism, it helped universities to start faculty of communication, studying journalism soon became the top choice among the students. Then something very complex followed. Associates of journalists has lost power, salaries fallen off, many were sent off, statistics show the decline of buying print materials and rising web-based information.

Now, it seems nobody really cares about the standard of profession, journalism degree has lost its importance, give access to practice during academic years became difficult, students often struggle with unemployment. It is just amazing how these 25 years could lift and let fall journalism as profession, the article try to show this complexity.

Keywords: *motivation of working in media, condition of education, change of the behaviour of media-consumers*

¹ E-mail: gabriellavelics@hotmail.com

dr Gabriella Velics, vanredni profesor
Odsjek za medije i komunikacije, Univerzitet Zapadne Mađarske,
Sombathelj (Mađarska)

Novinarstvo - kriza dolazećih generacija

Apstrakt: Rad se usredsređuje na nekoliko različitih gledišta koje utiču na mladi naraštaj da li da postanu novinari ili ne. Tokom posljednjih 25 godina – nakon promjene sistema u državama Srednje i Istočne Evrope – mnogo toga se promijenilo. Ovaj rad se zasniva na stanju u Mađarskoj ali je većina gledišta i postavljenih pitanja slična drugim državama regiona. Gledišta i pitanja koja su postavljena u ovom radu su zasnovana na sociologiji, ekonomiji medija i medijskoj politici. U ovom radu rezimiramo pet osnovnih činilaca: motivaciju prilikom izbora zanimanja, stanje obrazovanja, pristupačnost za bavljenje poslom, političke propise i uticaj na zanimanje, promjenu ponašanja medijskih potrošača. Ovih pet činilaca imaju odlučujući uticaj na životna očekivanja novog naraštaja novinara. Pretpostavka je da su promjene u društvenom okruženju i potrošnji medija preovlađujući činioci. Da bi dokazali ovo stanovište i opisali stanje, koristimo statistiku iz vladinih institucija, podatke iz medijskih instituta, kao i sopstvena istraživanja.

Na odabir zanimanja uvijek utiče očekivanje. Svako želi prosperitetnu budućnost sa dobrom platom i velikim ugledom. Uslovi na tržištu rada, ekonomske okolnosti i izgledi utiču na sve vrste zanimanja, ali je novinarstvo kao zanimanje takođe pod uticajem političkih okolnosti. Postojalo je doba kada su samo najvjerniji političkim ideologijama imali priliku da postanu novinari. Vrijeme se promijenilo, ali danas su propisi o medijskim aktima opet jači nego sami novinari.

Između 1990. – 1993. bilo je zlatno doba mađarskog novinarstva i to je pomoglo univerzitetima da osnuju fakultete za komunikologiju, pa je studiranje novinarstva ubrzo postalo najpoželjnije među studentima. Nakon toga slijedilo je nešto veoma složeno. Novinari su izgubili moć, plate su se smanjile, mnogi su otpušteni a statistike pokazuju pad kupovine štampanog materijala i porast informisanja zasnovanog na internetu.

Sada se čini da nikome nije stalo do standarda u novinarstvu, diploma novinara je izgubila na važnosti, pristup praksi tokom studiranja je postao otežan, a svršeni studenti se bore sa nezaposlenošću. Zadivljujuće je kako ovih 25 godina mogu izdići novinarstvo kao zanimanje, a zatim ga opet poniziti. Ovaj rad pokušava da pokaže složenost ovog problema.

Ključne riječi: *motivacija rada u medijima, uslovi obrazovanja, promjena ponašanja medijskih potrošača*

Introduction

During the last 25 years - following the system changeover in Central and Eastern European countries – many has changed. This article focuses on several different aspects which influence young generation whether to become a journalist or not. While I present speciality of Hungary, the reader can be sure that most of the aspects and raised questions similar to other countries in this region.

The aspects and questions which examined in this article are based on sociology, media-economy and media-policy. My background and experiences as journalist and academic during these years strengthen me to summarize five basic factors: motivation on choosing a profession, condition of education, accessibility to practice, political regulation and influence on this profession, change of the behaviour of young media-consumers. These five factors have determining impact in the life expectations of the new generation of journalists. My assumption is that changes in social environment and media consumption are the dominant factors. To prove my view and describe the situation I use statistics from governmental institutes, data from media-institutes and my researches too.

It is just amazing how these 25 years could lift and let fall journalism as profession, the article try to show this complexity.

Motivation on choosing a profession

Choosing a profession at the age of 15-18 - when they are still in grammar school and focuses mostly on subjects useful for entrance exam of higher education - is always tricky, it's influenced by anticipation. Everybody – also parents and secondary school teachers – want a prosperous future with good salary and high prestige to the young.

Future is not predictable in general, there are some approximations as data from labour - statistics, but most of the people don't read statistics and get ideas about the possible outcome of the next years based on personal observations, and what others talk, chat and gossiping. The typical pattern of choosing a profession is shown by data from Research of the Youth in the Western Hungarian Region in 2005 (Neupor-Szakál, 2005:33). The question was: Where do you get inspiration from, while choosing your profession? The answers: 50 % - don't know..., 35% - family, 23% - friends, 16 % - media, 11% - school, 9% - books and 7% - movies. So, choosing a profession is highly determined by family and friends next to different media effects.

I use my research's results to show why the major Communication and Media Studies had been attracting so many students to Berzsényi College² in Szombathely (Velics, 2006:83-95). In year 2002/2003, we had nearly 300 students on this major, and another 2000 students on Cultural Studies. Both had the opportunity to get

² This was affiliated into the University of West-Hungary in 2008. I have been working here since 1999 at Department of Communication and Media.

specialization on public relations, but only those studying on Communication and Media had the opportunity to get specialization on journalism. I asked all first year students by a questionnaire, and got an overview of the underlying motivation behind the students' application and of their expectations and assumptions relating to the field of communication as their future career. Choosing a career was highly motivated by the interest of the students, salary, fame and successful professional career. See table 1. (Velics, 2006:87) They have expected an interesting and exciting job where is a chance for self-realization and big money. See table 2. (Velics, 2006:91) and table 3. (Velics, 2006:89). The conclusion of my study was that students show a tendency for directing themselves towards the commercial side of the media and PR matters. They wish to see that their degree has a certain labour market value, and expect a training allowing them to meet market requirements.

Table 1.

Choosing my career was affected by ...	Rank 1.	Rank 2.	Rank 3.	Rank 4.	Rank 5.	cumulated scores and final rank
my own field of interest	38	6	3	1	1	1.
lot of specialization available in this profession (journalism, PR, web)	3	8	12	5	1	2.
I would like to work for a communication company	2	14	6	3	3	3.
I would like to get honour in my society	1	5	6	10	8	4.
I would like to earn lot of money	2	2	4	11	9	5.
it was the easiest to gain admission	4	5	0	2	7	6.
the fame of this college/ university	1	4	4	1	7	7.
my parents' advice	0	1	8	4	3	8.
I would like to be a media-star	2	2	3	2	5	9.
I would like to be successful quickly	1	1	2	7	0	10.
a media role-model	0	3	4	1	1	11.
my friends' advice	0	1	2	3	4	12.
there was no other choice	0	2	0	2	2	13.

Table 2.

	I have chosen this profession (journalism, PR) because this person ...	cumulated points (max.550-min.55)
1.	has interesting and exciting job	464
2.	has chance for self-realization	452
3.	improves his/her talent	445
4.	has chance for work independently and decide free	422
5.	earns lot of money	348
6.	solves problems “night and day”	317
7.	makes successful career quickly	316

Table 3.

After graduating I would like to have a job at ...	Rank 1.	Rank 2.	Rank 3.
biggest commercial TV of my country	8	5	2
PR-department of a for profit organisation	5	7	0
country daily-newspaper	5	3	3
PR-concern or agency	5	2	2
other field, using my second major	5	1	10
commercial radio	3	6	2
company for business-communication	3	4	3
somewhere abroad	1	4	6
local daily newspaper	1	3	2
local TV	1	1	2
PR-department of a not for profit organisation	1	1	0
my own business	1	0	3
public radio of my country	1	0	0
public TV of my country	0	1	1
on-line newspaper	0	0	1
I don't know what to do	0	0	1
I don't want to use my communication degree	0	0	0

Journalism is not a very common profession; you can't have many journalists in your circle. But, you can have good views while reading newspapers and magazines, listening to radios, watching TV programmes and using websites. Users can build opinion about journalists by observing their products. Are they telling the truth or meet the requirements of politicians and businessmen? Are they intelligent or average? Are they trusty? Reading tabloids and watching similar programs in television give insight into the private life of leading journalists, editors and program hosts. Watching the wealth of these people can give you the idea that being a journalist is something that you can earn lots of money and gives you high prestige. It's only partly true.

The latest research which focused on working and life condition of Hungarian journalists was made in 2007 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Eötvös Loránd University and Association of Hungarian Journalists. The data show significant rejuvenation in comparison with the data of 1997. The young working in media was only 10% in 1997, after 10 years data show that 33% of employees are under 30 years, 25% are 31-40 years, and rest are older than 40 years. It was caused by headway of commercial and web based journalism. Interesting, that 47 % of journalists are women, the third best rank in EU after Finland and Spain. The most revealing and startling data was about salaries. I show the results in comparison with the minimum and guaranteed salary of 2007 for those having degree, which was 98250 HUF (around 390 euro).³ See table 4.

Table 4.

The salary is ... % of the guaranteed minimum.	It's true for ...% of Hungarian journalists.
under 100 %	20%
100-120 %	13%
120-200 %	32%
200-300 %	20%
over 300%	12%

Those working in commercial TV, weekly magazines and online media got the biggest salaries, but they even felt themselves underpaid. The journalists working at public media or countryside got the worst salary, under 100% of the guaranteed minimum is not rare, showing the paradox of regulation and practice.

Nowadays, the salaries (gross salary, changed in daily rate 1 euro=310 HUF) in my town⁴ are: editor in chief of local commercial radio ~ 1000 euro, journalist in regional daily newspaper ~ 500-700 euro, newsreader or technician in local commercial radio ~ 500 euro, junior journalist at local weekly get 65 euro for 10 hours/week.⁵ In comparison, the average salary in 2013 in Hungary⁶ is 230700 HUF = 745 euro, in 2014⁷ the minimum and guaranteed salary is 118000 HUF = 380 euro for those having secondary or higher education, junior teacher with university degree earns 175494 HUF = 570 euro, junior public servant with degree get 127000 HUF = 410 euro, but junior engineer easily get 800-1100 euro. The latest data from 2012

³ Minimum and guaranteed salary was first introduced in Hungary in 2006 by regulation 306/2005. These “numbers” are defined for different educational stages need for a job: without basic education, with professional secondary education, and with higher education. Employers must provide minimum this salary for their employees. Numbers are defined for each year in the midst of heated debate.

⁴ Szombathely is located near to the Austrian border and has been county town for ages.

⁵ All data was collected confidentially from my students working there.

⁶ Data from Hungarian Central Statistical Office. <https://www.ksh.hu/keresetek>, Visited on 02.04.2014.

⁷ Data from Public Service Portal. <http://www.kozszolga.hu/illetmenyalap>, Visited on 02.04. 2014.

show⁸, that a junior with communication and media degree get around 530 euro, but they expected to have twice as much!

So, being a journalist in the capital of the country, working in top daily newspapers and commercial media, especially in television is really productive, but it's open only for the few. Being a journalist in the country-side is something very different. The difference between the salaries can be double or triple or even more, and in general this means a lower middle class standard.

Experts of job-market reports each year that final year students are ignorant of real life and usually have huge expectation on salary, and working conditions. As the last four years show us, Hungary is still struggle with difficulties in economy, the unemployment rate among young⁹ is significant 24,5 %, the average time to get a job after having degree is 7 months but if you were active in your student years and had work experience during studying it could succeed in 5 months!

Misunderstanding is general, those who choose studying journalism has limited knowledge about the real possibilities and standard of living in this profession.

Condition of education

There was time when only the most trustworthy to political ideologies had the chance to become journalist. In the past (before 1989-90) it was impossible to study journalism in universities. The general way was, that first you had to get any kind of degree such as teacher or engineer or anything you like, and only after this you were able to seek a possible newspaper or magazine and ask the editor in chief to employ you as journalist. Of course they assessed your ability and kept a check on your background too. Only those who went through these steps had the chance to study journalism. Only the Association of Hungarian Journalists provided the special training for them, it was two years studying in line with working in your editorial job. This system was also changed by the changing of the regime in 1989-90. Part of the story is, that during the final years of the socialist-regime even more and more newspaper and local media started to work, these open-minded people gave different kind of journalism which was not familiar in the Eastern block before. Discovering secrets and telling the truth, working on the basis of western journalism standards gave them support and respect from the public. Around 1990-1993 was the golden age of Hungarian journalism, it helped universities to start faculty of communication, studying journalism getting more popular and became the top choice among the students. Many chose it instead of the also popular career of lawyer or economist!

Soon - as a result of this phenomenon - more than 20 universities and colleges offered the line of communication and media sciences all over Hungary. All univer-

⁸ Data from Education Portal. http://eduline.hu/felnottkepzes/2014/2/25/friss_diplomas_fizetese_k_Y9U4LR, Visited on 02.04.2014.

⁹ Data from Trading Economics. <http://hu.tradingeconomics.com/hungary/youth-unemployment-rate>, Visited on 02.04.2014.

sities and even small town colleges took advantage of growing needs. It was not rare that 100-300 students started first year in each institutes. Universities and colleges based in Budapest easily had larger number of students, even if it was well known, that it's impossible to provide enough practice to 200-300 students each year, even 100 students on a TV or radio seminar is too much. Yes, it was obvious, that dropping of the size is inevitable, if you would like to provide high standard. But it's not inevitable that all institutes focused on good quality of education and practice. Part of the truth is that universities get financial support from the state by number of students, so institutes have interest in larger number of students. And of course larger number of students pays more tuition fee too. Keeping a popular line in top often means that institutes can provide rare or less popular lines by cross-financing, e.g. provide studying Lithuanian or Latvian languages. So, what happens in the academic world is not only for the sake of professional education but also for the sake of financial stability of the institutes and political bargain of the cities.

Communication and media studies has been among the 'five most popular line' in each year until the economic crises in 2008 and change of the governing party in 2010. Then something very complex followed. Media industry was not collapsed but statistics show the decline of buying newspapers and magazines, many use blogs and web-based information which were free instead of buying institutional journalistic products. Salaries fallen off, many were sent off in media too, being a journalist is not rewarding anymore.

There was a bilateral workshop in summer of 2012, Budapest, where Hungarian and German academics and representatives of media discussed about the situation of education (Bánlaki, 2012). One of the Hungarian speakers declared: "there is neither journalism school in Hungary nor standardized way of education in media!" The debate revealed several aspects of difficulties:

- studying journalism in universities often means theoretical approach only, compensated with half year practice somewhere in media or business,
- students are under educated and under motivated in some aspects, (e.g. they are highly interested in writing about cultural events or sport, but not politics. If they got a task to summarize a decision of Constitutional Court in short article, they would be shocked. They often choose easy opportunities instead of making an effort.)
- students don't like to read - neither books nor newspapers - often have no idea about life in general,
- hundreds of journalists get diploma each year, but only about 10% can have a job as journalist, PR or marketing professional.

The government started reform of higher education, and it also significantly affected the line of communication and media studies. In answer to the economic crises, the government made effort on stabilizing the economy by industry. One of the actions was that number of students who can obtain state financing¹⁰ was cut dramatically in faculty of arts and increased in science and especially in engineer-

¹⁰They usually have the highest score on entrance exams, and don't need to pay fees.

ing! Last year 1165 students applied to communication and media studies, but only 25 was financed by the state, the rest had to pay fees. The statistics of the applications in 2014 shows¹¹, that communication and media is not in the top 15 anymore, and attracts only around 1000 students, while there are five different technical lines among the top 15 most popular lines, studying engineering is the second most popular after management and business.

For the year 2014/15 tuition fee in each semester will be 150000-280000 HUF = 485-910 euro on communication and media studies.¹² BA studies have six semesters, so to get a journalist degree you have to pay minimum 900000 HUF ~ 3000 euro for tuition fees all together and of course you have to cover other costs as well as accommodation, living, and having fun during these years too! The state provides two types of credit for students with low interest, one is for tuition fees only, and one is for other cost of students. In theoretically everybody can have access to higher education, but practically those who have less opportunity in life in general they could be more motivated by studying on free lines. Dropping of number of students in Faculty of Arts especially led to difficult situation, financing some of Hungarian universities and colleges became dramatic. Closing lines, layoff academic staff en masse has been the typical solution.

Access to practice

Shortly after changing of the regime in 1989-90, the faculty of communication was established at three Hungarian Universities (based on Budapest, Pécs and Szeged), studying journalism became very popular (Szajbély, 2004). Many students chose it instead of the also popular career of lawyer or economist. As a result of this phenomenon the faculty of communication has been started year by year all over the country. Presently 19 higher education institutes offer faculty of communication and media science by BA and/or MA level in our country. The institutes locate very unevenly in the country, half of the institutes based in the Middle- Hungarian Region (Budapest and its surrounding), the others based mainly in biggest cities! The biggest media organizations also based in Budapest - so imagine a quick future carrier - students usually decide to start their education in a Budapest-based university or college. However it is strange, that in spite of the popularity of the communication and media science, altogether only seven institutes provide practice to all four journalistic area (radio, TV, press and online). "Radio and/or TV studios were built in universities and colleges and have been operating for years like a real medium in thirteen institutes, the studios are used for only education in four institutes, and we could mention a higher-education institute without any practical training facilities." (Wein, 2010:15) In some cases these studios owned

¹¹ Data from the official portal of application for admission. http://www.felvi.hu/felveteli/jelentkezes/aktualis/jelentkezok_szama_2014A, Visited on 16.04.2014.

¹² Data from Education Portal. http://eduline.hu/erettsegi_felveteli/2013/12/30/16_nepszeru_szak_onkoltseg_RIZRFT, Visited on 16.04.2014.

by the university itself, but most common, that there is an Ltd. or a Foundation in the background who run the TV or radio. Studios owned by commercial station is also not rare, in this case university is only the minor owner. Some example from my study based on telephone and personal interviews with studio leaders in 2011:

Kodolányi János College, Székesfehérvár, Vörösmarty Radio¹³: There is a 24 hours broadcasting, non for profit, public programme provider can be heard on the 99,2 MHz and online as well, has been operating in the building of the college since 1999. The editors and presenters aren't students, but radio experts take part in education as well. The students of the communication courses can get opportunity to contribute to the work of the radio only during the compulsory practice in a second studio built only for training. However there is a kind of radio-club for years where ambitious students can run own show under supervision of expert staff on every Tuesday.

College of Dunaújváros, Dunaújváros, Rardio24¹⁴: This radio is a commercial radio partly owning by the college, it can be received on the 102,9 MHz in the 60 km circle of the town and online as well. The students perform a compulsory practise here: they are given duties related with programme-making, they edit brief news and music lists, cut, write programme offers, prepare signals, but they may run an own programme only at the night hours. The staff of the radio include best students of the courses.

Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, EPER Radio¹⁵: It has been working in the city of Budapest since 2004, can be received on the 97,00 MHz and heard online, too. Students take part in the work as optional courses or working as volunteers. There is live broadcast between 9 am – 19 pm and pre-recorded programme and replay run in the rest time. Their specialities are: recording and broadcasting of the university lectures, and making radio-plays.

Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College of the Reformed Church of Hungary, Debrecen, Méliusz Radio¹⁶: The first reformed radio of Hungary can be received on the 88 MHz and online as well. Professional experts and students of the communication degree course work at the radio side by side.

College of Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza, Campus Radio¹⁷: It has been working on the 97,9 MHz 24 hours a day and online as well, since the spring of 2005. Educational, scientific and cultural programme are the base, but programme deal with the everyday life of the college too. The radio has five full-time and paid experts, they run the studio and make programme, but also give training for students. Students work here during compulsory trainings or as a volunteer.

¹³ Information: Virágh, Ildikó, editor in chief. Website: www.vorosmartyradio.hu, Visited 12.01.2011.

¹⁴ Information: Garda, Árpád, editor in chief and Hársfai, István, editor. Website: www.r24.hu. Visited 12.01.2011.

¹⁵ Information: Hargitai, Henrik, editor in chief. Website: <http://eper.elte.hu>. Visited 12.01.2011.

¹⁶ Website: <http://www.licium.hu>. Visited 12.01.2011.

¹⁷ Information: Pós, Anita, editor. Website: www.campusradio.hu. Visited 12.01.2011.

University of Szeged, Szeged, Radio Mi¹⁸: The small community radio founded in 2005 based in a garage, after three years operating they got a contract with the university. The university assure place for the Radio Mi in the new studio, in the event that the radio taking in and involving the students of the communication degree course to the work. The radio broadcasts mainly music programme on the 89,9 MHz all day long and can be received online too. The programme presenters of the radio are volunteers, DJ-s, musicians, journalists and students.

University of West Hungary, Szombathely, Berzsenyi Rádío¹⁹: The idea of Berzsenyi Radio was born in spring of 2003 at the Department of Communication and Cultural Studies at the former Berzsenyi Dániel College (now it's part of the University of West Hungary as Campus Savaria). I was part of the team of three who was responsible for writing the application for a small community radio license and prepares the technical and organizational plan for operating. We²⁰ had difficulties with obtain the license and permit for broadcast, but the studio was managed to built very quickly and we started training with students without transfer the signals to the antenna. We first went on air on 5. April, 2005. and - unique in the country - the show was live on the website www.berzsenyiradio.hu too. Berzsenyi Radio is situated in Szombathely, county town of Vas near the Austrian border. The studio and the room for preparing radio programme can be found on the top floor of the main University building. As this building is situated in the center of the town, so we could provide broadcasting with the permitted capacity in a circle of 3 km, this covers all around the town. The presenters and the invited guests can take a seat around a round table with four microphones, the working field of the technician directly near them with the audio-mixer, computer and music players. Next door is the room for preparing radio programme where sound can be cut and programme to be prepared by five computers, and there is also facility to rent technical equipments to outside-recording, or resting a little during broadcasting, talking with the presenters waiting for their turn. At the starting in 2003 the financial situation of the radio seemed to be well-grounded, but as years going by the college became a university during the time of the realignment of the higher education structure of Hungary, its financial situation wavered. In year 2011, the new media law altered the condition of community radios and made operation impossible for such small organizations as university radios, our radio lost the licence for broadcasting in 2012. After this decision we use the studio only for trainings.

I examined the operation of the radio several times as part of my managerial task. Now, I mention only results from the two SWOT analysis made in 2005 (at the beginning of operation) and 2010 (working on top). Focusing only on results relating to access to practice, I show only the strong points and the opportunities (Velics, 2011).

¹⁸ Information: Turánszkai, Zsolt, leader of the radio. Website: <http://radiomi.hu>, Visited 12.01.2011.

¹⁹ Website: <http://www.berzsenyiradio.hu>. Visited 04.04.2014.

²⁰ I refer "we", because I was part of the management since the first time, and editor in chief from 2007 to 2012 when we had to finish operation.

Strong points:

2005:

- programme (25 answers)
- professionalism (24 answers)
- young spirit, student target-audience (24 answers)
- motivation (20 answers)
- relationship, community (17 answers)

2010:

- technical equipment (29 answers)
- practice (22 answers)
- programme (17 answers)
- friendship, community (16 answers)

They appreciated the wide range of programme and the fact that they have free hand on preparing their programme. The answers classified to the category of professionalism mentioned the high quality studio equipment in 2005. In 2010 more participants mentioned the new website and the chat-box making the programme interactive. Some of them listed the expert team and supporting connection to the strong points as well. The young spirit and student target audience characters are considered strong point in the view of that interpretation that students broadcast for students, this is the voice of young people and they are the main target group. Two of them mentioned as primary facts that the strong point 'we are J', 'who making it J'. By 2010 the community forming power of the radio was considered as a strong point too. Solidarity, the friendly atmosphere, team work, all appeared like positive characters in the survey. The radio brings people together forming new relationship with new ones, including the members of the academic staff or such persons of the public life they don't dare to address without the radio. Still in 2005 the motivation factors were: being creative and showing off, by 2010 those sounds firmed that Berzsényi Radio is the field of the professional training, preparation for job. They considered this activity gives a good professional base and references to find a job and everybody agrees with the fact the radio provided a further opportunity for the students of communication degree course to use the theoretic skills in practice.

Opportunities:

2005:

- practice place, career, self-realization (36 answers)
- growing (24 answers)
- leading media of the college and city (17 answers)
- relationship, community (12 answers)
- programme (6 answers)

2010:

- more self-promotion (16 answers)
- enlargement (13 answers)
- practice place, career, self-realization (12 answers)
- recruitment (8 answers)

As for opportunities most of the students didn't approach the question from the possibilities of the radio, but spoke about their own personal possibilities as these two factors correlate with each other. The great majority wrote in both surveys on the promoting of the career, the good practice opportunity: 'mood-making to the career', 'I can get routine in broadcasting', 'one can get a great deal of experiences on the radio, and these information, routine can be used later as well, I think, it's important and give support taking up a job'. Furthermore they appreciated self-realization and rising of self confidence too.

Relationship and community appear among the list of opportunities. Most of them mentioned new friendships, relationship among people, institutes, school and town as well, and they can see the possibility of developing community, feel and form a team spirit. I am citing a personal voice: 'we could meet such people we aren't sure to have run into each other without the radio'.

In the last four year many of this kind of institutional practice opportunity declined. Universities and colleges struggle with financial difficulties, and running studios became unaffordable luxury. Students often find their way to practice by self. They try to work in editorial offices and studios as trainees. Unfortunately traineeship in media usually means free work, unpaid job, which is beneficial for the media of course, disadvantageous for the students and risky for both in case of labour and tax control! I underline that this practice is very common in media organizations of Hungary, especially in TV! "First, you have to pay, invest time and money, those who comes from the street all begins with unpaid tasks. Further on, if you are good and talented, they will provide you a contract."- said a reporter working at commercial TV (Karácsony,2007). Another reporter says in the same article that she has been working for a TV for more than a year, without paying. She usually makes reports, visits press conferences, cut and edit programme, but she can manage cost of living as cleaner... Because of hundreds of new applicants waiting for job in media, the media organizations can apply them for free or for only minimum wages which is under the guaranteed minimum wages of employees.

Another important part of the picture is that biggest media companies have been running own education program for many years in competition with academic institutes. Commercial TV, publisher companies with international background established educational projects, and teach different journalistic skills e.g. how to edit or cut in radio or TV, host a show, use cameras, live broadcast a sport event, write for women magazine, etc. These education projects are very expensive (four-five times higher prices than in universities), but seem effective and very popular, because the teachers are famous journalist, the practice held in own media empire,

the best students have better chance to get a job immediately.

There have been good practices too in Hungary, but not many. Cooperation between media companies and higher education system seems to be the best solution. In order to reach win-win situation, both party have to recognize own weakness and strength such as universities can't afford practice but strong in theoretical education and media companies vice versa. Strong contract between institutes and companies could help to work together and teach young generation of journalist.

Political regulation and influence

Conditions of the labour-market, economic circumstances and prospects influences all kind of professions, but journalism as a profession is also influenced by political circumstances too. There was time when only the most trustworthy to political ideologies had the chance to work as journalist. Most of us working in media believed those times are over and never come back. Nowadays regulation by media-act is stronger than by professional associates. Not the same, but only something very similar “came back”.

In 2010, after Viktor Orbán and FIDESZ won a two-thirds majority in the election, the new media law²¹ passed on the 22th of December 2010 and came into force very quickly on 1 January 2011. It is widespread known that different international and national forums, experts connected with media sector expressed their anxiety with hard criticism against the new Hungarian media law from the very first day. E.g.: Warnings from Hillary Clinton, then US secretary of state, the European Commission, civil organization and different rights groups. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) warned the changes imposed a “chilling effect on freedom of expression and public debate”.

During the first year of governing, laws were passed and forced all media to register by the state and produce “balanced” reporting. A Media Council watchdog was established, staffed by government-friendly appointees, with the power to lay on fines or even close down lawbreaker media. The government insists that the press is not threatened by anyone, pointing out that not a single media has been fined or shut down. It's only partly true, because some of them struggling with financial difficulties shut down themselves or some even not registered and therefore lost the possibility to operate. Public television and radio channels were joined together and given the same package of information from the state news agency called MTI. Hundreds were laid off at this new state television and radio, several journalists decided to leave by self because of news-manipulation.

Many independent media organizations are struggling financially because advertising money from state bodies and companies now goes mostly to those owned by government allies. According to Attila Mong from investigative journalism website *Átlátszó*²² - which means transparent in Hungarian -, private advertisers have

²¹ Act CLXXXV of 2010 on media services and mass media.

²² atlatzo.hu

tended to follow the way to avoid trouble. “There is a price to pay for editorial integrity in Hungary: less advertising revenue,” says Mong (Murphy, 2014). “The psychological result,” says Balazs Weyer, head of an editors’ association and a teacher of journalism, is that “more journalists and their employers (are) censoring themselves” (Murphy, 2014).

Results from a Hungarian qualitative research in 2007 (Hermann-Wild, 2007:82) show that editors in chief consider five basic factors as main problems of journalism:

- 1) power and influence of different political and business interest-groups
- 2) poor professional standards
- 3) uncertainty of existence
- 4) lack of education
- 5) self-censorship

In addition the people consider journalists as somebody who is not trusty, as it has been shown in GfK Custom Research.²³ Out of 10 people only 3 can trust in journalists in 2013, and this is the third worst results among different professions (See table 5.), only bankers and politicians got lesser score.

Table 5.

How much do you trust in ...?	2013	2008
fireman	95	95
postman	93	90
teacher	90	81
doctor	84	86
soldier	79	78
market-researcher	74	69
policeman	74	70
environmental activist	71	69
charity organization	62	53
law court, judge	60	67
public servant	56	54
marketing expert	54	56
lawyer	53	60
cleric	52	53
trade union	51	45
business leader	51	47
advertising expert	39	44
journalist	34	34
banker	31	48
politician	16	17

²³ Data shown on Brand Trend. <http://brandtrend.hu/2013/10/10/a-legnagyobb-bizalom-tovabbra-is-a-tuzoltokat-ovezi-hazankban/>, Visited 23.04.2014.

Associates of journalists have lost power, most of the associates have not found steady connection with the new conservative government and also their suggestions have not been accepted. Journalists have been working under restricting conditions. More and more independent minds find their media in Internet, for read and for write too. Now, the Internet is the place where you go to find out what is really happening in Hungary.

Change of the behaviour of young media-consumers

In this part of my article I made an attempt to summarize different kind of trends of young generation's media consumption.

Based on the data collected for the Hungarian Youth 2012 survey (Székely, 2013:208-228) the daily free time - average three and half hours on weekdays and eight hours at the weekend -, similar to 2008 figures. Young people tend to identify "free time" with being engaged in some sort of passive activity, primarily at home and in a mediatised environment. The electronic media has increasingly dominant role in young people's spare time: listening to radio decreased, watching television is still dominant, but now the Internet occupying the major part of the age group's spare time. According to Ádám Nagy's argument (Nagy, 2013:226-227), the description "leisure society" is less typical than the label "screen society" – a notion similar to the term "screenager" of the youth of 2012, owing to the fact that young people spend a significant amount of their lives in front of the screens of televisions, computers and mobile appliances; in total, this time is at least identical to what is demanded at an average workplace. According the research of Gergely Kitta (Kitta, 2013:247-260), young people's access to a computer, the Internet or a mobile phone has increased during the previous almost ten years. The number of households in possession of a computer has increased by only one per cent (from 79 to 80 per cent), while the proportion of young people who use a computer has remained stagnant at 84 per cent. Within media consumption, time spent watching television appears to be increasing, although surfing the Internet has assumed the lead from television in the ranking of leisure activities. Among other factors, this can be attributed to an increasing proportion of young people listening to radio broadcasts, reading news or watching television programmes through the Internet. Despite the widespread presence of info-communications facilities, a comparatively large proportion of young people live in complete digital isolation; approximately 7 per cent of people between the age of 15 and 29 have access to neither a computer nor the Internet or a mobile phone.

Traditional media usage, such as reading newspaper or books seems lost its importance. See table 6. (Kitta, 2013:266) Time-frame use for reading newspaper is at the end of the list, only appx. 20 minutes on weekends and only appx. 15 minutes on weekdays. Watching television and use Internet for different activities are at the top of the list, using these devices ten times more as others! Among the youngest age group (15-19 years) the figures of the Internet usage and watching television

are the same, predictable the future dominance of Internet based activities for this generation.

Table 6.

Time for media usage in different age-groups, (Hungary, N=7924-7937), minutes						
Age group	15-19		20-24		25-29	
	<i>weekday</i>	<i>weekend</i>	<i>weekday</i>	<i>weekend</i>	<i>weekday</i>	<i>weekend</i>
TV	120	210	120	204	120	210
Internet	120	210	120	192	96	156
Music	96	150	96	132	84	102
DVD, video	30	72	36	72	24	60
Radio	36	48	66	72	72	78
Book	42	60	36	60	30	48
Newspaper	12	18	18	24	18	24
Total	456	384	492	378	444	339
Daily average	435		459		414	

General statistics also show the decline of buying newspapers and magazines, many use blogs and web-based information instead of institutional journalistic products. Now, all has the chance to start a blog and report, comment, prepare radio shows on web, put video and photo on web and reach measurable consumers. It seems to be the next step for this young generation.

Conclusion

Choosing a profession has never been an easy process, it's determined by many factors such as family, talent, school system, condition of economy in a given country and all kind of dim idea about the future. Now, it seems Hungary stepped for strengthening its economy by engineering and industry, involving more and more available sources for these fields. Education and culture are those fields, which lost their privilege and partly lost importance. These steps affect also the new generation's idea about choosing a profession in liberal arts and study journalism. I'm not pessimistic, all time has those talented and committed ones who can frame everyday issues, report stories, transmit ideas and explanations. These young people will find their way to journalism despite of current difficulties, and will find their way to the public.

Now, we – responsible for academic field - should also find our new alternative way to reach and educate them in order to save and support journalistic standards!

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PhD Dobrivoje Stanojević,¹ full professor
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Contemporary Serbian journalism – from language to language crisis²

Abstract: The influence of language crisis to crisis of language in contemporary journalism, including Serbian journalism is all the more obvious. Words are, increasingly, given inappropriate content. Homonyms are gradually flourishing. Globalization vocabulary laced with fashionable phraseology, manipulative rhetoric and artificial realignment of language prevails. Marginal side of life, casual forgettable populist political speeches and sensationalistic topics become the centre of events. Apparent lack of creativity in language causes the glorification of globalization rhetorical model. This leads to a sort of recycling of language patterns and pathetic metaphors of everyday life, hence the apparent emergence of certain new kind of sensationalism. Mixing different linguistic matrix gradually leads the obsessive repetition of the same rhetorical matrix. Therefore, the language of journalists is increasingly reduced to the form and form is reduced to the void.

Key words: *crisis of language, Serbian journalism, lexica, sensationalism*

¹ Email: dobrivoje.stanojevic@fpn.bg.ac.rs

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dr Dobrivoje Stanojević, redovni profesor
Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Savremeno srpsko novinarstvo – od jezika krize do krize jezika³

Apstrakt: Uticaj jezika krize na krizu jezika u savremenom, pa i srpskom, novinarstvu sve je očitije. Rečima se, sve češće, daje neodgovarajuća sadržina. Homonimi postepeno caruju. Globalizacijska leksika protkana pomodnim frazerstvom, manipulativnom retorikom i veštačkim poravnjanjem jezika preovlađuje. Marginalne strane života, uzgredni prolazni populistički politički govori i senzacionalističke teme postaju središte zbivanja. Vidljivo pomanjkanje stvaralaštva u jeziku uslovljava glorifikaciju globalizacijskih retoričkih modela. To vodi svojevrsnom recikliranju jezičkih matrica i patetične metaforike svakodnevice. Otuda je očita pojava izvesnog novog senzacionalizma. Mešanje različitih jezičkih matrica postepeno vodi opsesivnom ponavljanju iste retoričke matrice. Stoga se jezik novinara sve češće svodi na formu, a forma na prazninu.

Ključne reči: *kriza jezika, srpsko novinarstvo, leksika, senzacionalizam*

³ Rad je nastao u okviru projekta „Politički identitet Srbije u regionalnom i globalnom konetkstu“, koji realizuje Beogradski univerzitet, Fakultet političkih nauka, a koji finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, Republike Srbije. (broj 179076).

Introduction

The trademark of many concerns and violations of the norm in contemporary Serbian journalism is, undoubtedly, making excuses using the current crisis. There are many kinds of crisis, from the material to the moral one. However, the impact of the language of the crisis on the crisis in contemporary language, including Serbian, journalism is all the more obvious. Words are, increasingly, given *inhomogeneous* inappropriate content (Radovanović, 2003:166). Homonyms gradually flourish. Globalization vocabulary laced with fashionable phraseology, manipulative rhetoric and artificial realignment of the boundaries of language prevails. Marginal side of life, incidental passing populist political speeches and sensational topics become the centre of events. Apparent lack of creativity in language as a condition leads to glorification of globalization rhetorical model. This leads to a kind of recycling of language patterns and breaking thresholds of pathetic metaphors of everyday life. Hence is the apparent emergence of certain kind of new sensationalism. Mixing different linguistic matrix gradually leads to the obsessive repetition of the same rhetorical schemes. Therefore, the language of journalists is increasingly reduced to the form and shape of the void.

The crisis of language and morals paralyzes and obstructs free choice of topics. The choice is always, somehow, coming from above. The tension of possible or actual censorship, therefore, hovers over contemporary Serbian journalism. Journalists gradually grow into negative heroes who were trapped in bad infinity of irreversible condition and often inscrutable sources.

Journalism in crisis is doomed to timeless floating which is born of feelings losing the role of public discourse. Language of journalists often becomes eristic tool in the service of the so-called defence of higher interest. Rise and natural abundance of the media seem to cause a rapid decline of journalism. And it speaks about the decline of the total value.

If we take as true that journalism is the presence of any member of the public in every place, to the measure of the true value, then an abstract belief in prosperity, which could occur by spreading the influence of the media remains almost no real object, without the ethical dimension of the divine presence. Journalistic values are, therefore, increasingly ready to slowly decline and quick decay.

The surprise of recipients who have less confidence not only in the tabloids but also in the so-called serious media all akin to tabloids is obvious. The media are losing their true objects of observation as they often are not willing to face big challenges. There are less of these increasingly rare exceptions, such as programmes like *Insider* by Brankica Stanković on TV B92, or the actions of Bogdan Tirnanić, Aleksandar Tijanić, Olja Bečković, Dragoljub Žarković, Teofil Pančić, Svetlana Lukić, Danica Vučinić, Dragan Bujošević, Zoran Stanojević, Svetislav Basara, Draža Petrović, Zoran Luković...

Vocabulary of crisis

Contemporary journalism is in crisis because it is in the state of timeless and spaceless levitation that is born out of feelings of loss of media, social and ethical balance. Vocabulary of the crisis and many realistic metaphors (such as *debate, struggle, attack, defend, disease, renewal, change, reforms, growth potential, extraordinary situations, conquest, the right to self-determination, agreements, floods, murders*, pleonastic phrase *threat of danger, rescuers, support, victims, damage, ready to assist, aid, national disaster, evacuation, cleaning, non-recognition, recognition...*) can easily become a rhetorical tool that indicates a certain process and only possible rise which never comes. In fact, it is about a kind of a real fall, rather than running the country towards *the highest good* (Aristotle, 1988:5). Rhetorical decline is often an ethical decline.

If true media dialogue is born in the presence of ethical, then the fact of the absence of the elite, and the rise of party authorities, speaks about the manipulative prevalence of modern journalism which refers to the *party authorities* as elite. The elite would, in fact, supposed to respect a series of intellectual and moral standards. Thus, paradoxically, shows a lack of real monitoring vitality and continued of the ongoing crisis, professional, rhetorical and ethical.

Journalism acts in a particular real space and time. Recipients, by definition, have an abstract faith in the objectivity of reporting. The crisis today is, indeed, a profound if all this is lacking. Especially, the crisis of language and ethics. And a contemporary critic of journalism is more the sign of a certain disappointment rather than real belief in the power of reversal. If journalistic text in the traditional sense places the emphasis on respecting the facts as undisputed property of reality and its communicability with the outer world, now the faith in overcoming the crisis in journalism is facing individual language of individual journalist who demonstrates an outstanding level of professional and civic courage. Civil courage is justified by the existence of morality in the new, tabloid set, limits.

The pathetic of modern journalism merges with the consciousness that the ethical drama of the situation in the media may be rescued first by linguistic tools in the hands of journalist columnists: semi-artists, semi-journalist.

The largest part of modern journalism today is a sensationalist and tabloid directed. It sometimes makes a journalist into true hero who has a precise style, the style of an intellectual who draws the rules of his own existence from social and intellectual foresight.

A lot of plans can be seen here. Contemporary engaged journalist tends to free himself from a mere representation. To such journalists language serves to show different moods, internal and external, personal and collective. Hence, such a journalist often uses a metaphor that is both sublime and disturbing. What defends and calms him, what protects him and keeps him from possible confrontation with the censorship is the fear of the public that is stronger than censorship. Texts of some journalists, in fact, are the rhetorical mask that covers the reality

with skilful stylistic embellish and non-confrontation with real issues. Such texts, however pathetic and sometimes fiercely written, cause an impression of cold. The characteristic of entire attitude of contemporary journalism in Serbia is the constant restraint of the actual themes. The force of effective reality does not break out from these texts. Their fullness is strictly controlled and orchestrated. Freedom of the language is limited with the discipline that obeys to hidden funders. Such see-through and apparent journalism cannot be a carrier of any change. Although from such journalistic language derives the impression of certain dignity of tradition, it is basically eerily disinterested for the burning topics.

Diagnosis of reality

Awareness of the importance of language for journalists essentially connects journalist and intellectual. Language protects journalists from various shocks of reality. Specific style, without which you cannot hold engaged journalists away from the dangers of concrete existence. Style of journalist is his trademark pattern. Journalist can protect himself from censorship and self-censorship with the untouchable attitude about his independence, and not with *propaganda of state institutions* (Jovanović 2010). Although it seems that in this manner a journalist reverts to himself puts on armour of repulsion, in fact, he creates the only possible aura for his authentic action. In this sense, the journalist must ask questions constantly and almost become in-depth psychologist. His questions too, are a kind of diagnosis of reality. Journalistic work cannot wait for the effect of distance. Personal initiative serves to journalist to provide a so-called intellectual distance. Awareness remains that a journalist always defends himself with the professionalism and language. He makes a true professional clip of reality from total unpredictability, not neglecting ethics a single moment.

The space of reality is often built with language of journalists. Because for journalists language is the only stable landscape that he moves through. Within it, the journalist manages his existence and addressing the reality. Life, however, is constantly evolving and moving in unpredictable directions. "Wherever there is something moving there are roots too, something is broadening there" says Heidegger in his book *Being and Time*. The roots are found in the language substrate. If the language is in crisis because of constant homonymization, then there is not a necessary reality in reporting. In the increasing rich world of manipulation, language is becoming increasing poorer.

Construction of the language through synonyms is becoming reduced. Homonyms are becoming more dominant. Different things are named the same, instead of similar being named differently. In this way nothing is exactly determined. Everything is described so that it depends only on the circumstances. This leads to many of arbitrariness in journalistic language (everything is *during*, everything is being clumsily improvised). Homonyms are used to stifle the last attempts for something to appear different. Responsibility to the audience and media company

in question is being ignored. Thus the journalists in the language activities do not come to spread topics and vocabulary, but reduce what is being said. Journalists seem to constantly participate in Mannerist construction of reality rather than to participate in following of what is happening. Each text becomes an indicator of reporting that did not occur spontaneously but is calculated in advance and even computed. The point is that the journalistic profession is not seen as a structure but as a framework which in its own way enhances the reality of dealing with its essence. Finally, the journalist should be able to show with his own language the final possibilities of reporting on the public interest, to live, in fact, within the geometry of the actual and linguistic attributes. Certainty of linguistic attributes results from their constant and innovative developing. Journalists need to be the creators of the language, not just manipulating consumers of someone else's phrases, words and linguistic twists.

With their language acting journalist should emphasize the dominant events of reality and lead them to the object of general thought. Instead, the press often turns its back in relation to the self obviousness of realistic scene. Hence the society produces a certain state of indignation, the weak motivation to even act at all without diagnosing the reality.

Collective tautology

Journalist turned to language takes on the role of authentic witnesses, and not an outsider. One who not only indicates the illusions of reality, but in a certain way creates reality as well. The media scene is becoming the place where we check the doubts and make up news about the never-ending activities of journalists. Present journalists should provide evidence of their professional language in order to preserve the punishment and the privilege to remain in the position at which they can continue to act impartially.

Hence the use of language platitudes like *situation with, as far as*, and sign of inauthentic reflection about objects that journalist deals with. Excessive use of phrases indicates that the journalist somehow reads already read book. An immediate reporting of the reality and its broadcast using the authentic language is an important feature of modern journalism. Only when a journalist clears his view of collective tautology, only then authentic representation of reality is encouraged.

It is hard for the journalist not to face the horrors of existence that are happening around him on a daily basis. Language should represent a special dimension of such shaped reality. Hence it is pathetic and unethical to use the collective tautology, prejudices and stereotypes. Although they refer to the so-called unity of collective consciousness, in fact, the use of collective tautology makes language unprofessional and views the phenomenon cross-eyed.

Frequent and numerous abuses of popular slogans *Serbia, a day after, Who is stealing* paint just a brim picture of reality, do not recognize the actual scene of horror that is happening. Although every thing has its place, it seems that the

inappropriate use of language aligns the place, and the time is set too schematically to reach the required authenticity. Thus gives priority to the language of the past in relation to the language of the present. The new is hushed in relation to the old, ineffable stops before half-truths. Recipients are not sufficiently respected.

Hence, certain linguistic mannerism of modern journalism becomes almost constant image. Finally, the language of crisis most easily leads to the crisis of language so that the geometrical style, in fact, somewhat negates what is claimed and what is claimed is denied. Tautology in the language reflects in the fact that it is constantly emphasizes certain symmetry in otherwise unsymmetrical reality. That underlines the symmetry between the presence and absence (*lack of drinking water is present*). The immediacy of reporting is in the background, authenticity is shrouded in silence. The ABCs of journalism modifies its schedule to describe the clamour of the world. The overall presence is reduced to a few collective tautological phrases (*currently engaged, my heart beats for Serbia, to raise enough money, get involved*).

Language and self-presentation

Such a crisis of language leads the journalists to deeper discontent. Contrary to the principle of conciseness self-censorship speak is introduced *ab ovo* when it comes to the important things. Irrelevant occurrences are filled sensationalism and more often are presented according to the principle *in medias res*. Many abbreviations, deliberate reductions of language and shortening of all that is leading to anxiety of the official picture of the world are used, the facts are manipulated and it is pandered to the wishes of the political elite.

With the language of journalists, a considerable self-presentation of profession is taking place. Hence it is necessary to introduce sufficiently, certain autonomous linguistic acts as an expression of spontaneity and journalistic freedom without pathos of dedication and love. Freedom of the press is ideal, the responsibility for publicly uttering a word, and absolute freedom is utopia. A journalist in the language cannot always get rid of what comes from the outside, but cannot escape what is imposed on him and take a significant identifiable link with its unconditioned essence. Although in practice this linguistic act is hardly attainable, abjuring the realization leads to the journalistic farce. Compulsory thinking about this kind of language should help the journalist to complete and realize the harmonious relationship between language as it arises and what kind would, ideally, language should be.

Journalists often change their styles, presenting that they are objective and disloyal to the new authorities. In fact, their stylistic disguise resembles the blackness of the profession. This causes a crisis of access to the reporting. There are numerous manipulative loans (*Possible growth with reforms*), imitation of vocabulary from the bad propaganda political speeches (*Four phases of renewal*), imitating the popular phrases (*A drop of water worth of gold*, the title in "Politika",

22. May 2014.), the variation of bad originals (*Assange at war with reporters about the release of a secret*), infinite phrasing and paraphrasing of *agreements that are hard*.

Reality is merely labelled, closed permanently in crisis of the language, essential foundation for journalistic manipulative superstructure which often has little to do with the base. Superficial culture and knowledge of young journalists become for proving further crisis that it predetermines unavoidable communicative deadlock and introduces the dynamic sensationalism.

Broad culture and knowledge of the language save journalist from his own dissatisfaction. In this way the journalist ceases to be a mirror of the state from which is not possible to rise. The originals are not reshaped in ways that suit the owners and funders of media and new aesthetic digest of perception of conceptualized political and other marketing. The original of reality is not approaching the taste of the audience, but the recipients with the trust relate to the reporting of reality. The media narrative is less dynamic, but it leaves the room for ambiguity.

Ethics of the profession painted in the language is the only tool of a professional journalist whose aim is to constantly face the pressures and ghosts around him not to banish them like a bad dream, but to show them the audience at all times when the pressure is turned up. Such an example of self-presentation in the language is provided by Brankica Stanković in her book *Insider my story*.

Simulated authorship

Compromises in the language already give away unequal struggle, inability to comply to professional demands. This sets a crisis and defeat of ethics in advance. Original approach and innovative language provides the continuity and escapes the censorship and self-censorship. Even occasional interruptions and censorship elements as aspects of tactical retreat before the onslaught of the new strategic allow conferring “dignity of the trial and the status of senior state” (Bonito, 1989:222).

Many newspaper articles have unknown writer or, at least, unknown real author. Simulation of authorship is also a sign of special crisis. Frequent use of adynaton, special use of circumlocution or excessive hyperbole, things are exaggerated to the pathetic (*Morava gave birth to heroes*) or to the impossible (*When hell freezes over*).

So, journalism today is increasingly becoming boring Mannerist scene with feigned topics of predominantly political present which should be given legitimacy, specific evidence about the value and importance. Lavish reports on the pre-election visits to factory halls and homesteads are constant in media. The start of works on the pipelines that are not resumed after the campaign, politicians blood donors are shown, politicians lifeguards, politicians strategists. Politicians do not go anywhere without journalists. Just photographed and described, they are confident in their own merits. They increasingly turn to journalists using private tone, and sometimes they kick some of their file folders. Journalists representing a kind of pedestal on which politicians stand convinced of their historical merit.

Only that separates them from others. Such a simulation of activities is followed by undoubted crisis of journalistic language which manifests in various rhetorical techniques of discontinuity. Some journalists today serve to lift ordinary people and ordinary politicians to the surface, to strengthen their voice and physique and to give them necessary importance which separates them from others.

Authorship separation and recognition that occurs in the language is, hence, very strong. Language celebrates political supremacy, but the decline in professionalism. The height of the political power of a small circle of politicians is measured by the depth of the fall of journalistic professionalism. Politicians-heroes address the public as the actor speaks to the audience in the open stage. This procedure *ad spectatores* is a procedure that has hitherto been exclusively in connection with the comedy. However, instead of crashing dramatic illusion, as in the theatre, it allows politicians to play with the press and public. To heighten the farce of the situation in which are journalists-victims. Statements of politicians are purified and modulated for certain purposes and for certain circle of people. So, in fact, politicians, indirectly, become the true writers of texts on their own activities. Public authorship is just a simulation.

Contemporary rhapsody

Journalists today sometimes become a kind of modern rhapsody that sing about heroes – politicians for specific groups of listeners. Their songs are already invented and designed. When it comes to tabloid media, they become itinerant singers who entertain readers with a morning coffee at the local cafes. Some write praises of the heroic exploits of politicians and farces of undesirable characters forgetting their current position and what awaits them. They are very successfully engaged in the stories that are in the domain of the so-called rumour communication. So in writing they pass urban traditions of the modern heroes in that way doing a kind of propagator function which are later assumed by hired logographer – analysts. Modern rhapsody among journalists write their own or repeat other people's stories, often improvise and change episodes and details, using, at the same time, existing rhetorical and stylistic formulae, so the president of the Serbian Government is recently *welcomed as Josip Broz Tito* in Germany. Politician in certain media images becomes a sort of David who beats brute force, were it snowdrifts, floods or any other kind of injustice. Goliath's force needs to be overtaken, was it Mišković, some of the ministers or former politicians. Journalists' skill is to framed and entrust ambiguous interpretations to this picture.

Steadiest genre of such reporting is already painted the title of which is, generally, pathetic aphorism in the title without a critical edge (*Vučić greeted like Tito, How is Vučić greeted in Sarajevo, Aleksandar Vučić in Kosovo, Boris Tadić arm-wrestles with Godža...*). Meaningfully dense and thoughtfully blurred, it only simulates informativeness and profundity. These rhetorical formulae are generalized content, and content affects the wider acceptance.

All this suggests that modern rhapsody observes events ostensibly from the side. In fact they are biased planned participants in the limited space of the political scene. The rotational movement of rhapsodist interest of contemporary journalist in connection with the parties in power establishes certain unity of rhetorical image that speaks of a crisis of language preserved since the time of the so-called soc-realistic vocabulary.

Conclusion

Such action in the language of contemporary Serbian journalism is in a certain stationary motion with no way out. Actually there is not any movement at all. There are only fake dynamic, in fact, the millstone that is hard to escape. Linguistic habits and rhetorical inertia are almost insurmountable. Some journalists rarely use their all powerful weaponry: truth, honesty and words. Instead, they are trying to keep contradictions in apparent equilibrium (in the activities of the government) bringing them the same guests all over again. So journalism gets certain properties of amphibole uncertain reporting. It deprives journalist interpretive criteria of reality which provide at least partial independent position. Modern media are, therefore, in a certain state of irreversible silence about the important (so called the active silence) and the broad reporting about irrelevant with little opportunities to step out into substantial independence since they are impoverished, repressed, financially devastated, exposed to the pressures of advertisers and politicians, as well as ongoing challenges of tabloid competition. In examples of Serbian media it is as if a reality goes beyond imagination. Displaying the reality is narrowed and bounded (with less content about culture and related fields) to the politicization of everything that exists. Privileged policy gradually becomes a substitute for all other content except, in part, when it comes to catastrophic occurrences such as floods in May of 2014. Even then, the political action duplicates and spreads in all directions to real life. Journalists only seem to attend it. As if their task is to present the place in which political actors operate. Everything becomes a scene of action of a political theatre. As if the most of the media have become a huge screen in which the same actors act in different roles, armed with their eristic matrices.

A kind of journalistic squint, today, prevails in Serbia. The media image of the end dominates over the picture of reality. There are no open strict bans, but there are *minus of procedures* (Yuri Lotman) when accessing various political figures. As if some *non-sleeping eye* represented in political forums of the ruling parties, which protests about certain media approach, constantly watches and supervises public word, writing in the margins their own observations. Most of the events seem to be orchestrated from the inside. Media remains an illusion and allusion of certain centres with distinctive author programmes (*Peščanik* by Svetlana Lukić, *Utisak nedelje of the Week* Olja Bečković, *Insider* by Brankica Stanković, *Jedan na jedan* by Danica Vučinić...). These contents seem to become certain cracks in the window of reality which creates an optical illusion possible.

A good number of media have a common inherited loss of truly free expression. Instead of free relations, the plethora of excessive self-censorship and hidden advocacies and connections is being extended. And it seems as certain eternity or bad infinity.

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PhD Zoran Jevtović, associate professor
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš (Republic of Serbia)

PhD Ljubiša Despotović, full professor
Faculty of European Law and Political Studies in Novi Sad,
University EDUCONS (Republic of Serbia)

Journalism between democracy and corporate capitalism¹

Abstract: The archaic ideal of journalistic profession in the service of the people in this region moves slowly into the back corner, while a glorified concept of the market as a reliable controller of values takes its place. Somewhere in the background, a thought about responsible journalism that serves the interests of the community and develops the critical sphere of civil society, is evolving shyly. Technological changes have abolished the centuries-old monopoly of journalists to collect, select and shape information because each individual with a modem now can assume their role and become a producer of news. Digitization and networked journalism require new knowledge and skills from smaller number of employees in the newsroom, while the changed economic environment sees horizons in the placement of free information and collection of reader's attention. Images are prevailing in reporting instead of words, depth is replaced with superficiality and analytical with cheap sensationalism. Good journalism should be separated from the government, executive authorities, legislators, financial centres, trade unions, churches... because it's the only way for the journalists to be enabled to supervise all of them. If the distance is not significant enough, then journalism becomes a part of the system, serving the interests of the oligarchy and corporate capitalism, causing the very existence of democracy to become questionable!

Keywords: *journalism, publicity, propaganda, digitization, changes, civil society*

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dr Zoran Jevtović, vanredni profesor
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu (Republika Srbija)

dr Ljubiša Despotović, redovni profesor
Fakultet za evropsko pravno-političke studije u Novom Sadu,
Univerzitet EDUCONS (Republika Srbija)

Novinarstvo između demokratije i korporativnog kapitalizma²

Apstrakt: Arhaični ideal novinarskog poziva u službi naroda na ovim prostorima polako odlazi u zapećak, dok na njegovo mesto dolazi glorifikovani koncept o tržištu kao pouzdanom regulatoru vrednosti. Negde u pozadini, stidljivo se razvija misao o odgovornom novinarstvu koje služi društvenim interesima i razvijanju kritičke sfere građanskog društva. Tehnološke promene ukinule su vekovni monopol novinara da prikupljaju, selektuju i oblikuju informacije jer svaki pojedinac sa modemom sada preuzima njihovu ulogu postajući i proizvođač vesti. Digitalizacija i umreženo novinarstvo zahtevaju nova znanja i veštine sve manjeg broja zaposlenih u redakcijama, dok promenjeni ekonomski ambijent horizonte vidi u plasmanu besplatnih informacija i naplati pažnje recipijenata. Umesto reči u izveštavanju preovlađuje slika, dubina se menja površnošću, a analitičnost jeftinim senzacionalizmom. Dobro novinarstvo bi trebalo da je udaljeno od vlade, izvršnih vlasti, zakonodavaca, finansijskih centara, sindikata, crkve... jer je to jedini način da ih nadzire. Ako distanca nije dovoljna onda postaje etablirani deo sistema, služeći interesima oligarhija i korporativnog kapitalizma, čime se i samo postojanje demokratije dovodi u pitanje!

Ključne reči: *novinarstvo, javnost, propaganda, digitalizacija, promene, civilno društvo*

² Rad je deo projekta broj 179008. koji realizuju Univerzitet u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka i Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet, i projekta broj 179009 Instituta za političke studije iz Beograda, a finansira ih Ministarstvo prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije.

Introduction

Looking at the global society at the crossroads of centuries we could notice two concepts that connect nations, religions, ideologies and cultures: crisis and changes. We see it all around us: most clearly in the economy and politics, over security, and international law, science and education, to media and journalism. Internet and digital technologies, along with the processes of globalization, denationalization, conglomeration and corporatism have transformed the form of the planet, highlighting the process of collecting, selecting, design and information management as one of the most social. Any individual with a modem has become a potential consumer and distributor of information, it abolished centuries-old monopoly of traditional media. Among a variety of audiences, cultures and nations - borders disappeared, just as its visionary announced by Canadian media theorist Marshall McLuhan (Marshall McLuhan).³ Journalism is fundamentally transformed: the public debate has moved to the social networks and other stages encouraging the emergence of citizen journalism and de-professionalization, mainstream media have become exclusive with all the rigorous editorial control, while the audience is fragmentized and polarized⁴, and looking for a chance to participate in the creation content. Competitiveness has increased by the possibility that a common man posts a photo on some of sites, news or clip, so privileged position of journalists as the official creator of information is permanently lost. Techniques of interactive approach with the skills to attract attention and sales, channels, rapid distribution of resources have turned into a source of communication that can take place and play the political system! In the field of public information introduced the concept of "management of political communication"⁵, which recognized the importance of the management and control of content.

The ideas of democracy and the nation as imagined community has always been based on the awareness of its equal members, which means that the information and communication system is symbolic station which creates internal cohesion and consent to the spread of democratic procedures. Within the state demos is growing in sense of common identity, public sphere and a high degree of political consensus, which is difficult to achieve without high-quality of journalism. It means that media systems are independent from political power holders, driven by the agreed guidelines in defining the standard determinants of reality

³ «Our today's acceleration is not a slow explosion directed from the center to the margins, but the current implosion and mutual interference of space and function ... This is the new world of global village» (Knowledge intermarried, 1971, p. 135).

⁴ The audience is polarized into two groups: literate, active, demanding users and those who do not follow the communications revolution, using traditional media, while the fragmentation seen in the audience sharing the increasing number of TV channels, radio frequencies, print media, digital content.

⁵ Under this concept in future work will use «*planning, implementation and control of complex processes of intersubjective transmission facilities and constructing reality by political actors*» (Zerfass A. & Oehsen, HO 2011:11).

and compiling news. The media and state power are dialectically related because the public policy oversees economic relations. With disappearance of the bipolar geopolitical relations (some theorists have exaltedly announced it at the end of history),⁶ the policy is changed in accordance with the new value systems and ideologies, where the transfer of symbols declaratively was open, while in practice most often become a one-way?⁷ The power of big states hid in the management concepts through which shaped the social life, and to be realized in practice the support from media artillery is necessary. Global media make segment of the global economy, propaganda material of corporative industry, promoting profit-oriented political, economic and marketing ideas.

Silent departure of communism from the global political stage has promoted neoliberal capitalism as dogma that will eventually expand to other areas. The primacy of money over the public interest has changed the editorial policy of the media, oriented to quick and good earnings they turned spotlight of attention to fun and cheap sensationalism, guided by the principle: with less investment gain more attention of the audience! Facts and opinions, news and entertainment began to merge, as the interests of large corporate players and political representatives, threatening with a crisis of democracy. Modern man is reading much less but is watching much more; more trust and less suspicion; more quiet and less interpersonal communication. "From there, the individual is less autonomous, mind is drowning in the crucified marketing and mass media network, while capital is gradually buying public sphere, transforming the media in factory packaging ideas and surrogate values. Traditional media forms are transformed, entertainment and ratings come to the foreground, while the audience becomes a commodity to be delivered to the address of powerful advertisers."⁸ "The traditional view that journalists are big guardians of democracy in today's society seems anachronistic, ethical rules, procedures and techniques are destroyed in the maelstrom of the daily battle for simple survival, while the narrative values are created by professional PR services and agencies for the public, assisted by secret power centers. Commitment to profit towards employees in reductions creates a direct, indirect or potential fear of the owner or seller, developing self-censorship as a disease that pressures critical spirit. It creates a risk of misinterpretation of term *market* that is increasingly less representative of the public, but much more of corporations and elites."⁹ In this paper, we point out the problem of the global perspective of democracy,

⁶ See Fukuyama, F. *The End of History and the Last Man*, Podgorica, in 1997.

⁷ During the last decade of the last century, the export of Hollywood productions around the world with \$ 1.1 billion increased by three times, while at the same time, imports of movies and TV series in the U.S. was a symbolic \$ 81 million! Thus it the Hungarian market Hollywood products are 93% of the issued films in Poland 89%, Czech Republic 82%, Croatia 81%, etc. At the same time, the United States of America as the biggest proponent of the frontier import less than two per cent of films from other countries of the world!

⁸ Јевтовић, Арачки: "Media Corporatism and PR Revolution", 2014, p. 675.

⁹ Schudson argues that journalism should be a "group of energetic and thoughtful communicators who seek to society to be aware of themselves", where should "rely on the market" (2005: 221).

because the burden of the corporate capital of communication centers that run the world dramatically reduced. This does not mean that the crisis of journalism is consequence only of their pressure, but the focus of this work concentrates on one of the most important segments that have caused the crisis.

Infocratia in time of corporativism

The media is becoming organized actor who with coordinated and cumulative reporting distribute certain influence and power. Claims that media always used to do so have a historical foundation, but overlooked an important moment: in whose interest it was done?¹⁰ Only a few decades ago, most broadcasters in Europe were under the control of the state, as a function of stimulating public awareness, while with the process of commercialization and market valuation of information transformed model of journalism. If in the last century journalists protected public needs, today they are oriented to the interests of the elites and capital, which is facilitated with substantial change in the status of the media. For example, in 1930, 84% of the daily newspapers in the United States was an independent (Bustern, 1989:2) to end of the century only one-fifth retained its original status! Over the last six years of the past century, 47 percent of all newspapers had changed owners, some of them three or four times? 99% of newspapers became monopolies in their respective markets, as well as a built-in part of the mighty empire: "Times Mirror Company," "Knight-Ridder Newspapers," "Gannet Company", "Newhouse Newspapers" (Bagdikian, 1997:26)¹¹. This led to a new paradox: an increasing number of media channels, the public is less informed, and the truth is more monopolized!

That year, when the Berlin Wall was torn down as a symbol of the Cold War and the burden of the communist legacy (1989), in Geneva, the 69 most developed countries of the world signed an agreement to liberalize access to their markets for basic telecommunication services, it marked the end of the monopoly of the state. Than began a cruel race for audience and advertisers, so that rapid lowering of editorial criteria and indulging of tastes of audience resulted in the growth of entertainment and popular content. Biased, partial and ideologically tainted performances stimulated the emergence of homogenized culture of consumerism, changing the fundamental supply and journalism. A few years later, the U.S. Congress (1996) passed the Telecommunications Act, which abolished the limit on the size of the national TV networks and eliminated barriers limit of the ownership of different

¹⁰ Stjepan Malovic stated that "all authoritarian systems declaratively encourage journalists to objectivity - as long as that objectivity in their favor: From the moment when a journalist objectively reports on their bad sides, persons in charge trigger mechanisms of taming the media and establish their objectivity." (Malovic, *Fundamentals of Journalism*, 2005, p. 18).

¹¹ After the Second World War, 80% of the daily newspapers in the United States was an independent property, in 1989, attitude was diametrically different - 80% were in the hands of large corporations. That it is not a coincidence confirmed by other data: in 1981, 20 corporations had in its possession about 11,000 magazines, but a decade later the number of owners was in the single digits - three!

media types in the same market. Without the awareness of the public provided the conditions for the emergence of corporate journalism, but public debates about it never conducted. Concentrated and hierarchical focused production news should not lead to bias in reporting, but in situations of conflict must come to the fore.¹² Theorists use the term: *transferred look at the world*, assuming it as hidden indoctrination of the masses based on excessive production of stereotypes and prejudices that are deeply rooted in the mental flesh of the audience.¹³

Instead to citizens, media began to serve to political, religious or private interests, which are in further forms of economic association attire transformed into a public power.¹⁴ Concentration of media ownership is at the same time concentration of opinions, views, values, forms, but publicity doesn't talk about it. So, we come to the new social paradox: bigger and richer media, but more vulnerable democracy? Marxist theory of class, concept of feminist gender and multicultural, racial, religious, ethnic and national theory are redefined, they cleverly take camouflaged political and ideological narratives woven into the theory of civil society. Throughout the film, music, comics, video games or classic journalistic genres, the affirmative contents of the new order are being planted, covering the battlefield of the media culture and freedom of expression. Under the guise of crisis in journalism, the growing *political economy* becomes covered up which limits the freedom of individuals, especially those who criticize the ruling establishment. Thus, the crisis of journalism is more dangerous than any other, because as a consequence it leaves the crisis of consciousness and identity, creating defeatism, moral panic, and destroyed society!

If journalism used to cherish a sense of appropriateness within society and the protection of common interests, with commercialization it will become a promoter of needs of political oligarchy and big capital. Occurs so-called

¹² For example, the Ukrainian crisis in the Western media is marked as the biggest threat to European peace and stability in the past few decades, while the attachments *Russia Today* and pro-Russian media said the humiliation and suffering of the population of Russian origin. Views from Brussels, Moscow and Washington did not testify as to the same reality, but if we analyze the ownership of the media we can easily say whose interests are represented.

¹³ In contrast to the propaganda that is clearly intended to shape public opinion and to foster a strong political action, indoctrination systematic, gradual and controlled broader political ideology with the intention of becoming accepted by the whole society (Despotovic et al., 2010, p. 120).

¹⁴ In Muslim world Al Jazeera TV is characteristic ("The Island "). Although in the establishment (November 1, 1996), as a target group had only residents of Qatar, in just a decade this station has been transformed into a global media watched by 150 million Arabs in 22 countries, around two million of cable owners in North America, four million Europeans and over the Internet about 17 million users. Russian TV network "Russia today", has an annual budget of more than three hundred million dollars, and the editor in chief Margarita Simonjan has no secret that the media is "Russia's most effective weapon in the battle to influence on world public opinion" (*Putin's weapon in the media war, Politics, p. 02, 8 18, 2013*).

infotainment journalism¹⁵, with discourse of assurances that the reality which the media present is the truth with no doubt. Instead on concrete facts the focus is on explanation, contextualization and quaintness to centers of power. At the redactions: productivity, efficiency and profit are at the first place, while the central values of traditional journalism: originality, responsibility and autonomy moved to the margins.¹⁶ Looks like socially-responsible media disappears, while in their place comes a parliamentary-apologetic model ready to serve the interests of the holders of power. Commercialism and technological changes have been woven into the logic of the media business, so by focusing on the conflict, sensation, spectacle, drama, hedonism and trivia - media hunts attention of the audience. In practice occurs *infocratia*¹⁷ in which the political elite trained professionals for communication and management of information govern with public space, using the media as an arm of its own development. Change of discourse is evident so theorists distinguish several basic characteristics: "Spectacularization (highlighting sensational or extraordinary social events); confrontation in tabloid manner (confrontainment), (focusing on conflict, and not to compromise the scandal, not the research); dramatization (the reliance on emotionalizing, visualization, polarization and stereotypes in reporting); presentation of information content in a fun way (infotainment) - (packing political news in appealing formats in the form of "light" and "episodic" news, emphasizing the point of view of an ordinary citizen apparent by giving preference to average citizens and the common sense of speaking elites and party representatives); depoliticization (marginalization of crucial issue of the case as a repellent to compete for ratings and profits, generally display instead of concrete, reduced coverage of national and international politics)" (Ecep, 2013:213). Discourses create new identities by imposing a media narratives and produce knowledge about the events, phenomena, processes and personalities. Inside the auditorium is developing a set of symbolic layouts that still create the dominant beliefs, values, behaviors, and thus the overall pattern of public opinion significantly changed.

The process of political communication is in direct dependence with the development and freedom of expression and media infrastructure. Reproduction of television and radio stations, blogs and social networks has generated centrifugal diversification reducing the size of the audience and revenue. Many redactions

¹⁵ English neologism of *information* and entertainment at present indicates the occurrence of merging information function with fun. instead of the classic five questions (who, what, where, when and how) in the news the data is reduced to only three (who, where, what), so that explains the event more than an issue. For example, the global media assure us that something is the truth, rather than to show truth to citizens!

¹⁶ Dahlgren P.(2009): *The Troubling Evolution of Journalism*, Routledge, London, New York, 146-161.

¹⁷ The authors, under this term, include information form in which a few individuals manage the content of the major media. For example, after the Second World War, 80% of the daily newspapers in the United States was an independent ownership. But in 1989, attitude was diametrically different - 80% were in the hands of large corporations. That it is not a coincidence confirmed by other data: 1981 - 20 corporations had in its possession about 11,000 magazines, but a decade later the number of owners was - THREE!

with less number of employees should produce the same or greater amount of content, which is impossible without dropping quality? Speed and demand for information come to the first place, design and aesthetics take precedence over the depth and critical attitudes, while the number of copies and ratings become the benchmarks of existence. The power of the media management means the rule of society, because with ideological filtration of narratives we mark performance which will the majority of civilians form in their minds.¹⁸ The effects of convergence are visible in a dilemma: does not matter the media, but the symbol of collective attention (*attention economy*). Philosophy of profits forces the economy of attention, and with it grows hunger for the people in charge who are responsible for attracting attention, knowledgeable and professionally trained in the products and intermediates. Therefore, there are more reporters who are entertainers, politicians, analysts, creative managers and associated professions. Department for Public Relations, consulting agencies, spokespeople, lobbies, analysts, managers, public relations, major companies and political centers assume the role of operators of communication processes indirectly threatening the autonomy and the ethics of media redactions¹⁹. Gradually it comes to the redefinition of journalism, and reporter who decides about the content of the message (decision makers) changes Journalists (decision takers) who executed the orders of others. Perhaps imperceptibly, journalism becomes an accomplice of PR, not noticing how cleverly is sidelined in the side streets of the surface reality mediation, a political smear of adversaries (media clientelism) and neglect of the common goods (public issues).

This is an important turn in relation to past experiences because the media is no longer seen as a public good but as a center of production of consumer mentality and servile awareness. German writer and philosopher Hans Enzensberger (Hans Magnus Enzensberger) speaking about the upcoming changes has observed: "Who is the master and who the servant - does not come on the basis of who has the capital, factories and weapons - further it clearer - *who has awareness of other's minds*" (Enzensberger, 1980:13). To put it simply: people images in the media are more and more accepted as a reality, not recognizing the transfer of meaning among subjects, so by forcing certain views they accept the imposed value as a criterion for the transformation of their own criteria. When reality becomes mediated people rely on journalism to spread knowledge about it by articulating and aggregating interests, as well as constituting rules, their value and evaluation. New audience appears: instigated, encouraged, participative, with the widespread desire to become a part of the illusion that the media dispersed.

¹⁸ The mass media are no longer the only means by which other subsystems, such as political parties spread their messages, but in the modern oligarchy independent power centers in reciprocal competition with other centers of power (Swanson and Mancini, according to Street, 2003:195).

¹⁹ More in: Јевтовић Зоран, Петровић Радивоје: „ Public opinion and the democratic deficit in the age of multimedia», Serbian Political Thought, No. 4. Београд, 2010, p. 105-126.

Concluding Remarks

Global changes have reshaped the political, economic, cultural, religious, legal and many other ways of life, so journalism could not stay immune to the transformation that is changing the global practice. However, looking at information as a specific social currency vital to possess power, we came to the conclusion that corporative capitalism, by taking over various media companies, endangered the development of democracy, imposing commercially and ideologically desirable form of reviews, with function of preserving the status quo. Economic priorities affect the integrity of the journalistic standards who under the pressure from market forces and the intervention of the owner, seller, or the political establishment change or lose, thereby changing the essence of journalism. Structural changes shifted the status of journalism from the center of public life to the economy of attention, requiring from employees to adjust to new knowledge and skills.

Hypertrophied media production concentrated in a small number of powerful proprietary centers, increasingly dictating global *perception of reality*, turning late capitalism in soft *infocratism*. The rhetoric of journalistic objectivity and independence of the media is covering up a violent ideological struggle over media access and control over their content. Many small media around the world create a micro opinion, no global importance, influence and power, unlike mainstream media who shape the dominant paradigm. The problem is that the global media promote the interests of the corporate masters, not the people; with perpetuation of ideological consciousness they indoctrinate the masses by offering a seductive picture of life which in reality is becoming bitter and harder! From there, the awareness of man is closer, which is a result of spanned communication flows who by promoting ordered thoughts changes the society. Journalism is not a picture of reality, but its design with the basis of credibility that gets the support of public opinion!

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PhD Dimitar Gelev, full professor
Faculty of Law “Justinian I”, “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”
University in Skopje (Republic of Macedonia)

From “Verbal act to “Decriminalization of libel and defamation” – The role of lawyers in the crisis of profession of journalists

Abstract: This paper deals with the basic criminal law notion of “libel (aspersion)” and the change in its understanding over the last two to three decades in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. At the outset, the paper presents the basis of “libel” as defined in the Theodosian Code, which represents perhaps the first clearly developed system of its legal regulation in the Balkans, for which there are written evidence today. His definition has largely influenced the present-day understanding of “libel” in nearly all European legal systems. The principal value protected from that crime has always been “the honor and reputation” of a particular individual.

Afterwards, we deal with the transformation of ideas about “libel” (and defamation) in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. What was originally a struggle for freedom of opinion and fight against the so-called “verbal act” (prosecution of the freedom of thought), as the fundamental craving for democracy and freedom, is being at present gradually transformed into its complete antipode. Today we witness the birth of a danger in which the ideas of “decriminalization of libel” may turn into an argument for devastation of journalism and of reasonable and responsible presentation of any idea in the public.

The paper also analyzes the provisions of the Justinian Code which represent a basis for regulation of copyright. Although the ideas about copyright and its legal protection has changed over centuries, the fundamental provisions of the Justinian Code are still relevant for its protection and become particularly relevant in relation to the so-called “collective management of copyright and related rights”. Although a large number of journalists are not concerned with the problems related to copyrights, however modern technologies and ways of imparting information, and above all new ideas about the “collective management of copyrights and related rights” largely influence the “programme contents” conveyed by the media of today. This has a direct influence both on their proceeds and consequently on the entire “media profession”.

A conclusion of the paper tries to give answers to what circumstantial legal notions and definitions have had indirect influence on the current state of affairs in journalism.

Key words: *libel, copyrights, journalism*

dr Dimitar Gelev, redovni profesor
Pravni fakultet "Justinijan I", Univerzitet "Sveti Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju
(Republika Makedonija)

Od "verbalnog delikta" do "dekriminalizacije klevete i uvrede" – o udjelu pravnika u krizi novinarske profesije

Apstrakt: Ovaj rad se bavi osnovnim krivično-pravnim pojmom "klevetom" i promjenom njegovog razumijevanja u poslednje dvije-tri decenije u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije.

Na početku su navedene osnove "klevete" na način na koji su bile definisane u Teodosijevom zakoniku, koji vjerovatno predstavlja prvi jasno razvijen sistem njenog zakonskog regulisanja na Balkanu, a za koji danas postoje pisani dokazi. Njegova definicija je u velikoj mjeri značajno uticala i na današnje krivično-pravno poimanje "klevete" u skoro svim evropskim pravnim sistemima. Vrhunska vrijednost koja se stalno štitila ovim krivičnim djelom uvijek je bila "čast i ugled" nekog konkretnog pojedinca.

U daljem dijelu rada, autor se bavi transformacijom ideja o "kleveti" (i "uvredi") u državama koje su proizašle iz bivše Jugoslavije. Ono što je na početku predstavljalo borbu za slobodu mišljenja i borbu protiv takozvanog "verbalnog delikta" (osuda slobodnog mišljenja), kao osnovna težnja za demokratijom i slobodom, danas se postepeno pretvara u svoj kompletni antipod. Danas smo svjedoci rađanja opasnosti da se upravo ideje o "dekriminalizaciji klevete" pretvore u osnovu za ružiranje novinarske profesije i razumnog i odgovornog izražavanja bilo kakve ideje u javnosti.

U radu se takođe analiziraju odredbe Justinijanovog zakonika koje predstavljaju osnovu pravnog regulisanja autorskih prava. Iako su se ideje o autorskim pravima i njihovoj pravnoj zaštiti mijenjale kroz vjekove, osnovne odredbe Justinijanovog zakonika su i danas relevantne za zaštitu tih prava i postaju posebno aktuelne u odnosu na takozvano "kolektivno ostvarivanje autorskih prava". I pored toga što jedan veliki dio novinarske profesije nije zahvaćen problemima "autorskih prava", ipak savremene tehnološke inovacije i savremeni načini prenošenja informacija, a prije svega nove ideje o "kolektivnom ostvarivanju autorskih prava" ostavljaju velike tragove na "programske sadržaje" koje prenose današnji mediji, što svakako ima direktan uticaj i na njihove prihode, a samim tim i na cijelu "novinarsku profesiju".

U zaključku, pokušavamo da odgovorimo na to koji su pravni pojmovi i definicije posredno imale važan uticaj na današnje stanje u novinarstvu.

Ključne riječi: *kleveta, autorska prava, novinarska profesija*

Introduction

It may appear odd that the present day analysis of the ongoing crisis in journalism goes back to very old laws, but their rules made such a big impact on the current legislation in nearly all countries so that their consideration may prompt us to approach the problem in a different way. Journalists do not have to be lawyers and to know law, but lawyers have begun to comprehend some aspects of their everyday problems.

Here I will address the source of two notions that journalists confront on nearly everyday basis: the notion of copyright (author's right) and the notion of defamation (or alternatively known as "defamation and libel").

Earlier almost all laws regulating copyright contained a provision that news or reporting about current political and other events was not something to be considered a copyrighted work (author's work). However, there is an ever increasing number of "exclusive photographs" or texts disclosed in daily newspapers or on Internet portals marked as copyrighted (although a large number of countries do not require previous registration of copyright in a system similar to registration of patents). This is particularly relevant for texts in the sphere of the so-called investigative journalism (although one must admit that some of them are true work of science). That is why I find it useful to revert to the sources of determination of the so-called copyright.

Justinian's Institutes – one of the main sources for creation of copyright

In the Justinian's Institutes, the so-called copyrights are treated in the context of the ways of property acquisition. After the clarification of acquisition of property over mixed goods (*confusio, comixtio*), the Code explains similar combinations in regard to immovable property. If in the case of a mixture of two or more movable goods, the fundamental presumption is that owners of these goods become co-owners of the new mixed good, the so-called copyrights are mentioned in the part which deals with presumptions relating to immovable property. The example which the author refers to in the subsequent text is the example of a man who builds a building on his land using his own or someone else's materials, what is a source of the principle *superficies solo cedit* (Sandars, 1876:173).

Having considered the mentioned ways of acquisition of property, the Justinian's Institutes provide two key articles that had an enormous influence on the subsequent development of the so-called "copyright".

"Written characters, although of gold, accede to the paper or parchment on which they are written, just as whatever is built on, or sown in, the soil, accedes to the soil. And therefore if Titius has written a poem, a history, or an oration, on your paper or parchment, you and not Titius, is the owner of the written paper. But if you claim your books or parchments from Titius, but refuse to defray the cost of the writing, than Titius can defend himself by an exception of *dolus malus*: that is, if it

was bona fide that he obtained possession of the papers or parchments.

If a person has painted on the tablet of another, some think that the tablet accedes to the picture, others that the picture, of whatever quality it may be, accedes to the tablet. It seems to us the better opinion that the tablets should accede to the picture; for it is ridiculous that a painting of Apelles or Parrhasius should be but that accessory of a thoroughly worthless tablet. But if the owner of the tablet is in possession of the picture, the painter, should he claim it from him, but refuse to pay the value of the tablet, may be repelled by an exception of *dolus malus*. If the painter is in possession of the picture, the law permits the owner of the tablet to bring a *utilis* action against him; and in this case, if the owner of the tablet does not pay the cost of the picture, he may also be repelled by an exception of *dolus malus*; that is, if the painter obtained possession *bona fide*. If the tablet has been stolen, whether by the painter or anyone else, the owner of the tablet may bring an action of theft” (Sandars, 1876:177).

As it may be seen from the above paragraphs, letters and signs form an integral part of the matter on which they are written and immediately become property of the owner of that matter (paper or parchment). In that regard, a parallel has been made with construction materials installed into a building on anotherman’s land or to plants planted into someone else’s land or in short to a movable property build into an immovable property (irrespective of the fact that both paper and parchment are by themselves movables).

In the case of a picture, the presumption is reverse. Here the tablet (matter) accedes to the picture because it is presumed that the picture has much bigger value than a “completely worthless tablet”. What is interesting here is mentioned lawsuit, *utilis actio*, which is not based on property rights of the tablet owner but on the principle of justice (equity). Namely, a direct property lawsuit is available only to the painter who owns the painting together with the tablet. He is entitled to *rei vindicatio*. But, a former tablet owner may in a certain way count that the tablet is his, but only to make the painter pay for the value of the tablet. The *utilis actio* lawsuit served that purpose.¹

This kind of regulation had far-reaching consequences on subsequent development of copyrights. The work must have a material form (book, parchment) and since that moment becomes a good that may be owned as in the case of any other goods. With one specific feature, the material on which it is written to is treated as immovable property.²

What is an additional specific feature of the Justinian Institutes is a division of things into corporal and incorporeal. Under Chapter II of the Institutes, corporal things are those which by their nature may be touched, something material (as land, slave, gold, silver, clothes, and a large number of other things), while incorporeal things are those which may not be touched, such as those consisting of a right,

¹ These provisions are still unconsciously part of the photography regulations as a “picture” and a photographer as a “painter”.

² See Deazley, R., Kretschmer, M., Bently, L., 2010..

as an inheritance, a usufruct, use, or obligations in whatever way contracted. The Institutes further state that it does not make any difference that inheritance contains corporal things; that the user collects corporal fruits and that things owed or claimed under any obligation mainly relate to some corporal thing such as a field, a slave, or money; the essential fact is that the right to use itself, the inheritance itself and the obligation itself are incorporeal. Different types of servitudes are also mentioned here.

The characteristic of this codification is a fact that it treats incorporeal things as a good (*res*), so that they can be a subject of different transactions. This aspect of classification will come to surface much later at the time of great codifications of the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe. The Justinian's Codification had for long a dominant influence on legal notions of Byzantine. Gradual deviation from the rules set in it started at the time of Iconoclasm, while it became fully visible at the time of development of the so-called guidelines of the type of Prohiron, Eclogue etc., that is to say at the time of legal texts which are usually referred to as the laws of Macedonian dynasties. But, in my opinion, the key change in relation to classification of things appeared somewhere in the late 14th and early 15th century, just before the fall of Byzantine. At that time in Byzantine, the first mechanical printing machines were invented what resulted in the first printed books. According to traditional sources, the inventors of printing machines were Sabbatai Zevy (often mentioned as Rabbi Shalom Shabazi) born in Yemen and Nathan of Gaza, who at the time came to the center of the Byzantine Empire.

Today in Florence in *Palazzo Medici Riccardi*, built somewhere between 1445 and 1460 for Cosimo Medici, there is a painting by Italian Renaissance painter *Benozzo Gozzoli*, which is today referred to under different names, although a large number of them disclose a certain degree of cynicism: Three kings, Three Wizards, Procession of Wizards, etc. (as an association to the birth of Christ). In addition to the Byzantine nobility visiting Florence, a dominant figure on the painting is a person known as *Georgius Gemistus Pletho*, who at the time was the Church patriarch known as Joseph. He is a rather unexplored figure who was a true renaissance personality in any respect.

Although according to all available sources Pletho is considered a philosopher, neo Platonist, and alike (and perhaps he was), he yet gave a much bigger contribution to codification of secular and church law of his time. A small segment of it has been preserved until the present day which is known as "Nomos Georgikos" and the famous *Krmcija*, printed under his guidance. The international literature mentions that the first law was adopted long before, at the time of the Macedonian dynasties and usually its title is translated as the "Farming Law". In my opinion, this is a misinterpretation and it relates to a small segment of codification named after the author "Law of George" (*Nomos Georgikos*).³

What can be further indirectly discerned from a large number of sources is the classification of things made at his time. The discovery of printing machines and

³ See Siniosoglou N. 2011

the first printing of books at that time undoubtedly represented a revolution for people’s minds and their understanding of the world. What was difficult to achieve with manual transcription of books then became an easier mechanical process of book publishing which then could be available to a much wider circle of people. The literature of that time shows that publishing houses, in addition to books, engaged in additional lucrative activities. One of them was printing of ready-made letters with different contents (love, philosophical, political etc.), and in particular printing of different cards and other printed sundries. Much earlier, at the beginning of their work, printing houses understood that book publishing had not provided for a living. However, the book publishing whereby books became accessible to a wider circle of people had a crucial impact on the awareness of the people of that time. The sketches of Leonardo da Vinci show that he obviously used some Byzantine geometry books, and he in particular dealt with statics and mechanics of domes, so characteristic for Byzantine churches of that time. The appearance of the so-called “renaissance figures” dealing with versatile topics was inspired by the possibility of reading books of various contents. For instance, Pletho himself is the author of a publication on double accounting which was later on published by Luca Paciollo in an adapted form, as a “publication devoted to the Dutch of Urbino”.

All professions and trading activities of that time were organized in special guilds. Basically their organization did not change much over centuries. But, if you follow legal texts of the Theodosius Code and onward, one may note continued expansion of their self-managing or self-regulatory function. A particularly detailed description of the guild organization is found in the later period in the so-called “Book of the Eparch” depicting the organization of notaries public and traders in silk, perfumes, gold etc.

In 1938 in his English translation of the Byzantine Book of the Eparch which depicts the rules of various guilds in Constantinople, *Edwin Hanson Freshfield* recognizes the London guilds of his time in the organizational rules given in the Book of the Eparch. He even believes that some of them are almost identically or similarly organized. That can be undoubtedly said for the famous publishing guild in London *Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers* or in short *Stationers’ Company*, which was awarded a king charter in 1557 to regulate professions of printers, bookbinders, book sellers and publishers in England. Its registries allowed publishers to document their right to publish a printed book. With the charter, the company was authorized to carry out confiscation of illegal issues and to prohibit publishing of unlicensed books. In their core function, these registries are a Byzantine analogy of land books (land registry), not for authors but for printers and later on publishers.

The first characteristic classification feature of that time was that the thing (res) included only material things, that is to say only corporal things. All the rest was rights, as incorporeal things that were not named as *res*.⁴ Such a division is

⁴ Other European states maintained the Justinian’s classification into corporal and incorporeal things or in common law systems into *choses in possession* and *choses in action*.

noted in Germany much later. The logics was quite simple. All persons have rights of various types. Some have property rights that are transferable. Other rights are rights a person is entitled to by nature or under the law of nature and they are not transferable. A classification similar to goods in and out of trade (*res in commercio*, *res extra commercio*). Movable goods were transferred by tradition, immovable by registration and rights by cession. Incorporeal rights are not subject to the same rules as corporal rights. Because they are not *res*. For illustration, no one can say I am the owner of rights but I have rights, because a right is incorporeal and is not a thing. Because a right cannot be owned. For the same reason, we do not say I am the owner of claims, but I have claims. At that time a differentiation was made between assets in bankruptcy and realized assets (as a material substitute for assets) or liquidational assets and liquidational mass etc. Because rights are not a thing, they cannot be sold, leased, rented etc. They can only be transferred (if they are in trade) and only by cession.⁵

But when an incorporeal, intangible right, only a legal idea or fiction is attached to the paper, that right becomes a thing (*res*) or a material object that can be transferred as any other corporal thing. That represented a rather revolutionary idea, which was inspired by the invention of printing machines. A claim is a right and as such it is incorporeal. It is transferred by cession. But if a claim is attached to the paper, it is transformed into a security and becomes a corporal thing. Its transfer is not made by cession but under the rules applied to corporal things. In case of a bearer security, rules for movable goods are applied (tradition) and in case of a registered security, the rules for immovable goods are applied (tradition and entry into registry).

The second characteristic of this period is fragmentation of ownership at the time of Pletho (especially in West European feudalism). Legal thinkers of that time, defined a difference between *dominium directum* (property right) and *dominium utile* (right to use). If a feudal master had *dominium directum*, his vassal had *dominium utile*, but both of them had property rights of the lot or of another thing (it was a position of Western feudalism strange to Byzantine legal thinking). At present, the owner would lease the land, but in our case lease is an obligation contract that produces personal obligation rights but not property rights. At that time, such a fragmentation provided both the vassal and the master with real rights. For a long time in England and other common law countries, land lease was a property, and not an obligation category. Therefore in such a system, a major role was played by property rights derived from ownership, the so called *iura in re aliena* (servitudes, right to use, usufruct, right to housing or habitation, superficies etc. – so-called time limited interests).

⁵ This classification was disputed by the Napoleon Codification. Recalling the Justinian's Institutes and division into corporal and incorporeal things, both types of things are marked as *res*, whereby they could be owned. Since anything considered *res* may be owned (even an incorporeal thing or a right) it became possible to say "I own a right" or "I sell a claim", "I lease a claim" what is unknown to the Byzantine state of mind, including even Justinian. But undoubtedly strange to the time of Pletho. Because in his time, feudal rights were property rights and mainly relied on *iura in re aliena* (time limited interests), and not on obligation rights categories characteristic for the Napoleon Codification.

At the time when any author's work was inscribed on paper, parchment or papyrus manually with great difficulty or its copying went slowly and laboriously, the circle of so-called public or audience the work could reach out to was rather limited. The invention of printing machines increased the circle revolutionary. If the incorporation of incorporeal ideas and thoughts was performed on paper, the very act meant their transformation into a thing (*res*) whereby a person could claim to be an owner of the work that is to say of a thing (*res*). Before the time of material fixation on paper, ideas and letters were not *res*, were incorporeal and as such incapable of being the object of property right. Only after their fixation, it became possible. But since the moment an idea turned into a thing and an object of ownership, what had to be done the work to reach out a wider number of people was copying it though printing. This is the idea incorporated in the English term copyright (right to copy) which was more directed at the right of a printing house (printer) than at the right of the author (which we could see in the Justinian's Codification since the moment of realization of an idea on the material paper, it becomes a thing and is subject to property right). Here printing houses started from the undeniable fact that the book was a property of the individual XY. That is not problematic. They solely wanted to achieve the right to copy that thing. That is why, it seems to me, common law tradition is much closer to Byzantine ideas about copyright than what was later on developed led by the ideas of France. In the French terminology copyright is a right (*droit d'auteur*), which is more treated as an incorporeal thing in the sense of the Justinian's Institutions, transferred in a similar way to cession, than as movable and immovable goods. Even the classification itself into property and moral rights does not mean that a copyright in the French approach is understood as “ownership of a thing” what was a characteristic notion at the time of invention of printing machines in the 15th century. We may see it in the fact whereby in order to have a copyright (right to copy) in the Anglo-Saxon sense, there must be a material fixation of the work. Irrespective of the fact that we are speaking about an intellectual work and effort, in *common law* countries the work will not be legally protected if it is not incorporated into a matter (paper, book, CD, DVD, cassette, movie roll or generally a “carrier of incorporeality”). In the case of copyright in the French sense (*droit d'auteur*), there is no condition of material fixation.

The same “confusion” in relation to classification of things and definition of what is considered a thing (*res*) and what a right in a particular legal system in the case of copyright may in parallel be followed in relation to securities. For a Byzantinian of the 14th century, a legal provision that “securities were transferred by cession” would sound illogical, because he knew that securities had been invented to avoid cession and what was known as incorporeal right to be transformed into a corporal thing. Therefore for him, a transfer of securities by cession would have been a nonsense, because the transfer of the right is carried out as if there is no securities. Then, why was it invented? In the same vein, either the author has an incorporeal right of his work that do not have to be materially fixed or he has the right of the material fixation of the work as ownership of a thing (similar to patent

law). The French way of thinking would probably wonder and ask what is disputable in its idea and classification because it starts from the premise that an incorporeal right is a thing, but an incorporeal thing. That is what Byzantine lawyers tried to avoid in the 14th century when they determined that the notion of thing (*res*) implied only material things. They wanted a clear classification: something is either an incorporeal right and is transferred by cession (if the transfer of that right is possible) or something is a thing and is transferred by tradition or entry into registry. That was an ingenious idea of setting up a legal "Mendeleev's system". The same as in the case of securities, the bearer security is transferred as any other corporal movable thing, by tradition, thus the copyrighted work which do not state the author's name (anonymous work) is transferred by tradition (put in the authors words from generation to generation, by the people). In case of registered security, it is transferred by endorsement and registration into a public book (shareholder registry), very similarly to the transfer of immovable goods. In the same way, a copyrighted work of a known author is transferred by endorsement (a copy of a printed book indicated a copyright of a printer) and entry into a public book (that is to say, a registry of the printing guild). But, since the authorized works were treated similarly to immovable good, the author transferred to the printer a derived property right (*iura in re aliena*), it was not a classic obligation right and agreement. Printers were aware that property rights were better protected than obligations, and every printing was cost-related.

A further consequence is the system of registration developed by the printing guild. The system that in its early days functioned in the entire Europe may be most clearly observed through the history of the English *Stationers Company* because in common law systems, it remained unchanged. It is true that inscription of letters and signs in the original work was understood as analogous to incorporation of movables into the immovable goods. But the original book was still a movable good, and was not a subject of registration of rights over it. That is to say the author did not go to some public registry or public books to register his copyright in respect of that book (understood as an immovable good). The mere fact that the book he wrote was in his possession sufficed to prove that he was his owner. But this rule applied as long as the books were written manually. What was later on entered into the registries of the printing guild was the right to copy acquired by some of the guild members. That member was awarded an exclusive right to print that book for a certain number of years. That is why books gained classification resembling company's registered securities, treated very similarly to immovable goods. If a person A sells a security to a person B and transfers that security by tradition or endorsement, such a transfer is valid only between the parties (*inter partes*). In order that a transfer is complete, it must be entered into a membership book of a company (shareholder's book) or into a public registry. If for some reason a registry denied to carry out an entry, (for example because a person A is not a guild member), the transfer is not *erga omnes*, and thereby remains only an *inter partes* transfer. These are the rules which applied to "companies of persons" (*universitas personam*) since

the time of the Theodosius II Code.⁶ It is the exact system used by the printing guild. The author or to put it more clearly the owner of the book does not transfer the ownership of the book to the printer, but the right to use it (*iura in re aliena*), a derived right which is a property right liable to registration, and not a personal right (that is to say, a common obligation). That right at that time was more similar to personal servitudes than to obligation rights. Servitudes were very often a unilaterally given permission to someone to use a certain thing, to collect fruits, to cross one's land. A unilaterally given permission was called a license or privilege. As in case of registration of all derived property rights (*iura in re aliena*), it was entered into a special registry maintained by the printing guild and later by the state. In that manner, legal regulation was again in line with the Justinian's Institutes (copyrighted work understood as movable things inscribed in the movable goods).

Irrespective of changes over centuries this became a basic concept and understanding of copyrights in the common law world. This is a true Byzantine tradition shaped at the time of Gemistus Pletho. The concept was changed when authors placed themselves into the focus of attention. As a reaction to the monopoly of printing houses, authors got organized into something similar to unions and started establishing writers associations, artists associations, theater workers associations etc. But they simultaneously changed the ideology of understanding of “intellectual property” and created a copyright (author's right) with the author as a central figure.

Systems of collective management of rights had earlier been in hands of printers. They maintained the registration system because for them an answer to the question “who is the owner of an immovable good” had a meaning only if the derived property right was entered into a registry, that is to say, the answer “who had the right to make copies”. It was so because the right to printing of books was exclusively of printers, guild members and it was a monopoly. After establishment and wide popularity of different associations (of authors, music workers, theatre workers etc.), these associations attempted to create a parallel system for management of author's rights, the crown of which were the so-called authors' agencies (representations). They wanted to have a registry in which ownership of a book was most important, whereas who has the right to copy it was a derived right.

We may imagine a cynical thinking of printers then. If you have a book, register the ownership and read it at home by yourself, or if you have a song, register it and sing before your family. They were essentially the least interested in author's right, much more in the right to copy. But the disappearance of monopolies and passing of civil laws in the continental part of Europe led to abolishment of feudal fragmentation of ownership. Clear-cut relations were required *erga omnes*. This led to the loss of importance of derived property right such as usufruct, right to use, right to

⁶ It is rather possible that this rule applied to all registry securities even those which were commercial such as warehouse receipt and bill of lading. Persons who were engaged in professional warehouse activity or ship freight forwarding were undoubtedly members of some guilds which kept books and registries. That registration disappeared much later and was maintained only for registered shares issued by companies.

servitudes. They were reduced to various forms of obligations. Fiduciary became a mandate or commission contract, lease was not property related, but obligation etc.

A derived property right to printing as personal servitudes transformed into an obligation publishing contract. Today these derived property rights are of greater importance in common law or in Muslim countries than in the civil law tradition. That is why it is much easier to trace the original Byzantine tradition in their systems in relations to the questions we are discussing there.

Nowadays with the appearance of the Internet, there is a resurgence of a fashion of collective systems for management of copyrights and other related rights; however potential authors are now all inhabitants of the planet Earth. Those who have occupied the place of former printers (broadcasters, cable operators, telecoms, mobile operators, Internet providers etc.) have already secured a safe place for themselves with a short definition that they are not responsible for the contents passing through their "printing houses". And this is maybe a good thing, because of fear from censorship. From time to time they provide a cynical answer to the question from which computer something was placed on the Internet, from which phone a message was sent, who was the author of a show. They could flatly respond "call the authors' agencies, they should know such things".⁷

The situation of different associations of artists, writers, film workers etc. but also of authors' agencies, telecoms, mobile operators, broadcasting and cable operators and alike is today more or less known to us. The attempts at their regulations of almost 20 years ago (at least in Macedonia) were in vain. Then, local "cultural artists" preferred to be traders and institutions, physical persons with capacities of legal entities and similar artistic expressions included in laws adopted by our Assembly.

The Internet and the opportunities and options it provides place the world into a situation of the time in which printing machines were invented (the situation of "abrupt increase of the audience") and therefore with certain modifications legal solutions to different problems become similar (although they are not fully completed).

On the other hand, the journalist guild which has a strong tendency to consider a journalist an "author" (at least in the Balkans), does not pay attention to provisions of laws regulating rights of employees (copyright or patent right) in relations to employers.⁸ If for a patent a registration is required (to be considered a patent) and there are some rules regulating the relations between an employer and em-

⁷ (See Gervais D. 2006

⁸ It is not the case with "journalist profession" only. Today architects are often powerful enough to ensure provisions under which their works are considered: "copyrighted works" (author's works). Since they are a free profession, as lawyers, accountants, doctors etc. perhaps someday it may happen that other professions regulated according to a variant of *locatio conductio* to request that for themselves. Or stock exchange brokers (although traders) would love to be regulated as "free profession". Here a question appears whether a journalist is considered an "author", "employee" or "free profession". And naturally which are the consequences all the mentioned position brings for journalists.

ployee in the event an employee discovers an invention while employed, it is not such a case for copyright in the French format which do not require registration. Therefore, for instance in Macedonia today, we have a ridiculous legal situation. A defamation decriminalization law was adopted, but an editor-in-chief, publisher or printer are liable criminally (for the offence not sanctioned in the Criminal Code) if the author is unknown until the completion of main hearing before the first instance court. This will become clearer after the consideration of the notion of defamation.

Defamation (Slender)

The Theodosius Code published around 438, by Theodosius II, is an extraordinary legal source which serves to follow the development of defamation, today known as slender or libel as well. The term defamation itself labels the situation in which a person gained a bad reputation which automatically meant loss of honor and reputation in society. This term has differing social connotations in various periods of human history. In the Middle Ages, in the former communist countries and in religious circles, it designates something well known to us from the phrases “socially or morally and politically inadequate” (excommunicated), with all the related consequences. Infamy or disruption of credibility of a person.

But at the time of the passing of the Theodosian Code, we may trace the sources of defamation as a criminal offense. At that time, any person who wanted to accuse someone of a crime, was obliged to report it to the court, to give a written statement under oath and to directly accuse a person of a crime committed. The court or the emperor, following an initial investigation, imprisoned both the plaintiff and the defendant and held a trial within one month. If the plaintiff proved what he had stated, he acquired fame and emperor’s reward, and the defendant a deserved punishment. But if the plaintiff did not manage to prove his accusations, the defendant was released and the plaintiff was given a punishment he had wished for the defendant. That is how approximately functioned criminal prosecution of that time, at least in part. I was not interested that much in the whole system of criminal prosecution described in detail in the Code, but more in the meaning of the notion of defamation. The notion of that time implied all statements, allegations and papers (even secret papers) in which a person was accused of a crime, not before the court of the emperor, but in public, at home or at any other place outside the system of power. As if the authorities wanted to establish a system in which either you accused someone in court or remained silent for all times (or to put it in today’s language “you are either the informant or you keep silent”). The whole system resembles the entry into marriage in church (and even civil marriages) in which a priest or a registrar says a magic formula “If someone has something against or is aware of something against these two people entering into marriage, let him speak know or be silent forever”.

Here practically a little wisdom leads you to the difference which was later expressed in terminology of *common law* between *slander* (defamation presented

in private or closed circle) and *libel* (defamation presented in public) because the term libel comes from the Latin term *libellis*, which designated a writing or a book.

At its beginning the book IX of the Theodosian Code (Pharr, 2001) contains different criminal offences and criminal procedure of that time. Having presented various criminal material and procedural rules, Chapter 1, paragraph 4 of the Book IX contains a proclamation by Emperor Constantine to all provincial governors, which reads as follows:

"If there is any person of any position, rank, or dignity whatever who believes that he is able to prove anything truthfully and clearly against any judge, count, or any of My retainers or palatines, in that any of those persons has committed some act which appears to have been done without integrity and justice, let him approach Me and appeal to Me unafraid and secure. I Myself will hear everything; I Myself will conduct an investigation; and if the charge should be proved, I Myself will avenge Myself. Let him speak with safety, and let him speak with a clear conscience. If he should prove the case, as I have said, I Myself will avenge Myself on that person who has deceived Me up to this time with feigned integrity. The person, moreover, who has revealed and proved the offence I will enrich with honors as well as with material rewards. Thus may the Highest Divinity always be propitious to Me and keep Me unharmed, as I hope, with the State most happy and flourishing"

Posted on the fifteenth day before the kalendas of October at Nicomedia in the year of the consulship of Paulinus and Julianus – September 17, 325.

In Chapter 39 of the Book IX, entitled "For Malicious Accusers" or "For Defamatory Accusers" (*De Calumniatoribus*)⁹, the following provisions are listed:

"Title 39: Malicious Accusers (De Calumniatoribus)

1. Emperors Grtian, Valentinian, and Theodosius Augustuses to Hellebicus Count and Master of Both Branches of the Military Service.

There is no reason why the punishment of a manifestly malicious accuser should be deferred. For We do not permit that accusations shall be repeatedly renewed if they could not stand at the first action nor the innocence and security of another person who is guilt of crime shall be terrorized by further suit.

2. The same Augustuses to Menander, Vicar of Asia.

Included in Our constitutions and those of Our fathers is the provision that a person who has presumed to bring an accusation under the name of another shall be classed as an informer. Therefore, the penalty of deportation shall be visited upon his very calumnious head and his person shall be rendered infamous by the judgment that his accusation was unfounded. Thus hereafter each and every one shall know that it is not permitted to disturb the minds of the Emperors in connection with the matter which cannot be proved.

3. Emperors Arcadius and Honorius Augustuses to Victorious, Proconsul of Africa.

⁹ As a reaction to the monopoly of printing house and against the state censorship of texts, at the time before and after the French revolution, journalists accepted for themselves the terms "columnists" or "defamators", which are used colloquially even today.

We do not permit innocent persons to be ruined by the attacks of crafty men under the pretext of false criminal accusations. If any persons should attempt such attacks, they shall know that the severity of the law will overwhelm them for the commission of such crimes.” (Pharr 2001, p. 255)

Chapter 34 of the same Book IX of the Code is entitled “Defamatory Writings” (*De Famosis Libellis*). This Chapter states:

“Title 34: Defamatory writings (*De Famosis Libellis*)

1. If at any time defamatory writings should be found, those persons about whose deeds or names they contain anything shall suffer no calumny therefor, but rather, the author of the writing shall be sought, and when he is found, he shall be compelled with all severity to prove those statements which he believed should be made public. He shall not, however, be released from punishment, even if he should prove anything.

2. Although there are kept in your office and in that of the vicar copies of defamatory writings which were presented in Africa, still you shall allow those persons whose names they contain to enjoy full security and freedom from fear; you shall admonish them only that they hasten to be far removed, not only from every crime, but also from any apparent suspicion of crime. For a person who has the confidence to make accusations must prove his charges and not conceal what he knows, since he will thus be worthy of commendation and will deservedly attain public praise.

3. Just as indulgence must be granted to accusers if they wish to prosecute any person in court, so no credence must be given to defamatory writings, nor must such writings be referred to Our Wisdom, since it is best that the aforesaid defamatory writings, for which no authors are named, should be destroyed at once by fire.

4. A document of defamatory writing which lacks the name of the accuser must not be investigated at all but must be destroyed completely. For if a person has confidence in the prosecution of his accusation, he must call into court the life of another by an open charge rather than by an insidious writing.

5. Our glorious father provided that writings which are called defamatory shall be destroyed, if possible. He ordered also that such writings shall not be admitted to his own cognizance or to public cognizance. Therefore, neither the life nor the rank of any person shall be shattered and shaken by such devices, for We decree that all such defamatory writings shall be burned.

6. No person certainly shall suffer calumny from defamatory writings which have no place either before Me or in the courts. For a person is considered innocent who lacks an accuser, although he may not lack an enemy.

7. The name of defamatory writings is infamous, and if any person should suppose that they should be collected or read and should not immediately consume such papers with fire, he shall know that he will be subject to a capital sentence. Certainly if any person has concern for his own duty and the public safety, he shall declare his own name, and he shall proclaim from his own lips those things which he supposed should be prosecuted through a defamatory document. Thus he shall

approach the courts free from any fear, knowing that if his assertions are supported by proof of their truth, he will obtain great praise and reward from Our Clemency.

8. Very strong protection against calumny has previously been provided. No person, therefore, shall fear calumny. Indeed, an attestation which assails the head of another person contrary to the order of law shall be suppressed by Our laws and become void. The madness of defamatory writings shall perish, as We have often decreed. (Etc).

9. If any person should unwittingly come upon a defamatory writing, either at home or in a public place or in any place whatsoever, he shall tear it to pieces before another finds it: he shall tell no person what he has found. Finally, if he is so curious as to read it, he shall report to no one what he learned in reading it. For if any person should report what he has found, he shall certainly himself be held guilty by law, unless he should betray the author, and he shall not escape the punishment that is established for such crimes, if he should be shown to have reported to anyone what he has read.

10. All those person who by means of defamatory writings hurl against their enemies some poisonous weapon, so to speak, and those who do not tear in pieces immediately or burn in flames writings whose slanderous contents they learned by shameless reading, or those who do not betray the reader if they know him, shall dread the avenging sword upon their own necks" (Pharr, 2001:249-250).

It is possible to dispute, in historical terms, the correctness of the names of emperors issuing proclamations or the years of their publication. For example, Chapter 1, paragraph 4 uses a proclamation by Demetrius (historically known as Octavian August brother of Cleopatra of Egypt), who following the death of his sister (who killed her husband Mark Anthony and herself with poisonous snakes) tried to keep the empire and quell the uprisings in Africa. The entire context was probably used at the time of Constantine to quell other uprisings against the emperor and for some current political aims. It is beyond doubt that it was supported by Theodosius II. But that historical context is of no importance to us now. It is important to comprehend the original meaning of defamation, infamy and libel. All of these meant accusation of another person, not before courts or the emperor, but before the circle of friends, at home or in public. Orally or in writing. Publicly or secretly.¹⁰

Over the centuries, many things changed: organization of power, introduction of public prosecutors, independent judiciary, specific definition of defamation as a criminal offence in different criminal codes etc. Furthermore, one should take into account the appearance of printing houses and newspapers, development of radio, television, the Internet and other mass communication instruments (because it is them which are often mentioned in this context) or in short other types of today's "*libellis*". That certainly often leads to the change of context and of understanding of the concepts of "accuser" (defamatory, informer) and the "accused" (defamed).

¹⁰ Those persons certainly had their justification for production of such "secret writings". The most common justification then was "how to accuse a murderer who is in power; how to accuse a thief when he is in power; how to accuse a violent person when he is in power"... etc.

As well as of the notions of defamation and libel. Despite the historical distance, it seemed to me interesting to recall the source of all these notions because they retained after so many centuries, much of the meaning of the time they appeared in.

That is particularly relevant today, when there are efforts to “decriminalize defamation” (whatever is implied under that notion) in the domestic legislation. Therefore it would be beneficial to make a tablet of individuals owning media in all of our countries so that we may ask ourselves “what we are talking about here”. Until that time, it is recommendable to read again the Theodosian Code. What we may find out there, may be surprising. At least in relation to the so-called informants.

It is important for us to remember that the notion of defamation implied accusation of another person for the crime committed, not before courts and authorities, but in public or before other people, even including the retelling of the previously read defamatory writing. Non-reporting of committed crimes to the authorities was an act punishable by law. Because if the crime was not reported, authorities were not aware of it, and if the crime was debated in public, all will accuse the authorities for not punishing something they were not aware of. Generally this is the idea behind the maxim “accuse before the courts or be silent”.

Over the centuries different things were considered defamation, mainly spoken but untrue words (irrespective of the fact whether it was about criminal offences or not). It was further expanded to a special sphere today called the right to privacy, protected independently of the “truthfulness” of the disclosed information. To understand all of this, one must have in mind that adultery, immorality etc., in those ancient times were crimes (although in a large number of countries today there are not).

That is why I believe that today (although not in full) the journalist profession is partly a victim of non-clarified legal notions and different concepts in various countries. The Internet time irresistibly resembles the time of invention of the first printing machines (the time of abrupt expansion of the public circle), but today we lack sufficiently wise or courageous lawyers to undertake an initiative to define certain basic rules in this area. Laws, conventions, norms are abundant, but it is obvious that these are only compromises made by people who do not know the origins. Therefore I am of the opinion that there is a need to sit together and consider the entire regulation in this area and that the period of the 14th and 15th centuries provides abundance of materials. That tradition is much better preserved in the common law world than in legal solutions of the continental Europe.

The rules of unfair competition are ever more frequently applied to the so-called defamation compensation. Earlier it was a privilege of traders only. It is true that any person, similarly to a trader, has a problem with subsistence if his reputation and honor are damaged, but solutions in this sphere are not always legally consequent and they are often ridiculous (particularly when applied before courts in practice).¹¹

¹¹ See Möllers, M.J., Heinemann, A. 2007, also see Brüggemeier, G., Ciacchi, A. C., O’Callaghan, P. 2010.

Conclusion

The criminal offence of defamation used to protect the value of "human reputation, honor and dignity". Does it mean that the current tendency (in some Balkan countries) of decriminalization of defamation imply that that value does not exist anymore and that if "some structure" lost its reputation and honor, it must apply to all people in the state? Twenty years ago in the socialist Yugoslavia it was a scandal if an official "spent too much on representation" or if a state official was taken a photo of while hunting. Today it is not a scandal if someone writes that 40 million Euro or more have been stolen. Nearly 20 years ago in the communist world there was a real fight for freedom of thought, fight against the so-called verbal delict as a striving for freedom at the time when the majority of news and newspapers consisted of press releases of different state organizations. Today defamations themselves have become part of the previously directed police drama, which people do not take seriously or observe helplessly. The most stubborn supporters of criminal prosecution of verbal delict in the former Yugoslavia are today authors of defamation decriminalization laws. The mere fact speaks for itself. Lawyers are guilty of that and we will take the responsibility. However are journalists completely innocent? They have to answer that question.

New technological innovations have largely changed today's picture of the world, but history teaches us it is not a novelty. The "abrupt expansion of the public circle" is something that cyclically repeats in human history. We must see the solutions applied in such periods and adapt them to contemporary needs. I trust that only common law lawyers understand it in a more organized way. It's high time that we start considering this topic.

I also believe that journalists must study in greater detail the system of collective management of copyrights, which in my opinion may at the beginning ensure freer economic operation and more substantial independence.

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dr Lejla Turčilo, vanredni profesor¹

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Sarajevu (Bosna i Hercegovina)

Profesionalno i građansko novinarstvo: saradnja ili konkurencija

Apstrakt: Građansko novinarstvo (“civic journalism”, “citizen journalism”, “peer to peer journalism”) postaje sve značajniji fenomen 21. stoljeća. Građani ne-novinari, ekspanzijom društvenih mreža i njihovom rastućom ulogom u svakodnevnom životu većine ljudi, postaju sve značajniji posrednici u prijenosu informacija o događajima, procesima i fenomenima svakodnevice. Ovaj rastući trend ne-novinarskog izvještavanja pred novinarstvo postavlja brojne izazove, koji se prije svega tiču brzine izvještavanja (koja se nameće kao ključni “kvalitet” informacija) i pristupa “običnim” građanima: da li je riječ o konkurenciji/alternativi ili komplementarnosti/saradnji građanskog i profesionalnog novinarstva?

U ovom radu se postavlja pitanje definiranja samog građanskog novinarstva u odnosu na profesionalno, razmatra da li u razvijajućoj teoriji o značaju i utjecajnosti građanskog novinarstva pravimo dvije logičke pogreške: najprije, posmatrajući građane-reportere/prijenosnike informacija/aktiviste kao građane novinare (pri čemu zanemarujemo interpretativnu funkciju i profesionalnu odgovornost koju novinarstvo i profesionalni novinari imaju, a reporteri/ne-novinari ne moraju imati), te posmatrajući građansko novinarstvo isključivo kroz prizmu dosadašnjih, tradicionalnih pristupa medijima (opisujući nove fenomene starim terminima i istražujući ih starim metodologijama).

Savremeni problemi i izazovi sa kojima se suočava profesionalno novinarstvo (pad povjerenja publike, pritisci u i na medije, problemi vjerodostojnosti itd.) uzorkuju sve češće okretanje publike ka online medijima i građanskom novinarstvu, ali to može (i mora) biti samo poticaj u osnaživanju profesionalnih standarda i prevazilaženja krize novinarstva, a ne argument za njegovo odbacivanje kao “zastarjelog koncepta”.

Ključne riječi: *profesionalno novinarstvo, građansko novinarstvo, vjerodostojnost, profesionalni standardi*

¹ Prodekanesa za nastavu FPN Sarajevu; E-mail: turcilol@fpn.unsa.ba

PhD Lejla Turčilo, associate professor
Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Professional and civic journalism: cooperation or competition

Abstract: Civic journalism (citizen journalism, peer to peer journalism) is becoming increasingly important phenomenon of the 21st century. Citizens non-journalists, are becoming increasingly important intermediaries in the transmission of information about events, processes and phenomena of everyday life with the expansion of social networks and their growing role in the daily lives of most people. This growing trend of non-journalist reporting raises a number of challenges to journalism, which are primarily related to the speed of reporting (which is emerging as a key “quality” of information) and access to “ordinary” citizens: is it a competition/alternative or complementary/ cooperation of civic and professional journalism?

In this paper, the question of defining the citizen journalism in relation to professional is posed, consider whether the developing theory about the importance and influence of citizen journalism we make two logical errors: first, observing citizens-reporters/transferors of information/activist as citizens journalists (with neglect of interpretative function and professional responsibility that professional journalism and journalists have, and reporters/non-journalists do not need to have), and observing the citizen journalism solely through the prism of the past, traditional media access (describing new phenomena with the old expressions and exploring them using old methodology).

Contemporary problems and challenges faced by professional journalism (decline of public confidence, pressures in and on the media, the problems of credibility, etc.) cause the increase turning of media audience towards online media and civic journalism, but that can (and must) be a stimulus to the strengthening of professional standards and overcoming the crisis of journalism, not an argument for its rejection as an “obsolete concept”.

Key words: *professional journalism, civic journalism, credibility, professional standards*

Uvod: Da li je Facebook zamijenio tradicionalne medije?

Bosna i Hercegovina se u maju 2014. godine suočila sa najvećim poplavama u posljednjih 120 godina (otkako se vrše mjerenja vodostaja u BiH). U nešto više od 48 sati palo je oko 150 l/m² kiše, a rijeke Bosna, Sava, Miljacka, Vrbas, Drina izlile su se u gradovima Sarajevo, Maglaj, Orašje, Doboj, Bijeljina, Zenica, Živinice, Vareš, Zavidovići i dr. Više od milion ljudi iseljeno je iz njihovih domova, što zbog poplava, što zbog klizišta koja su se pokrenula u nekim područjima.²

Tokom prvih deset dana poplava građani su informacije o stanju na poplavljenim područjima i o potrebama stanovništva na tom području dobivali najviše putem društvenih mreža, pri čemu je Facebook apsolutno prednjačio kao medij ne samo prijenosa informacija i komunikacije sa i o poplavljenim područjima, nego i kao medij angažmana i spontano organizirane društvene akcije.

Informacije i fotografije ugroženog stanovništva pogođenog katastrofom, pozivi na prikupljanje humanitarne pomoći i informacije o improviziranim punktovima na kojima su građani (samo)organizovano počeli akcije pomoći dominirale su društvenim mrežama. Pojedinci (poznata TV lica, sportisti, aktivisti, ali i brojni "nepoznati" građani), navijačke i druge grupe (navijači fudbalskih klubova, sportski novinari i dr.), humanitarne organizacije (Caritas, Crveni križ i dr.), nevladine organizacije (Pomozi i dr.), udruženja studenata (Filozofskog fakulteta, Fakulteta političkih nauka, Studentski parlament Univerziteta u Sarajevu i dr.) pokrenuli su akcije podrške i pomoći istovremeno dijeleći informacije o najugroženijim područjima. Istovremeno, brojni "klasični mediji", a posebno javni servisi, nisu se najbolje snašli i nisu emitovali nikakve specijalne programe i vanredne vijesti u prvih 48 sati poplava. Brojni analitičari ocijenili su kako su "obični" građani bez ikakve infrastrukture i formalne naobrazbe u području komunikacija na samom početku katastrofe preuzeli ulogu informatora. "Dok je poplava gutala metar po metar prostora u katastrofi koju su preživljavali stanovnici centralnih i sjevernih dijelova zemlje, druga vrsta poplave, ona koju čine informacije, nadirala je socijalnim mrežama i internetom (...) Uprkos kakofoniji koju po svojoj prirodi donose, ponovo su, u kriznoj situaciji, društvene mreže bile osnovni kanali pravovremenih i korisnih informacija o poplavama. Uz naravno uobičajenu gomilu smeća koju internet nosi. Vijesti o poplavama viralno su proputovale do miliona korisnika informacija."³

Ova konkretna situacija ponovo je pokrenula diskusiju o ulozi društvenih mreža u obavještavanju građana o bitnim događajima i dešavanjima u njihovoj neposrednoj okolini, ali i globalnih događaja, i otvorila brojna pitanja o značaju građanskog novinarstva u savremenom dobu i global/izira/nom društvu. Šta je i kakvo je "klasično" novinarstvo danas? Može li ga zamijeniti građansko novinarstvo? Da li je ovo izvještavanje građana o (i za) drugim građanima uopće novinarstvo ili je riječ o transmisiji informacija i bilježenju događaja i pojava foto i video zapisima koje se

² Više na: <http://www.poplave.ba>, posjećeno 27. maja 2014. godine

³ Aldin Arnautović, „Internet je ukrao medije“, članak dostupan na: <http://www.media.ba/bs/novinarstvo-mreze-i-web/internet-je-ukrao-medije>, posjećeno 27. maja 2014. godine.

ne može zvati novinarstvom?

Nesumnjivo je da građansko novinarstvo postaje sve značajniji fenomen, a društvene mreže dobivaju sve veću ulogu u svakodnevnom životu većine ljudi. Nadalje, one mijenjaju i način razumijevanja uloge novinarstva, koje se sve više shvata tek kao prijenos tekućih događaja istovremeno sa njihovim odvijanjem. Brzina prijenosa informacije postaje njen ključni "kvalitet" često nauštrb njenog kvaliteta (u smislu tačnosti, istinitosti, provjerljivosti).

Da li, dakle, Facebook može zamijeniti druge medije i možemo li očekivati svojevrsnu post-medijsku scenu kojom će dominirati društvene mreže i neprofesionalni prijenosnici informacija? Pitanje je to koje se nameće ne samo zbog rastuće uloge online medija, nego i zbog sve veće krize tradicionalnih medija i "klasičnog" novinarstva.

Kriza profesionalnog novinarstva danas

Šta je uopće novinarstvo danas? Da li je riječ tek o prijenosu informacija ili o analitičkom pristupu događajima, fenomenima i akterima savremenog društva? Da li je moguće govoriti o neprofesionalnom prijenosu informacija nasuprot profesionalnom analitičkom i istraživačkom novinarstvu?

Zagovornici tradicionalnog pristupa razumijevanju medija (kao ne samo posrednika informacija, nego i kreatora javnog mnijenja) podsjećaju na klasične teorije o društvenoj ulozi medija koje definiraju novinarstvo kao "način na koji razumijevamo svijet" (Vočkić-Avdagić, 1997:9), kao i na teorije o funkcijama medija (koje čine ne samo informativna, nego i orjentirajuća, edukativna, zabavna, socijalizacijska, politička i brojne druge funkcije (Šiber, 2003:177). Time, zapravo, podsjećaju na činjenicu da "mediji imaju specifičnu društvenu ulogu i specifičnu ulogu u demokratiji, osobito kada ih shvatamo kao ekonomske i političke institucije, a ne isključivo kao posrednike u prijenosu informacija" (Turčilo, 2011:47).

Sa druge, pak, strane, zagovornici liberalizacije medijskog prostora i inkluzivne definicije novinarstva smatraju kako online mediji, a posebno društvene mreže, mogu biti "dopuna" klasičnim medijima, pa i njihova svojevrsna zamjena, obzirom da i novinarstvom kao profesijom dominiraju sve više tek površne informacije, a ne ozbiljne istraživačke priče, te da današnje novinarstvo sve više služi za "povezivanje oglašivača i publike" (Herman, McChesney, 2004:22), a ne za objektivno, tačno, istinito i pravovremeno informiranje građana.

Činjenica je (sa čim se slažu brojni autori) da je novinarstvo danas u krizi koja nije uzrokovana (isključivo) razvojem online medija, nego je to svojevrsna kriza *per se*, koja se ogleda u nekoliko aspekata:

- Supstancijalna kriza (u samom definiranju novinarstva)
- Kriza identiteta
- Kriza etike
- Kriza publike

Supstancijalna kriza novinarstva odnosi se na unekoliko izmijenjenu definiciju

novinarstva kao profesije. Temeljna uloga novinarstva (i novinara): prikupljanje informacija zapravo je izmijenjena i dopunjena sa pojavom društvenih mreža, dok je istraživačko novinarstvo na izdisaju, a analitičko često "obojeno" različitim interesima vlasnika medija i sa njima po/u/vezanih političkih i ekonomskih elita. "Mediji se više obraćaju potrošačima, a sve manje građanima, zato jer intencija i jest da se građani u što većoj mjeri pretvore u potrošače" (Viktor Ivančić, "Dani", 2008:19). Kritičari današnjih medija novinare pejorativno nazivaju "copy-pasterima"⁴, "ovlaštenim držačima mikrofona"⁵ i "prodavačima drugih nemedijskih sadržaja"⁶.

Kriza identiteta novinarstva kao profesije odnosi se, zapravo, na pitanje koje, upravo u gore navedenom kontekstu, sebi postavljaju novinari: Ko smo mi? Šta nam je društvena uloga? Ranija uloga društveno-političkih radnika⁷ unekoliko je zamijenjena ulogom korporativnih medijskih uposlenika koji, kako smatra McChesney "sve češće prave kompromise s biznisom, te su rijetko objektivni, a posebno je rijetko kritičko izvještavanje o vodećim oglašivačima" (McChesney, prema Turčilo, 2011: 37).

Kriza etike u novinarstvu, zapravo, daje najveći broj argumenata kritičarima savremenih medija i zagovaračima koncepta građanskog novinarstva, koji smatraju kako su tri ključna zahtjeva savremenog medijskog tržišta: zahtjev za brzinom ("biti prvi"), zahtjev za privlačenjem pažnje ("biti drugačiji"), te zahtjev za prosuđivanjem, a ne samo prijenosom informacija o događajima ("biti kritičar"), uzrokovali pad etičkih standarda, pristup "objavi, pa provjeravaj", te rast senzacionalizma, kao i pokušaj novinarstva da se stavi u superiornu poziciju u odnosu na druge društvene sfere⁸.

Kriza publike odnosi se ne samo na činjenicu da se sve veći broj mlađe publike okreće online medijima, očekujući da su im vijesti i informacije uvijek dostupne i to potpuno besplatno⁹, kako to kaže Dan Gilmor (2006:22), nego i na činjenicu da i rijetke istraživačke priče uopće ne nailaze na veliku podršku publike¹⁰, jer, kako primjećuje Mirce Toma, analitičar iz Rumunije: "javni interes više uopće nije interesantan javnosti" (prema Turčilo, 2011:10).

Kriza novinarstva kao profesije uzrokuje sve više zahtjeva za korjenitim promjenama u profesiji samoj, ali i za njenom dopunom drugim oblicima izvještavanja poput građanskog novinarstva. "Hoću reći, gospodine uredniče, da će uvijek biti onih koji znaju pisati i, važnije, onih koji znaju čitati. Kanali njihove međusobne

⁴ Aludirajući na činjenicu da oni sve više tek prepisuju agencijske vijesti, pa čak i informacije objavljene na društvenim mrežama

⁵ Kako ih naziva Sead Alić, aludirajući na činjenicu da tek prenose izjave aktera događaja i PR sadržaje kojima ih zatrpavaju PR agencije

⁶ Kako ih naziva Stjepan Malović aludirajući na činjenicu da novine naprimjer sve više služe da bi se uz njih prodale knjige, CD i drugi sadržaji

⁷ Koji su služili održavanju statusa quo nedemokratskih političkih sistema

⁸ "Umjesto večeranja s političarima, novinari danas večeraju političare" (Lloyd, 2008:32)

⁹ "Cost-free news you can touch", kako ih danas opisuju korisnici online medija

¹⁰ Uslijed opće apatije javnosti

komunikacije dovoljno su sporedni da im ne možete dokučiti logiku,” kaže Viktor Ivančić u knjizi u knjizi “Zašto ne pišem i drugi eseji” (2010). Da li će ti sporedni kanali u budućnosti biti internetski, a oni koji čitaju i oni koji pišu takozvani “prosumeri”?¹¹

Građansko novinarstvo ili peer to peer prijenos informacija?

Sve glasnije rasprave o tome šta je novinarstvo danas počele su, zapravo, nakon što su online mediji doživjeli ekspanziju i postali sve značajniji za građane. Budući da u online sferi pravo na prijenos i kreiranje informacija imaju svi umreženi, bez obzira na njihove kompetencije i znanja, postavlja se pitanje da li je na pragu transformacija novinarstva iz opisivanja i analitike društvene stvarnosti u tek prijenos događaja uz su-kreiranje informacija u saradnji sa drugim korisnicima mreže?

Šta je, uopće, građansko novinarstvo i može li ga se smatrati novinarstvom ili tek izvještavanjem za i o drugim korisnicima? U komunikološko/tehnološkom smislu, to je, u najkraćem, kreiranje informacija od strane aktera online komunikacije koji nisu nužno novinari-profesionalci i njihovo distribuiranje putem online medija. Online komunikacija i mrežna struktura interneta podrazumijeva nepostojanje jedinstvenog centra prijenosa informacija i malu mogućnost kontrole tokova informacija. Svi korisnici ravnopravni su, a uvjeti za stupanje u komunikaciju nisu kompetencijske naravi, nego se odnose na tehnološke mogućnosti i interes koje korisnici imaju za komuniciranje. Osnovne karakteristike online medija su:

- Slabljenje dominacije institucionalnih izvora informacija¹²;
- Mogućnost prikupljanja i produciranja sadržaja u raznovrsnim simboličkim formama;¹³
- Interaktivnost i participacija;¹⁴
- Potencijal neograničenog prostora i vremena (što omogućava da se vijesti instant objavljuju i kontinuirano nadopunjuju);
- Mogućnost za svakoga za trenutno objavljivanje priča i informacija;¹⁵
- Višesmjernost komunikacije (umreženost korisnika);
- Mogućnost ispoljavanja individualnih stavova i diskusija. (prema Turčilo, 2006:14).

Glavna “promjena” koju su online mediji donijeli ogleda se u činjenici da publika želi da vijesti/informacije pronađu nju, a ne želi tragati za njima.¹⁶ Postavlja se

¹¹ Istovremeno proizvođači i konzumenti informacija, pojam: Dan Gilmor

¹² Pri čemu tzv. “user generated content” dobiva svoje “mjesto pod suncem” u ovoj novomedijskoj sferi

¹³ Multimedija

¹⁴ Koji se opisuju pojmovima “crowdsourcing” i “citizens’ journalism”

¹⁵ Takozvano p2p (peer-to-peer) novinarstvo

¹⁶ Svjedoči tomu i podatak da je Facebook pretekao Google kao glavni izvor linkova prema vijestima

pitanje¹⁷ nije li to vraćanje na staro kad je riječ o konzumiranju informacija.¹⁸

Druga promjena koju je online sfera unijela u novinarstvo kao profesiju jeste i rastuća uloga nepoznatih pojedinaca u prikupljanju vijesti i informacija sa terena.¹⁹

Ključno pitanje je: da li su ove nove osobine koje su imanentne online medijima i promjene koje su oni unijeli u komunikaciju, tu komunikaciju poboljšale ili su je samo učinile drugačijom od one kakvu smo poznavali B:G. (before Google), te da li je riječ o revolucionarnoj promjeni. Sonia Livingstone smatra kako se publika, doista, vraća u vrijeme slično onome kada su dominantan medij bile novine,²⁰ ali nam se promjena čini revolucionarnom jer online medije uspoređujemo sa njima prethodećom televizijom koja je na izvjestan način bila "okupljajući medij".²¹ To otvara još jednu dilemu: da li analizirajući sličnosti i razlike²² online medija u odnosu na "klasične" medije (štampa, radio i televizija) mi kao istraživači pravimo logičko-metodološku pogrešku posmatrajući ih isključivo kroz prizmu dosadašnjih tradicionalnih pristupa medijima, i opisujući potpuno nove fenomene²³ starim terminima i istražujući ih starim metodologijama? Ostvaruje li se, zapravo, Castellsova teza da se internet razvija tolikom brzinom da nauka nije sposobna pratiti taj napredak, pa "stoga u internet galaksiju ulazimo punom brzinom u stanju informacijske smetenosti" (Castells, 2003:5).

Tri su ključne razlike između novinara profesionalaca i "citizen" ("građanskih") novinara, a odnose se prije svega na kompetencije, intencije i deontologiju.

Kad je riječ o kompetencijama, kako je već rečeno, građani-novinari ne moraju imati nikakvu naobrazbu u polju novinarstva,²⁴ jer online sfera njihove kompetencije ne pretpostavlja kao uvjet stupanja na novomedijsku scenu. Otud insistiranje nekih autora da se i terminološki pravi jasna razdjelnica između profesionalnog novinarstva i neprofesionalnog obavještavanja građana (ili peer-to-peer reportinga). Ova masa "eksperata u pidžamama", kako ih pogrdno naziva Andrew Keen (2010:22) nije u istoj ravni²⁵ sa profesionalno educiranim novinarima niti ima iste etičke obaveze, niti istu profesionalnu deontologiju. Kako primijećuje Clay Shirky u knjizi "Here Comes Everybody" (2008): "Od McLuhanovog 'poruka je medij' došli smo do 'svako je medij' ". Ali, dodat ćemo, (još uvijek) svako nije novinar.

¹⁷ Zbog čega smo pojam "promjena" i stavili u navodnike

¹⁸ I u novinama su, naime, vijesti i informacije dolazile do publike, a nije ih ona tražila kao što to čini mijenjajući programe radio i TV stanica

¹⁹ Takozvani "I-reporting" kojeg prakticira, recimo, američki CNN u kriznim situacijama poput elementarnih nepogoda ili "crowdsourcing" koji se zasniva na pozivu građanima da "pomognu" novinarima u pisanju same priče dostavljanjem nekih, njima poznatih podataka.

²⁰ Jer svako od nas u svoje vrijeme čita "svoje" naslove

²¹ Iz izlaganja Sonie Livingstone na COST konferenciji *Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*, Lisabon, Portugal, 2010. godine.

²² Ili još češće prednosti i nedostatke

²³ Poput građanskog novinarstva i peer-to-peer izvještavanja

²⁴ Pa čak ni bilo kakvu opću naobrazbu

²⁵ Kad su kompetencije u pitanju

Kada je riječ o intencijama "citizen journalist", još jedna logičko-metodološka pogreška odnosi se na činjenicu da mi njih, te građane/reportere/prijenosnike informacija posmatramo kao građane-novinare, iako to oni uopće ne moraju (ili ne žele) biti. Naime, već pomenuti primjer poplava u Bosni i Hercegovini jasno je pokazao da je namjera građana, koji su dijelili informacije o ugroženim područjima i građanima koji trebaju pomoć, bila mobilizacija i aktivizam, a ne novinarski prijenos informacija. Zamijenjivanje nesnalazljivih novinara i medija građanima-reporterima na Facebooku i drugim društvenim mrežama i kanalima (Twitter, Youtube, Instagram itd) dogodilo se, zapravo, kao popratna pojava ove građanske mobilizacije i aktivizma.

Mogli bismo, stoga, reći kako građansko novinarstvo i peer-to-peer prijenos informacija ne samo da nemaju iste polazne osnove i temeljne postulate kakve ima profesionalno novinarstvo, nego se od njega suštinski razlikuju. I bez obzira na krizu sa kojom se današnje profesionalno novinarstvo suočava ne mogu biti "propisani" kao lijek za nedostatnu količinu kvalitetnih priča i informacija u savremenim medijima.

Zaključak: Hoće li Facebook, dakle, zamijeniti tradicionalne medije?

Kako smo vidjeli u slučaju poplava u maju 2014. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini, Facebook je bio iznimno važan medij na samom početku elementarne nepogode, ali je vremenom u ovom konkretnom slučaju prerastao u aktivističku platformu, a ne (samo) u alternativni medij. Internet je ukrao medije, da citiramo kolegu Aldina Arnautovića²⁶, ali ne za trajno.

Ovaj, ali i brojni drugi primjeri iz prakse, daju nam dovoljno argumenata da zaključimo kako građansko novinarstvo jeste novi, potpuno drugačiji pristup kreiranju i distribuciji podataka i informacija, ali ono, zapravo, bez obzira na krizu "klasičnog" novinarstva, ne derogira potrebu društva za profesionalnim novinarima. Prije bismo mogli reći da građansko novinarstvo u "klasičnom" uzrokuje korjenite promjene. Savremeni problemi i izazovi sa kojima se suočava profesionalno novinarstvo²⁷ uzorkuju sve češće okretanje publike ka online medijima i građanskom novinarstvu, ali to može (i mora) biti samo poticaj u osnaživanju profesionalnih standarda i prevazilaženja krize novinarstva, a ne argument za njegovo odbacivanje kao "zastarjelog koncepta".

Slobodni smo zaključiti²⁸ kako je upravo sa ogromnim brojem dostupnih kanala, medija, sredstava komunikacije potreba za profesionalnim medijima i novinarima veća nego ikada. Zašto je tome tako? John Lloyd, zapravo, daje jedan od značajnih razloga: "Mediji su u centru našeg javnog života. Oni definišu šta je taj život. Ako je ta definicija hronično i strukturalno pogrešna, onda je u pitanju ozbiljan problem, ozbiljniji od mnogo tema kojima se sami mediji bave" (Lloyd, 2008:23).

²⁶ Aldin Arnautović, „Internet je ukrao medije“, članak dostupan na: <http://www.media.ba/bs/novinarstvo-mreze-i-web/internet-je-ukrao-medije>, posjećeno 27. maja 2014. godine.

²⁷ Pad povjerenja publike, pritisci u i na medije, problemi vjerodostojnosti itd.

²⁸ Ne umanjujući time značaj i rastuću ulogu citizens' journalism-a.

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dr Dejan Donev,¹ docent

Institut za novinarstvo, medije i komunikacije, Pravni fakultet "Justinijan I",
Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju (Republika Makedonija)

dr Željko Kaluđerović,² vanredni profesor

Odsek za filozofiju, Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
(Republika Srbija)

Postmoderna kriza novinarstva i povratak etičkog subjekta u njemu

Abstract: Postmoderna kriza novinarstva, tačnije subjekta u novinarstvu, koja je dosad bila utemeljena na novovekovnom uverenju o mogućnostima upoznavanja sveta, suverenog raspolaganja istinom, racionalne raspodele vrednosti, kao i slobode, danas se pokazuje kao propast ideologije autonomnog novinara.

Ali istodobno, u suprotnosti sa diskusijama koje konstatuju odumiranje novinarstva i pesimistički prognoziraju njegov kraj, može se izvesti zaključak da svaka kriza u sebi sadrži i pozitivnu mogućnost, tj. da „kraj ne smemo razumeti samo kao nedostatak perspektivnosti“, nego pre svega kao mogućnost preporoda novinarstva.

Otuda, preporod treba biti izražen preko pokušaja da na novim temeljima uspostavimo novinara kao etičku i odgovornu osobu koja traži izlaz iz krize u ljudskoj osobi, zato što je osoba „vrh gde počinju svi putevi sveta“. Postavljanje „etičke zgrade“ u novinarskom izveštavanju znači da novinar nije usamljena individua, nego je osoba koja postaje takva u ličnom odnosu prema drugom čoveku. Vraćanje novinara kao etičkog subjekta u novinarstvu omogućilo bi prepoznavanje identiteta i budućnost (razvoja) profesije.

Ključne riječi: *postmoderna, kriza novinarstva, etički subjekt*

¹ E-mail: donevdejan76@gmail.com

² E-mail: zeljko.kaludjerovic@gmail.com

PhD Dejan Donev, docent

Institute of Journalism, Media and Communication, Faculty of Law “Justinian I”,
“Ss. Cyril and Methodius” University in Skopje (Republic of Macedonia)

PhD Željko Kaluđerović, associate professor

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad (Republic of Serbia)

The postmodern crisis of journalism and the return of the ethical subject in it

Abstract: The postmodern crisis of journalism, namely the subject in journalism, which has so far been based on the new age belief about the possibilities of seeing the world, the sovereign disposition of truth, of rational distribution of values, as well as the freedom, today is seen as a collapse of the ideology of an autonomous journalist.

But at the same time, contrary to the discussions that ascertain the dying of journalism and pessimistic forecast of its end, it can be concluded that every crisis contains a positive option, i.e. that “the end must not be understood only as a lack of perspective”, but primarily as an opportunity of a rebirth of journalism.

Thus, the revival should be expressed through attempts to establish new foundations of a journalist as an ethical and responsible person looking for a way out of the crisis of the human person, because the person is “the tip where all the roads of the world start.” Setting the “ethical building” in journalistic reporting means that the journalist is not alone an individual, but a person who becomes as such in their personal relationship with another man. Restoring the journalist as an ethical subject in journalism would allow the recognition of identity and future (development) of profession.

Key words: *postmodernism, crisis of journalism, ethical subject*

Uvod

Od velikog naviranja novih ideja, mogućnosti i razrešenja (dobrih i loših) koje donose kraj 20-tog i početak 21-og veka, nesumnjivo najeklatantniji proizvod toga jeste *kriza identiteta subjekta delovanja*. Pošto se isti pojavljuje prelaskom modernog u postmoderno doba, njegovi razlozi se trebaju tražiti i istraživati u svetlu krize³ koja se dogodila proglašavanjem kraja ideologije (Daniel Bel), kraja istorije (Frensis Fukujama), nauke (Džon Horgan) i samog sveta (Džon Lesli), tj. proglašavanjem kraja perioda u kome nam se činilo da će se „profesionalizmom rešiti problem javne sfere“ (Hallin, 1994:15).

Iz mnoštva uzroka ovog stanja svakako se za temeljne uzima saznanje da u Postmodernoj niko ne može imati kompletnu kontrolu. Dakle, postalo je diskutabilno traženje od Moderne da moralni subjekt suvereno kontroliše situaciju. Pa tako, postmoderni pristup moralnosti češće se povezuje sa „smrću etičkog“ pošto je „ljudska realnost nesređena i dvosmislena, pa su moralne odluke, za razliku od apstraktnih etičkih načela, protivrečne“ (Bauman, 1993:32). Subjekt u Postmoderni nestaje, a sa njim i poštovanje dostojanstva ljudske osobe, priznavanje i tretiranje čoveka kao najvišeg cilja. Imajući u vidu činjenicu da sada više nema subjekta, nema više ni pitanja, a pošto nema pitanja, nema ni odgovora, niti odgovornosti!

Ovim je već postalo više nego jasno da je Postmoderna pod upitnik stavila norme i etiku, iako se ne radi toliko o krizi vrednosti, koliko se radi o čoveku koji ih ne sledi, tj. o njegovoj moralnosti. Naime, moralni subjekt u većini slučajeva zna da razlikuje odgovorno od neodgovornog, ali problem se javlja kada mora saglasno tom razlikovanju i da postupi. Savremeni čovek ima niz zadataka, ali ni sa jednim se ne identifikuje kao celina, kao jedinstveno biće, što bi se moglo prevesti kao: odgovornost i dalje ostaje u vazduhu zato što ona ostaje „povezana sa ulogom, a ne sa osobom“ (Bauman, 1993:19), umesto obrnuto – čovek je odgovoran kao osoba, a ne samo kao nositelj određene uloge iz mnoštva koje ima. Uloga pojedinca ne može prerasti u njegovo Ja!

I dok Postmoderna i dalje caruje, broj problema se svakodnevno i rapidno povećava u svim sferama ljudskog dejstvovanja, što znači da se u pitanje dovodi svačija egzistencija! Čovek nastoji da pripremi rešenja problema, preko nužnosti brisanja i žučnog odbacivanja postulata i tendencija Postmoderne. Istovremeno, enormnim potenciranjem i delovanjem u smeru potrage za alternativnim modusom po pitanju mogućeg rešenja nagomilanih problema od kojih zavisi dalji ljudski opstanak, isti pokušava da ponovo vrati u „igru“ koncept moralnog subjekta, njegovog digniteta, kao i značaj etike u izgradnji osobe i otuda, kao vraćanje „Feniksa“, počne da sanira posledice. Ali, da li je i koliko je to moguće!?

³ Saglasno kojoj se govorilo i još uvek se govori o proglašavanju **kraja novinarstva**, što je samo „predupređivanje istorijskog procesa iz kasnog kapitalizma koji pokazuje zavisnost novinarstva kao kulturne prakse iz ekonomskih načela marketinga i novu informacijsku tehnologiju“ (Hardt, 1996:21). U ovom smislu, Piter Dalgren govori o „zalasku klasičnog novinarstva“ (Dahlgren, 1996:59–72), David Altheid i Robert Snou o „postnovinarskom dobu“ (Altheide & Snow, 1991), dok Džo Bardoel o naslućivanju da se bliži „kraj kritičkog novinarstva“ (Bardoel, 1996:284).

Postmoderna i kriza novinarstva

Uz ovakve uslove postavljaju se i pitanja povezana sa profesionalizmom, profesionalnim delovanjem pojedinca, o samoj profesiji generalno, a otuda i o novinarstvu kao takvom. Ovo proizilazi odatle što većim stepenom profesionalizacije određenih „nosećih“ grana u modernom dobu i društvu, u periodu Postmoderne isti postaje neobavezno pravilo pa čak i degradirajuće, što na kraju rezultira dehumanizacijom i deprofesionalizacijom na gotovo svim područjima ljudske egzistencije i delovanja.

U novinarstvu kao profesiji, osnovna pitanja koja svakodnevno odslikavaju našu upitanost u odnosu na esenciju i značaj ove delatnosti, su generalno ista u odnosu na ranija: Šta je novinarstvo i koji su „novinarski zadaci“, tj. koje uloge ima novinarstvo i kome novinarstvo treba da posluži? Drugim rečima, ko je novinar, šta je njegova primarna delatnost, u kojim interesima deluje on i kome je odgovoran? Svakako, odgovori na ova pitanja, kao i do sada, nisu jednostavni, niti jednoznačni, posebno ukoliko novinarsku praksu, s kojom se danas susrećemo, uporedimo sa sve većom i nužnijom potražnjom za kvalitetnim novinarstvom. To je zbog toga što je novinar u „normativnom“ kvalitetnom novinarstvu, o kojem je do sada bilo reči, zauzimao i treba i dalje da zauzima mesto (profesionalno kompetentnog) izvora komunikacijskog procesa, tj. on je subjekt koji bi trebao imati kontrolu nad temeljnim procesima u medijskoj realnosti.

S jedne strane, praksa u novinarskom diskursu u trenutku pokazuje da novinar u svim fazama ovog procesa, gubi mesto **subjekta**, shvaćen kao temelj, nosilac delovanja. Može se slobodno konstatovati da se ovaj temelj u savremenom novinarstvu menja. U prilog ovome govori i saznanje koje je proizašlo iz dijagnostike da danas ono o čemu bi novinari trebali odlučivati u saglasnosti sa svojim kompetencijama, o tome sve više, iako najčešće prikriveno, odlučuju drugi, tj. njihovu ulogu preuzimaju vlasnici medija, kapitala, izvori informacija i/ili nosioci političke moći poput oglašivača, političara, službe za odnose s javnošću i njima slični.

Tako, novinar kao subjekt – izveštač, nestaje. Njegovo mesto u kontroli procesa u medijskoj realnosti preuzimaju različne strukture i mehanizmi moći, vlasnici kapitala i nosioci vlasti. U ovom kontekstu, veći deo posla novinara može se okarakterisati kao pasivna prerada informacija. To jest, izveštači nisu više novinari, nego oni koji u izveštavanju (uspešno) nameću svoj interes, oni koji direktno (kao vlasnici) ili indirektno (kao najuticajni izvori informacija i mišljenja, kao oglašivači i sponzori) vladaju medijima, pri čemu „novinari postaju sluge njihovih interesa, oni koji izvršavaju odluke (decision takers), umesto da budu oni koji odlučuju (decision makers)“ (Manus, 1997:5).

Verifikacija ovoga je i stanje u kome se novinarske organizacije susreću sa ekonomskim problemima koji ugrožavaju novinarsku autonomiju, a novinarstvo podređuju pritiskom tržišta. Ovi problemi, zajedno sa političkim problemima koji potresaju društvo u celini, otvaraju pitanje identiteta novinara i novinarstva i njihovo mesto u javnoj sferi. U ovom kontekstu, kriza identiteta je označena pre svega „sudbinom istinitosti informacija i javnog izveštavanja“ u vreme kada popularna

kultura „usmerava legitimno novinarstvo kao mešavinu zabave, atraktivnosti, senzacije“ (Hachten, 1998:174-175). Posebno se naglašava sve teže utvrđivanje granice ozbiljne i popularne štampe, koje za posledicu ima mešanje njihovih „pravila igre“, čime se ne može utvrditi istinski identitet. Ovo u praksi tržišnog novinarstva, u svim fazama komunikacijskog procesa, rezultira *povlačenjem novinara*, pri čemu njegovu ulogu preuzimaju vlasnici kapitala i nosioci političke moći i vlasti, kontrolišući, umesto novinara, sam komunikacijski proces.

S druge strane, pri posmatranju krize etike u novinarstvu, ne sme se zaobići još jedan vrlo važan faktor, a to je postmoderni pristup moralnosti, često povezan sa **smrću etičkog**. Naime, etika se u svetlu postmodernog relativizama razumeva kao nešto što je „namenjeno deponiji istorije“ (Bauman, 1993:2), kao iluzija bez koje bi postmoderni novinar trebao znati živeti, pošto mu ona više nije potrebna, saglasno stavu da je ona u suprotnosti sa tolerancijom i shvatanjem slobode, a što nije saglasno sa postmodernim načelima.

Novinar, u duhu Postmoderne, odbacuje čvrsto postavljene norme smatrajući da su sva načela posao trenutnog razumevanja, situacija i interpretacija, čime kodeks, kao zapis novinarskih normi, postaje nepotreban, dok tradicionalni etički diskurs „postaje nebitan i ometa ga u poslu“ (Iggers, 1999: 35). Problemi nemaju unapred određena rešenja, ne postoje stroga čvrsta načela koja bi se mogle naučiti, upamtiti i razvijati kako bi se mogle zaobići situacije koje nemaju pozitivnih rešenja. Time novinarstvo u postmoderni gubi iluziju da su napisane norme kodeksa ostvarive, pošto mali sistemi koje kreiramo nisu dovoljno jaki, nego fragilni i neodlučni, pa otuda se novinar, sa pravom, odriče kodeksa i etički procenjuje „prema osećajima“, šta znači „intuitivno, emocionalno i često iracionalno“ (Merrill, 1989:173), što bi se moglo označiti kao *etički nihilizam*.⁴

Postmoderni stav kaže da je sve promenljivo, ustvari „norme su nadomestive etičkim relativizmom kao gledištem koje kaže da ono što je dobro ili loše, ispravno ili pogrešno, jeste relativno“ (Mautner, 1996:136). Shodno tome, ishodište relativističko usmerenim novinarima je da je jedina etika ove profesije ona koju svako sam za sebe postavlja. Do kraja dubinski analizirano, pošto je u postmodernoj bitna samo neodređenost, tj. da niti u jednom području ne sme postojati privilegovana grupa koja bi određivala delovanje, ovakvo gledište znači kraj pokušaja profesionalizacije novinarstva i direktno vodi u stanje bez mera i pravila. Upravo zbog ove odsutnosti apsolutnog, u novinarstvu sve postaje prihvatljivo i sve postaje podjednako dobro: proveravanje i neproveravanje informacija, poštovanje privatnosti i zašćenje u nju..., zavisno o situaciji, okolnostima i involviranosti osobe.

Konačno, *postmoderna kriza subjekta u novinarstvu* pokazuje se kao propast ideologije autonomnog novinara, koja je dosad bila utemeljena na novovekovnom uverenju o mogućnostima upoznavanja sveta, suverenog raspolaganja istinom, racionalne raspodele vrednosti, kao i slobode. To je ono što se naziva period „visokog modernizma američkog novinarstva“ (Hallin, 1994:172), kada uloga novinara

⁴ Etički nihilizam se u ovom kontekstu definiše kao razumevanje prema kome objektivna mera moralnosti ne postoji.

izgleda racionalna, kada se čini mogućim da novinar bude nezavisan, nepristrasan, vredan poverenja, „moralno suveren“, onaj koji otelotvoruje opštevažecu racionalnost prema načelu **jedan razum, jedna istina, jedna objektivnost**, tj. kada analitički razum treba da mu omogući dolaženje do „proverene istine“, kao i njihovo „objektivno posredovanje“ prema publici. Logično, ono što se dobija kao posledica jeste situacija u kojoj je u krizi čovek kao osoba, zato što se on upliće u prosečnu svakodnevnicu, u svakodnevni prosečni ravnodušni način egzistiranja. Postmoderni čovek vidi i čuje ono što je moguće da se čuje i vidi. Ono što bismo mogli videti i čuti jeste samo ono o čemu smo informisani. Na to ukazuje i sam termin *in-formiran* u doslovnom smislu, tj. *u-obličen* u/preko praćenja glasina i vesti. To ne znači da verujemo u sve i svašta, nego da verujemo kako smo na istinskom putu kada pratimo ono što nam saopštavaju vesti.

Krizi novinara kao subjekta

Postmoderni period, kao temeljni civilizacijski preokret, određuje drugačiji pogled prema novinaru kao subjektu, gde je ključna spoznaja da na produkciju vesti utiču raznorazne strukture koje uslovljavaju razum: pristrasnost, stereotipi, želje, nagoni, nesvesno, iracionalna volja, struktura jezika, osećaji, vrednosti, ideali i slično. Kriza modernog doba donosi i spoznaju da **niko ne može biti suvereni novovekovni subjekt**, a otuda niti novinar kao takav, isto kao i svaki drugi čovek, zbog toga što je ograničeno i konačno biće. Time, postmoderni novinar gubi svoju **autentičnost** u odnosu na druge ljude koji nisu određeni kao osobe, nego su „subjekti svakodnevice“ (Heidegger, 1985:130), koje Martin Hajdeger naziva *Se (das Man)* i čija glavna karakteristika jeste prosečnost, mediokritetstvo. Drugim rečima, novinar jeste podređen nekoj posebnoj snazi koja mu oduzima subjektivnost i čini ga neautentičnim, tj. on je kao ponavljač onoga *kako se radi, kako se piše*, kao „prenosilac“ onoga *šta se govori*.⁵ U ovom smislu, novinar u subjektu svakodnevice ne

⁵ Tu više ne vlada niti stil, niti etika, već moda i bonton. Na primer, novinar piše o optuženom kao da je kriv, zato što se to *tako radi*. Argumenat da „svi to rade“ ukazuje na gubljenje subjekta koji je obuhvaćen „svima“, a svi su zapravo niko. On je sluga mišljenja, govora, ponašanja i postupanja drugih i uopšte ne nastupa iz svog razloga, nego se usmerava prema drugom kao „prosek proseka“. „U svakodnevnom životu, obično govorimo onako kako govore svi, a ono o čemu se govori prenosi se pomoću glasina, pri čemu su glasine govor, ali neautentični govor“ (Hribar, 1993:292). Na temelju glasine, širi se ogovaranje za koje je karakteristično da reči pretiču same sebe, tj. da one ne govore o stvarima, nego o sebi. One su reči o rečima, koje ne izveštavaju o egzistenciji drugoga, nego o tome šta druge govore o tome. (Ovakvim primerima tipa „poznato je da...“, „kao što smo već čuli...“, „prema oceni eksperata...“, „kako što saznajemo...“, „navodno...“, „prema dobro upućenim poznavaocima stvari...“, „prema našim izvorima...“, „prema informacijama kojima raspolažemo...“, makedonsko novinarstvo u posljednje vreme obiluje). Pošto je to bilo i prošlo, iako se ne zna ni kada, niti gde je rečeno, ustvari zapisano, na taj način kreira se prosečno razmišljanje koje se podrazumeva u svemu. Jednostavno reći teku. I dok je taj tok rečima „važan“ za ogovaranje, „šuškanje u pozadini“, za kvalitetno novinarstvo prisutnost autora na licu mesta je važna, isto kao i navođenja dokaza poznatog porekla, zato što se u savremenom novinarskom diskursu, novinarsko pitanje kao temeljni novinarski alat, nestaje. Novinar više ne pita, nego „prenosi“ – ili glasine ili novinarsko neobrađeni zanimljivi govor koji mu je dostavljen za objavljivanje od strane zainteresovanog subjekta.

gubi samo svoju autentičnost, nego i odgovornost. Naime, novinar kao osoba nema odgovornost, ona više ne postoji jer drugi imaju „odgovor na i za sve“. Novinar postupa na određeni način zato što se tako postupa, a ne zato što bi tako autonomno i odgovorno postupio. U „vestima“ se često tekstualizuje ono što se govori zato što tako svi rade, što bi istovremeno trebalo značiti da je to ispravno. Dakle, novinarsko pitanje nestaje zato što više nije potrebno, zato što više nema vlastitog autentičnog nosioca, tj. novinara kao subjekta.

Ono što je više nego evidentno u trendovima razvoja novinarstva (ukoliko je to neki trend razvoja), tj. ukoliko se uzme u obzir osnovna pretpostavka delovanja novinara danas, a to je želja da se senzacionalistički upliv u privatnost proglasi za glavni novinarski zadatak - postavlja se teza da se ne radi samo o **krizi identiteta novinarstva**, šta zapravo znači krizi profesije, nego i o **krizi (samo)identifikacije novinarstva**, kao krizi identiteta između novinara i novinarskih diskursa, a posebno o **krizi autonomije i (novinarske) etike**. Rigidnije i do kraja izvedena teza: nije reč samo o krizi etike u novinarstvu, nego pre svega o **krizi subjekta**, posebno o **krizi novinara kao subjekta**⁶.

Konačno, u Postmoderni, pored saznanja da niko ne može imati potpunu kontrolu, postaje diskutabilan i zahtev Moderne da novinar suvereno kontroliše situaciju. Ovo proizlazi otuda što „postmoderna promena znači nepoverenje u kartezijski ego kao i u kršenje predstava o transcendentnom subjektu, a koji su u središtu u najvećem delu evropske filozofije, od Renea Dekarta na ovamo“ (Matthews, 1996:138). Time, postmoderna kriza novinarstva, tačnije subjekta u novinarstvu, koja je dosad bila utemeljena na novovekovnom uverenju o mogućnostima upoznavanja sveta, suverenog raspolaganja istinom, racionalne raspodele vrednosti, kao i slobode, danas se pokazuje kao propast ideologije autonomnog novinara. To znači da postmoderni stanovište ne priznaje mogućnost samoutemeljenja subjekta, čime donosi jednu sasvim različitu sliku o novinaru u smislu subjekta, menjajući dosadašnje preovlađujuće razumevanje identiteta novinara i novinarstva. „Subjekt nestaje, a s njim i glavni alat novinara – pitanje. Novinar nije subjekt i on više ne postavlja pitanja. Nema pitanja, što znači nema ni odgovora, u stvari nema ni odgovornosti, čime etika zapada u krizu. Radi se o krizi subjekta, koja je kriza ličnog ispunjenja, kriza novinara kao osobe“ (Kovačić, 2001:1).

Postmoderni pogled donosi spoznaju o društvenoj (medijskoj) konstrukciji realnosti: nema jedne Istine, nema Objektivnosti. Prevedeno drugačije, to znači da: nema Temelja, nema Etike! Zbog odsutnosti apsolutnog, sve postaje prihvatljivo, novinarske vrednosti su predmet momentalnih interpretacija, prihvata se relativizam, pragmatizam i makijavelizam. Masovni mediji odlučuju o novinarstvu koje „prodaje“ privlačne konstruisane slike, a čovek služi kao sredstvo za zadovoljavanje profita i političkih ciljeva „realnih“ (!?) izveštavača.

⁶ Detaljnije videti kod Melita Poler Kovačić, *Mesto subjekt v sodobni novinarski etiki*, Dok. dis. Fakulteta za družbene vede, Ljubljana, 2001.

(Ne)mogućnost povratka etičkog subjekta u novinarstvu

Ali ipak, pravi odgovor, čini se, leži u ličnom ispunjavanju koje je naglašeno kao najviši cilj koji čovek može postaviti sebi u hijerarhiji vrednosti, zato što pojedinac mora uneti red kojim bi premostio neodlučnost i razilaženje između morala i postupanja. Reklo bi se da ono što čini moralni subjekt jeste izražavanje njega samog i sredstvo za njegovo opredeljenje kao osobe – razvoj autentičnosti, shvaćen kao opredeljenje ljudske osobenosti ili njegovo Ja u smislu onoga što čovek radi, kao i njegovu spremnost za preuzimanje odgovornosti.

U ovom kontekstu, u prvom redu, iako ne znamo odgovor, još uvek govorimo o nedostatku ili pak, o nehtenju ili manjku hrabrosti da se preuzme istinska, na dugoročnom planu, inicijativa za kretanje napred. Kriza koja postoji, a zbog nje i strah, preusmerava nomenklaturu savremenog sveta. Namerno, a negde i u nemogućnost bekstva, propušta se šansa za izgradnju i praktično apliciranje jednog novog „moralnog liderstva“ u svim sferama života. Radi se o nužnom pojavljivanju i prepoznavanju osobe čiji razum će se angažovati u borbi da dobro pobedi zlo i da dobro postane i ostane moralni svetionik i vodič. Ovo je evidentno čak i u društvima sa dugotrajnom tradicijom demokratije, iako odgovor postaje sve jasniji: izlaz iz krize jedino se može i mora tražiti u ljudskoj osobi. Sve ostalo, najčešće kao plod lošeg političkog diskursa, proizvodi lošu životnu realnost, odnosno, nekvalitetne uslove ljudskog postojanja!⁷

Štaviše, zbog činjenice da u suprotnosti sa diskusijama koje konstatuju odumiranje novinarstva i pesimistički prognoziraju njegov kraj, može se izvesti zaključak da svaka kriza u sebi sadrži i pozitivnu mogućnost, tj. da „kraj ne smemo razumeti samo kao *nedostatak perspektivnosti*“ (Baudrillard, 1990:58).

Naime, može se prihvatiti ono do čega dolaze autori koji kritički istražuju duboke promene u novinarstvu, ali ne proglašavaju nestajanje novinarstva kao profesije i ne prikazuju romantično njegovu budućnost (ako se o budućnosti uopšte može govoriti) i odnos prema demokratiji – naime, da se u krizi novinarstva može videti mogućnost **preporoda novinarstva**, tj. pokušati da se na novim temeljima **uspostavi novinar kao etička i odgovorna osoba**.

Imajući u vidu da novinar kao i svaki čovek, treba imati samopoštovanje i osećaj zadovoljstva koji bi pratili ono postupanje za koje on drži da je ispravno, da bi njegov život imao smisla, njemu je potreban osećaj ličnog dostojanstva, integriteta i dobrog mišljenja o sebi. To se može postići, ukoliko se isti zalaže za ispravno postupanje. „Ono o čemu ljudi izveštavaju i kako to rade, govori o tome kakvi su ljudi“ (Gordon & Kittross & Reuss, 1996:2). Svojim postupcima oni kreiraju svoje (etičko) Ja, ustvari svoju suštinu. Ono što novinar izveštava jeste „izražaj njega samoga i sredstvo za njegovo opredeljenje kao osobe i kao novinara“ (Daniel, 1992: 55-56). Najveće dobro za novinara kao novinara je isto što i najveće dobro za novinara kao

⁷ Poznato je Aristotelovo poimanje OIKOS-a, gde je politika jedan od četiri postavljena glavna temelja na kojima počiva koncept zajedničkog življenja (Detaljnije videti kod Željko Kaluđerović, *Helensko poimanje pravde*, Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci & Novi Sad, 2010.)

ljudsko biće: razvoj autentičnosti, shvaćen kao opredeljenje ljudske osobnosti ili njegovo Ja u smislu onog što čovek radi, kao i njegovu spremnost da preuzme odgovornost. Razumevanje etike kao lične, ne znači da pojedinac određuje šta je dobro, a šta nije, nego da njegovo ponašanje određuje njega kao osobu: čovek jeste etičan onoliko koliko je spreman da preuzme odgovornost.

Preporod treba biti izražen preko pokušaja da se na novim temeljima uspostavi novinar kao etička i odgovorna osoba koja traži izlaz iz krize u ljudskoj osobi, zato što je osoba „vrh gde počinju svi putevi sveta“ (Mounier, 1990:9). Postavljanje „etičke zgrade“ (Kovačić, 2001) u novinarskom izveštavanju znači da novinar nije usamljena individua, nego je on osoba koja postaje takva u ličnom odnosu prema drugom čoveku. Vraćanje novinara kao **etičkog subjekta** u novinarstvu omogućilo bi prepoznavanje identiteta i budućnost (razvoja) profesije.

Rezimirano, etiku u novinarstvu, a time i novinarstvo kao profesiju, može „spasiti“ samo njihov nosilac – onaj koji bi trebao biti etičan, tj. odgovoran, dakle novinar! Ali, najpre, on mora „spasiti“ sebe, dakle suočiti se sa gubljenjem svoje subjektivnosti, kao i da prevlada svoju neautentičnost.

Makedonsko novinarstvo i pitanje moralnog subjekta u njemu

U ovom kontekstu nameće se pitanje i o stanju u novinarstvu u Republici Makedoniji. Na području koje se odnosi na medijsku scenu, a detaljnije i etiku novinarstva, slobodno se može konstatovati, saglasno faktografiji⁸, da ima još puno da se radi, posebno na produbljanju etičke svesti, na način na koji zemlje sa razvijenom demokratijom to rade.

Značaj prethodno rečenog dolazi iz sumarne opšte ocene da novinarstvo u Makedoniji, vodeći se i konkretnom praksom u Republici Makedoniji, ali i indikatorima i konstatacijama izrečenim i prikazanim preko izveštaja i analiza svetskih relevantnih novinarskih tela i organizacija – najblaže rečeno označava „oblik socijalne demagogije i apologetike socijalno-političkih poteza, ustvari profesionalni sistem dodvoravanja koji je izgrađen zahvaljujući politizaciji i partizaciji same profesije“ (ДОНЕВ, 2011:301-302).

Zato, potrebno je da se pređe sa tipa informisanja iz autoritativnog jednopartijskog sistema, koji je nastojao medije da podredi svojoj politici i ciljevima, na izgradnju i uspostavljanje novog medijskog sistema i nove medijske društvene strategije⁹, koja bi u potpunosti poštovala slobodu izražavanja medija i novinarstva. Ova nova medijska društvena strategija treba da počiva na načelima uspostavljanja informisane, budne i aktivne javnosti!

Na državno-političkom nivou još uvek se očekuje razrada zakonodavstva prema potrebama pluralističke demokratije. Doktrina o društvenoj odgovornosti me-

⁸ Na primer, Reporters without borders (2014). *Press Freedom Index 2014*. Dostupno: <http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php>. Pristupljeno: 25.02.2014.

⁹ Sloboda medija i izražavanja zavisi od nezavisnog sudstva, pa je svaki iskorak u ovom pravcu puna i najkonkretnija podrška slobodi medija.

dija i novinara u trenutku, kod nas, ima samo „plitko korenje“, posebno ako se zna da se, još uvek u velikoj meri granice slobode štampe provlače preko procesa donošenja novih zakona koji su od velikog značaja za rad medija i novinara. Ipak, ovi zakoni moraju slediti opisane evropske principe i standarde, zato što se jedino na taj način ostvaruje politika harmonizacije sa potrebama Evropske unije i zbog budućeg prijema Makedonije u EU.

Samo donošenje zakona nije dovoljno da se na novi način definišu sloboda i prava medija, novinara i građana, kao i njihova odgovornost za javne reči. Osimstrukcije u sprovođenju novih zakona, slabost je i nepostojanje drugih, isto tako, proevropskih pravnih normi, koje bi u celini dovele do vladanja prava u Makedoniji. Postoji, još uvek, veliki broj pravnih praznina, ne samo zbog nefunkcionalnosti spomenutih „medijskih“ zakona, nego i zbog nepostojanja ostalih zakonskih rešenja, koja bi bila kompatibilna sa njima. Otuda, za očekivati je da do onog „finog nameštanja“ granice između slobode javne reči i odgovornosti iste u mnogom bi pomoglo obraćanje naših građana i organizacija Evropskom sudu za ljudska prava. On je, svojim presudama, doveo do puno promena u zakonima, kodeksima profesionalne etike i javnog mnjenja u mnogim državama, članicama Saveta Evrope.

Isto tako, treba da se radi i na poboljšanju obrazovnog sistema, tj. medijska pedagogija treba da uđe u škole, da joj se da adekvatno mesto koje zaslužuje i koje joj je potrebno. Istovremeno, medijske organizacije moraju posvetiti veću pažnju internim normama, više se brinuci za bolje početno i trajno obrazovanje urednika, novinara i saradnika. Visoko stručni, ali i etički nivo može podići nivo ugleda medija, a time mu i donijeti publiku. Novinari, njihove organizacije..., moraju produžiti sa razradom medijske etike generalno, kao i etike novinarstva posebno, tj. ona mora da bude bolje obrazložena i razrađena, tačnije izraženija i jača u svojoj obaveznosti, posebno preko implementacije NODO sistema za samoregulaciju novinarstva.

Svakako, treba da se pojača uloga medijskih saveta..., dalje, da se omogući konstantno preispitivanje ponašanja faktora u društvu i obavljanje kritike takvog ponašanja, što će biti primerna protivteža koja bi stvorila onu potrebnu kritičnu masu u javnosti, koja bi kasnije predvidela događaje i uticala na posledice. U ovom kontekstu, novinari se najčešće i nazivaju „četvrta vlast“, koja zajedno sa zakonodavnom, izvršnom i sudskom, kontroliše i posmatra društvo i sve ono što se događa u njemu, ali i sve ono što se događa i kod ostale tri vlasti, tj. oni su „psi čuvari demokratije“ čija osnovna uloga jeste razotkrivanje svih nepravilnosti, negativnosti i devijacija, kako bi se zlo moglo iskoreniti.

Umesto zaključka...

Novinar svakako da ima pravo, ali i obavezu, da sledi i iščitava sve društvene događaje i pojave, ukazuje na teškoće i slabosti, afirmiše prave vrednosti, kritikuje i hvali, ali uvek samo u meri koja je zacrtana pravilima Novinarskog etičkog kodeksa. Svaki iskorak iz ovog okvira ponašanja jeste poguban po profesiju, ali i za uspostavljanje ravnoteže u informisanju. U ovom smislu, od velikog značaja jeste „da se otvoreno raspravlja o ovim pitanjima, posebno o fenomenu etike i morala u politici i u novinarstvu“ (Vukušić, 1998:9). Svaki doprinos ojačava poverenje, razumevanje i dijalog kao sredstva prihvatanja argumenata, ali u isto vreme jeste i nedvosmisleni podsticaj i ojačavanje sveukupne društvene etike. O ovome govori i toliko čuvena deskripcija novinara kao prvih ambasadora/glasnika mira i prijateljstva, ali i prvih koji „seju seme“ netrpeljivosti; koji uspostavljaju mostove saradnje, ali su i udarna igla u rasplamsavanju svih društvenih nesporazuma, kako unutrašnjih, tako i ostalih. U tome jeste sadržana nezamenljiva društveno-etička uloga medija i novinara.

Možda više nego ikada, potrebno nam je angažovanje svih intelektualnih potencijala, ali da bi uspeali do kraja, potrebno nam je i negovanje kulture dijaloga, posebno zato što u regionu generalno prolazimo kroz fazu duge tranzije u kojoj su neke od vrednosti potpuno razorene, a nisu zamenjene sa drugima. U jednoj ovakvoj duhovnoj praznini, društvo žudi za dijalogom na svim nivoima. Kao što je zapisao Martin Buber u svom delu „Ja i Ti“, veštinu umnog razgovora ostvaruju samo oni koji znaju pitati i koji znaju slušati. Duh dijaloga nije sadržan u pojmu JA, nego između JA i TI (Buber, 1982).

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PhD Damir Kukić,¹ associate professor
Faculty of Philosophy, University in Zenica (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

(Dis)ability of Journalism

Abstract: The era in which we live is the digital age and the time of new media. Digitizing marked every human activity and its expansion is more intense. In this context, the functioning of mass media and mass communications today are unthinkable without the use of digital technology. Model of the functioning of the mass media and the manner of work of modern journalists are determined by that situation. Unlike anything that was invented and used by man so far, regarding the communication and mass media, we now have for the first time, a medium that has the attributes of both communication and mass media. This is an Internet/Network, the first medium which can be used to send messages one-on-one, as we do when we use the telephone or telegraph, and which we can use to create and send messages of a mass character (which has so far entailed the use of printed media, radio and television).

This has led to changes in the classical paradigm of mass communication (from one to many) into a new paradigm characterized by great flexibility and interactivity. It is the interaction and online journalism created concept *meta-journalism* (and post-journalism) within which journalism is viewed as a profession that is disappearing, but as hyper-dynamic profession with new forms of literacy.

Journalistic profession, as well as the overall ethos of mass communication, in which are now included the new media, cannot be seen by the entire social matrix and its characteristics. Based on this, it is necessary to overcome techno-deterministic approach to the analysis of media and mass communication, and thus a kind of metaphor for the power of the media. Journalistic profession is necessary to be observed in relation to the economic determinism of developing critical discourse according to the neo-liberal ideology that subordinates the principles of professionalism to profit. This means that journalism in the digital age can be conceived as an important element of civil society, or as part of alternative cultures opposing the emerging of cultures.

Key words: *journalism, new media, profession, online*

¹ Deen of Faculty of Philosophy University in Zenica, E-mail: damirkukic@yahoo.com

dr Damir Kukić, vanredni profesor
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Zenici (Bosna i Hercegovina)

(Ne)moć novinarstva

Apstrakt: Doba u kojem živimo jeste digitalno doba i vrijeme novih medija. Digitalizacija obilježava svaku ljudsku djelatnost i njena ekspanzija je sve intenzivnija. U tom kontekstu, funkcioniranje masovnih medija i masovna komunikacija danas su nezamislivi bez upotrebe digitalne tehnologije. Takva situacija bitno je odredila i model funkcioniranja masovnih medija, ali i način rada modernih novinara. Za razliku od svega što je do sada čovjek izmislio i upotrebljavao, od komunikacijskih i masovnih medija, sada imamo, po prvi puta, medij koji ima attribute i komunikacijskog i masovnog medija. Riječ je o Internetu/Mreži, prvom mediju kojim možemo slati poruke jedan-na-jedan, kao što to činimo kada koristimo telefon ili telegraf, te uz pomoć koga možemo kreirati i slati poruke masovnog karaktera (što je do sada podrazumijevalo upotrebu štampe, radija i televizije).

Ovo je dovelo do promjene klasične paradigme u masovnom komuniciranju (from one to many) u novu paradigmu koju obilježava velika fleksibilnost i interaktivnost. Upravo su interaktivnost i on-line novinarstvo stvorili koncept *metanovinarstva* (i postnovinarstva) unutar kojih je novinarstvo posmatrano i kao profesija koja nestaje, ali i kao hiperdinamična profesija s novim oblicima pismenosti.

Novinarska profesija, kao i ukupna praksa masovne komunikacije, u koju su sada uključeni i novi mediji, ne može se posmatrati odvojeno od cjelokupne društvene matrice i njenih karakteristika. Na osnovu toga potrebno je prevazići tehnodeterministički pristup analize medija i masovnih komunikacija, a na taj način i svojevrsnu metaforu o moći medija. Novinarsku profesiju je potrebno posmatrati i u odnosu na ekonomski determinizam razvijajući kritički diskurs prema zahtjevima neoliberalne ideologije koja principe profesionalnosti (po)dređuje profitu. To znači da se novinarstvo, i u digitalnom dobu, može koncipirati kao važan element civilnog društva, odnosno kao dio alternativnih kultura koje se suprotstavljaju emergentnim kulturama.

Ključne riječi: *novinarstvo, novi mediji, profesija, digitalizacija, online*

Introduction

The era in which we live is the digital era and the time of new media. Digitization notes every human activity and its expansion is more and more intense. In that context, the functioning of mass media and mass communication today are impossible without the use of digital technology. Such a situation importantly determines the model of the functioning of mass media, and mode of modern journalists. In contrast to all that human so far created and used, now we have, for the first time, a medium that has the attributes of both - communication and mass media.

It is an Internet/Network – the first medium that can send messages one-on-one, as we do when we use the telephone or telegraph, also we can create and send messages of mass character (which has required the use of print, radio and television). This has led to changes in the classic paradigm of mass communication (from one to many) into a new paradigm marked by great flexibility and interactivity. The interactivity and on-line journalism created a concept of meta-journalism (and post-journalism) within which journalism is viewed as a profession that is disappearing, and as hyper-dynamic profession with new forms of literacy.

Journalistic profession, as well as the overall practice of mass communication, in which the new media is included, cannot be considered separately from the whole social matrix. On this basis, it is necessary to overcome techno-deterministic approach of media analysis and mass communications, and in that way the category of metaphor about the power of media. Journalism also has to be viewed in relation to the economic determinism developing critical discourse to demands of neo-liberal ideology whose principles of professionalism are subordinated to the profit.

Hypertextuality

Digitization and going into the digital era have led to many changes in all spheres of human activity. It also refers to mass media function, more precisely to journalistic profession and the role of journalists in the frame of mass communication. Digitization has created conditions for the existence of video spheres: social environment in which modern man lives. Video sphere is social and cultural context that creates a matrix of values and dominant patterns of behavior in the (post) modern world – from the way to understand the time, all to the modeling of the *image* and creation of *celebrities*.

In the video sphere, determined by the effect of the new digital media, myth for identification has become a star (celebrity), the reason for obedience is (re)actions of public opinion, so common means of influence and symbolic authority are, primarily, reduced to the appearance and what is visible. Digital media has become a powerful tool for the production and distribution of various information. This kind of context has enabled the following: priorities in public discourse will not be determined by representatives of religious communities or secular intelligentsia, as was the case during the past century.

This position of digital media is closely connected with the fact that with their use have changed the classic paradigm of mass communication. More clearly, the paradigm *from one to many* have been changed because many features of the new media allow for each computer, and for persons who use it, to become agents of creation of information and potential/actual actors receiving and distributing information to a mass character. This new paradigm *from many to many* means the new era in the field of mass communication.

Phenomenon called Internet has caused a whole new dimension. In fact, all the current media that human used were either communication media (such as telephone, telegraph) that were used in direct communication between individuals, or mass media (such as print, radio, television) whose use meant the production and dissemination of mass messages from one center to the mass, to heterogeneous audience. The Internet is the first medium which can be used as both, the communication media and mass media.

Digitization is directly involved in this process which has brought a major change: mass communication becomes more interactive, and its flexibility conditioned to the former audience, which only used to receive messages, now becomes a production factor that can create messages and distribute within the networked world whose character is already global. This has created a picture of how the digital media, which characteristic is decentralization, are also the media of emancipatory character.

These changes required changes in profession of journalism. Now, ordinary anonym people are able to become authors of mass media messages and to become creators of current information created for mass consumption and mass recipients. It has set new tasks to the profession of journalism, especially when it comes to new skills and new forms of literacy, such as the network of literacy, information and digital literacy. Journalism is becoming more on-line profession in which journalists need to find and evaluate information, and then to be able to use this information in their practice, at the same time to have the ability to archive this information for future articles.

Journalists today have a big challenge when it comes to checking information, also when it comes to timeliness of information published because the time of its duration significantly reduced. In this context, modern journalists work in a kind of meta-reductions, or editorials that follow the logic of the work of traditional media, also the logic operation of reductions is facing virtual reality and virtual model of production and presentation of texts.

Decentralization and cooperation of new media and social networks are not elements which, by itself, create social factors of emancipatory character from that media and networks. First of all, the concept to which technology, as some projectile, impacts on culture and on humans hitting them as targets, acting as a sort of techno-determinism. This applies to the question of the influence of mass media where we often believe, without any doubt, that the media fundamentally changed our world.

The introduction of digital technology in the field of mass communication has led, as we have seen, to certain changes especially when it comes to the way of journalists work whose activities involves orientation to on-line journalism and the use of new media. As a consequence, it requires to create new forms of journalism literacy and working patterns. In that process of literacy, the central place is being occupied by computers and Networks, more precisely – possibility of entering of journalists in the *net* community and search for information and research of secondary sources.

Today, journalists need to accept the concept of interactivity and the fact that the new media is different definition and expression of cultural participation. That model of culture implies public participation in on-line journalism, and they appear as a permanent co-commentator in the form of bloggers and neo-journalisms. Forms of participatory journalism are becoming more common, and their growing role in the local community does not have just media attention, but also very interesting and powerful model of civil initiatives.

Participatory Culture and *user-created* paradigm developed because of the new media and social networks. Data obtained on YouTube (Burgess, Green, 2009:38-44) shows why this is a very interesting phenomenon. Its use motivates participation of anonymous, ordinary citizens in the creation of mass mailings, which as a results has, not just the communicational, but also the social and cultural effects. Individuals, through YouTube, express emotions, attitudes, imagination, or simply participate in the global communication network, regardless of whether the topics of political, economic, entertainment, or any other character.

With responsible journalism whose mission is to objectively inform the public about events and processes, developing analytical and research resources, profitable and commercial materials are increasingly winning media content. Fun, sensation and excesses are becoming main events that attract the attention of the audience and the media. Also, genre precisely defined information content, assume the elements of entertainment and advertising messages. The relationship of journalism against these trends is not only a question of (un) ethical and (lack of) professionalism, but, as we will see, the confronting question to the general imperative of commercialization.

In addition to new forms of literacy and interactivity, as a model of communication with the audience and its participation in media production and mass communication process, the modern journalist should accept the concept of hypertext. This concept is recognized in the literature and indicates some sort of connection between one text with other texts - so the connection does not have to be structural and conditional to meanings, their relationship can work within the system that logically associated documents within the database.

Hypertext presents connection of narratives, connection of information - its structure is rhizomatous and non-linear so the hypertext does not have a beginning and an end. It seems like an endless string that does not have a final version and reminds on the structure of the Network: each place of the network can be both the

beginning and the end, so every place has the same value. Each of these places has to rely on each other, as the hypertextuality involves constant reference to other texts (Fidler, 2004).

Hypertextuality concept is the base on which stands the development of World Wide Web and it provides “multiple moving through the text” and allows “the user to monitor existing hyperlinks, to connect (linking) units and related texts” (Manovich, 2001:147). Appreciation of the hypertextuality concept is very important for modern journalists who create content on-line character. Along with emphasis of *leada* news and most important data, hypertextuality also enables creative approach to text processing. An imperative for modern journalism is the adoption of elements of digital literacy and the creation of hypertext models. Intense demand for super-fast reaction of journalism and current information is conditioned by reduced time for the timeliness and continuous production of new news. The new media participates in all this while modern journalists have an imperative to be more agile, faster and more efficient in writing texts and their continued editing the concept of hypertext.

That means the skills of journalists are well and the text is edited in a way that ideas dominate, its arranged in sections, is connected “with other parts of the text somewhere on the network or on the same side of the site” (Tapavicki-Duronjic, 2008:78), more precisely the skill of journalists to make several versions of the text for different audiences. This approach also possess to journalists the request to regulate own texts to be open up for the use of other links and other texts.

Profit as Ideology

The crisis of journalism, if we can generally speak of crisis, does not come from the potential created by decentralized social media and digital services. The possibility that the audience participates in the creation of media content, by itself, does not affect the journalistic profession or its functions and principles of action. This situation, as we have noted, implies the greater degree of interactivity, new models of literacy for journalists, as well as new forms of engagement in the process of information gathering, it's processing, writing text and data storage.

Perhaps, in the frame of digital era and dominance of the visual, only redefines the journalistic profession and way of journalists work. This era allows that anyone who is networked can create and distribute information, however, it does not mean that it person will became a journalist. The fact is that the new media requires new profile of journalist who now, except of working at the meta-reduction, needs to have new knowledge and skills.

Can be concluded that in the huge amount of information and articles, which appear on the Web, good quality journalists are becoming more important - their articles, comments and observations have been in demand because of their credibility, authenticity and clarity. Their work becomes recognizable as such indicates the (in) ability to show classic journalistic skills in the new media. In a situation

where the level of participation is constantly growing in public communication space, good quality and popular texts become even more important.

Modern journalism has a multidimensional function. In fact, after in electronic journalism arrived a new kind of journalist, the journalist who do not want just to write but want to record too, "to the scene come the video - journalists, multi-talented ..." (Bojd, 2002:520). Video journalist becomes a journalist who replaces the entire television crew and changes structure of the classical work of journalists in the press. Now, the journalist who writes for a newspaper must make his audio - video material in order to be applied in the on-line edition.

The beginning of digital technology and the use of new media, by itself, does not jeopardize the journalistic profession, but in front of media and a modern conference sets new tasks. However, the reputation of journalism is closely associated with characteristics of mass media, and with their status in the social matrix. This issue has already been mentioned because it is correlated with the theoretical assumptions that, based on techno-determinism, emphasize the impact of the media on the recipients, culture and society.

Since there are mass media - there is a debate about their possible impact on the audience and creation of value matrix that controls the community. Different theoretical approaches have favored certain elements and criteria for analysis of the problem. Some analysis considered that the key factors are of psychological, sociological or functioning origin, so considerations included areas of systematic and journalistic activities. The idea that mass media operate according to the principle of mechanistic and irritation causes a certain response and reaction, outdated and updated with new interpretations and research.

The concept, according to which media, with its content, directly affect the behavior of the recipient of message has features of techno-determinism. The audience, in this context, appears as a kind of target affected by media messages. With the advent of digital technology and new media, debates about the impact of media intensified, but also strengthened the interpretation of techno-determinism character of the power of technology. This interpretation has two distinctive forms.

One is negatively informed and he sees Internet and New Media as a kind of danger from which there is no escape. According to this interpretation, the new media finally occupies the man, and the Internet allows full control of private data. Digitization of mass communication, according to this opinion, encourages the manipulation of global proportions and removal of boundaries between private and public. These settings are against virtualization and devaluation of physical space, but they simply confirm the power and the rule of media in the modern world.

Another form of interpretation is positive, more precisely, one man is optimistic about the development of digital technology and the use of new media. In that contest a culture of participation is promoted, interactivity and the opportunity for audience to participate in the creation of content on the network, it glorifies the ability to play and create a different identity in the virtual world. Also, it praises the openness of the network and its availability to connect users. Internet and new

media are presented as a cultural phenomenon that includes everyone who wants to belong to the net world.

Internet is seen as an area of interconnections and as space which becomes universality without totality (Williams, by: Peovic-Vukovic, 2013:10). Within these settings, particularly emphasizes decentralized network and its open structure as a kind of foundation for their emancipatory character. Also emphasize some of the features of a Network such as flexibility, absence of command centers and maximum range for each node (Castells, 2003:19-47).

Both of these approaches build their structures on the premise that the mass media played a huge role in the creation of the world and how they still affect and change our world. Although we cannot completely reject the idea of the influence of media, such approaches neglect the fact that all media, both traditional and new, are products of society and new social needs, relationships and trends. In a society that was defined by national identity, politics and ideology, television has been a key medium and occupied the central place of both, in homes and in the process of promoting a specific (state, national) ideology.

Such a society and a world, in the meantime, disappear, change and become transnational spaces in which mobility of people, ideas, information, and everything that can make a profit continually is increasing. In such a social environment, which is essentially decentralized, there is no need for a centralized model of information and transmission of ideology, it was characterized by the use of television. In other words, the ideological apparatus is changed and now "the word is not about ideological apparatus of the state, but statist-corporate apparatus" (Peovic-Vukovic, 2013:22).

Mobility of individuals and their availability correspond to this device and the context. This model includes a mobile means of communication and constant openness toward different sources of information. Basically, now centralized way of producing and sending information becomes anachronistic and profit becomes a catalyst for a general mobility and ideological actions of corporations that try to reach the largest possible number of users or potential customers.

Now the ideological power is decentralized, so it is necessary to create a decentralized communication system. In this context, the ideological power is not concentrated to the internalization of cultural and social values, but its primary goal is to make profit. Thus, the conflict of the cultures that take place in the media can be recognized. It is already known conflict between the dominant and subordinate - a conflict in which the dominant ideology offers its wishes to the culture of subordinated, but modified to popular content aligned with the interests and ideologies.

Specifically, within the modern media culture can be recognized traditional and emergent culture. These emergent culture may be opposition and alternative (Williams, 2006:138), a key difference is that the emergent culture, opposition types, is trying to replace the traditional culture, but also to retain ideological prefix insisted on new, virtual, economic models of making a profit according to the logic

of neoliberalism.

Digital technology, the Internet and networked society became the phenomena that adorn the assessment of openness, interactivity and participation, and that grades function as the new myth who hide that the mobile operators privatized space mobile communication, such as the “*Facebook* privatized public communication space” (Peovic-Vukovic, 2013:103) intended for the Web. All this represents a hegemonic process that establishes and continuously strengthening elements of neo-liberal ideology.

Journalistic profession in the modern environment is faced with the problem of its own (in) abilities. On the one hand, journalists continue to be a distinctive and high-quality communicators whose role in the creation of responsible and effective public opinion should be very important. However, on the other hand, their activity becomes increasingly burdened by the role of emergent culture – for the journalistic profession it means to comply with the policy of the media that follows the logic of profit.

Journalism, in that way, is not threaten by the new technologies and new forms of public participation in the process of mass communication. Journalism and journalistic profession with new media get some new features and tasks. But, the key dilemma in terms is how to widespread commercialization, and this is a vital feature of the mass use of new media and social networks to accomplish the most important tasks of journalism. Creation of a profitable content and showbiz media space will intensify, and the struggle for responsible and quality journalism will continue, just as the struggle between emergent and alternative culture on-line.

Conclusion

Today, journalists their job implement within the overall digitization and use of new media. It undoubtedly brought new responsibilities when it comes to acquiring new knowledge and skills for journalists. The use of hypertext and interactive development of models of creating media content are just some of the new obligations of journalism. Digital technology does not jeopardize the journalistic profession, but it introduces new models and techniques of journalism which requires new education.

However, the advent of the Internet, precisely the new media and social Networks, has intensified the process which affirms new cultures that look open, decentralized and emancipatory. In the network and in the network society they really allow transparency, continuous availability and participation, however, their function is deeply permeated with the ideology of profit. In such a situation, the profession of journalism and media content are increasingly taking the shape and character which should satisfy the principle of commerciality. It did not and will not destroy the profession of journalism, but it has already opened a process in which journalists and media will have a fierce battle to gain the power to participate in positive changes of society.

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dr Radivoje Petrović, vanredni profesor
Fakultet za sport, Univerzitet „Union - Nikola Tesla“, Beograd
(Republika Srbija)

Deset stvari koje su potresle medije

Apstrakt: Razlog za radikalno preispitivanje profesije su temeljne i paralelne tehnološke, ekonomske i društvene promene, kao ozbiljan izazov za savremeno novinarstvo. Kakav uticaj na novinarstvo i vesti imaju ove promene?

Novine i televizija nastavljaju da proizvode više vesti, dopiru do veće publike nego sve ostale medijske organizacije. Prihodi od tradicionalnog novinarstva obezbeđuju više vesti nego prihodi od digitalnih poduhvata. Veći deo vesti koje se dele online dolaze upravo iz tradicionalnih medijskih organizacija, što je u savremenim uslovima izuzetno važno za očuvanje ključne funkcije medija. Velika konkurencija i širok spektar medijske ponude smanjili su broj svakodnevne masovne publike i povećale broj niša publike. Mnogi medijski događaji koji danas privlače masovnu publiku nisu vesti u tradicionalnom smislu, nego izuzetni događaji i ritualniji prikazi. Internet nije ubio novine i njegova uloga u skorašnjem padu industrije štampe je preuveličana. Promene tiraža štampanih novina imaju mnogo dramatičniji i neposredniji uticaj na celokupne prihode medijskih kompanija, nego što je imao internet tokom poslednje decenije. Kriza je ta koja je najviše pogodila medije, razdvajanjem medijskih prihoda i investicija u vesti. Otuda danas ne postoji veza između komercijalnog uspeha i investiranja u vesti.

Osnova medija i dalje ostaje novinarstvo, kao najveći izvor informacija. Veći deo medijskih korisnika kombinuje stare i nove medije. Na neki način oni koegzistiraju, pa gde god postoje novi oni dopunjuju stare medije, više nego što ih menjaju. Vreme će pokazati koliko dugo će kombinacija novih i starih medija deliti scenu, ali je jasno da ne mogu zameniti jedni druge.

Ključne reči: *novinarstvo, kriza, tradicionalni mediji, Internet, promene*

PhD Radivoje Petrović, associate professor
Faculty of Sport, University “Union – Nikola Tesla”, Belgrade
(Republic of Serbia)

Ten Things That Shooked the Media

Abstract: The reason for a radical review of the profession is fundamental and parallel technological, economic and social changes, as a serious challenge for modern journalism. What impact on journalism and news do these changes have?

Newspapers and television continue to produce more news, reach a larger audience than any other media organization. Revenues from traditional journalism provide more news than revenues from digital enterprises. The major part of the news that is shared online come from the traditional media organizations, as in the present conditions is extremely important to preserve the key functions of the media. The competition and a wide range of media decreased the number of daily mass audience and increased the number of niche audiences. Many media events that still attract a mass audience is not news in the traditional sense, but rather extraordinary events and ritual views. It did not kill newspapers, and its role in the recent decline in the industry press is exaggerated. Changes in circulation of printed newspapers have a much more dramatic and immediate impact on the entire revenues of media companies than the internet had in the last decade. The crisis is the one that mostly affected the media, separating the media revenue and investing in the news. Hence, today there is no link between commercial success and investing in the news.

Basis of media still remains the journalism as the largest source of information. The major part of media users combine old and new media. In some ways they coexist, and wherever there are new they complement the old media, more than they change each other. Time will tell how long the combination of new and old media will share a scene, but it is clear that they cannot replace each other.

Keywords: *journalism, crisis, traditional media, the Internet, changes*

“Snaga interneta zavisi od nas. Ne koristimo je. Ne koristimo ovaj resurs u svrhe za koje se može koristiti – da probije ćutanje, ugnjetavanje, dominaciju, teror, nasilje, i da pokaže ljudima realnost sveta. Dakle, internet je potencijalno sjajno oruđe, ali samo ako rešite da ga koristite”¹

Uvod

Početak 21. veka, posmatran kao kritički trenutak u medijskoj istoriji i moment u kome će medijski sistemi temeljno biti oblikovani u budućnosti (McChesney, 2007), razumljivo je isprovocirao teoretičare medija širom sveta da objasne i rastumače šta se i zašto događa sa novinarstvom. Reč je o zajedničkom naporu da se ono – spasi. U taj kontekst moguće je smestiti i dve grupe dijametralno suprotnih dijagnoza o medijima u poslednjih deceniju - dve. Za jedne, današnje medijske industrije suočavaju se sa onim što se naziva „višegodišnja oluja kreativnog razaranja“. Nasuprot tome stoje argumenti drugih koji su bliži konstataciji da „oluja tek počinje“ (Nielsen, 2012).

Razlog za radikalno preispitivanje profesije su temeljne i paralelne tehnološke, ekonomske i društvene promene, kao ozbiljan izazov za savremeno novinarstvo. Svi mediji su jednom bili novi, tehnološke promene su uvek bile izazov, ali nikada takvog intenziteta kao što se to desilo dolaskom interneta u medijsku porodicu. Jednom rečju kompleksnost tehnoloških promena predstavlja jedinstveno i sasvim novo okruženje za novinarstvo (Milivojević, 2011:12).

Ekonomski izazov čini sve prisutnijim pitanje „ko će platiti za vest?“, čime se ugrožava ekonomski model novinarstva funkcionalan tokom čitavog XX veka. Zapravo, nekadašnji poslovni model novinarstva zasnovan na jedinstvu medija, sadržaja i oglasa raspao se, sa velikom verovatnoćom da prva žrtva tog procesa bude – sadržaj, vest.

Promene u širem društvenom kontekstu donose sobom nove forme komunikacije, medijska publika se pretvara u važnog i interaktivnog aktera medijske scene, sve se menja tolikom brzinom i tako temeljno da se zahteva preispitivanje i samog koncepta medija (Milivojević, 2011:12). Ne favorizujući ni jednu od njih, primetno je da se u sve češćim raspravama na ovu temu debata fokusira na tehnološke promene i aktuelnu ekonomsku krizu.

Nacionalne novine koje su se 90-ih takmičile jedne sa drugima, danas se suočavaju sa konkurencijom u vidu besplatnih novina, televizije i onlajn usluga. Televizijski kanali koji su dominirali pre 20 godina sada su protiv digitalnih besplatnih kanala kao i premijum kanala koji se plaćaju i audiovizuelnih usluga koje postoje na internetu. Sajtovi tradicionalnih medija i internet portali koji su dominirali proizvodnjom onlajn vesti deset godina ranije, sada su pod pritiskom rastućeg broja agregatora i novih alternativa. Kada je radio poremetio medijski sektor 20-ih i 30-ih godina i televizija 50-ih i 60-ih godina, uvođenje i širenje novih medija i mnoštvo novih učesnika koji dopiru do publike i oglašivača, imali su jake posledice za tradici-

¹ Noam Čomski, AtGoogleTalks, 8.4.2014. u poseti Google Cambridge

onalne medije, prisiljavajući zaposlene da se prilagode novim medijima i nađu svoje mesto u novom okruženju (Dimmick, 1984:103-19).

Ispod površine dnevnih dešavanja uočavaju se ključni trendovi: kontinuirano smanjivanje publike, opadanje prometa štampanih novina i povećanje pristupa internetu, nasleđeni još iz prošlog veka, ali i širenje nekoliko dominantnih pretraživača, mobilnog i veb pristupa, i razvoj društvenih mreža, kao skorašnjih fenomena. Celokupna dešavanja za krajnju posledicu imaju ugroženo proizvođenje originalnog sadržaja vesti, povećanu raznovrsnost pristupa, ali ne nužno originalnom sadržaju, i sve više oslanjanje na popularni interes, nego na ograničen izbor.

Tradicionalno i digitalno

Kakav uticaj na novinarstvo i vesti imaju promene koje se dešavaju? Ili, šta su skorašnje promene u medijskim sistemima značile za kapacitet novinarstva da informiše ljude i ono ključno da doprinese samom društvu? (Gans, 2007).

U traganju za odgovorom na ova pitanja valja poći od nekoliko osnovnih pojava zabeleženih u svakodnevnoj medijskoj praksi:

Prvo, tradicionalne medijske organizacije koje se konzervativno povlače u tradicionalne metode, nespreme da prihvate nove trendove, lagano propadaju, ali im ostaje i dalje fokus na proizvodnji vesti. U osam zemalja, čije stanovništvo čini oko 30 odsto svetske populacije, obavljena su temeljna istraživanja i urađena studija koja pokazuje da "novine i televizija nastavljaju da proizvode više vesti, dopiru do veće publike nego sve ostale medijske organizacije. Prihodi od tradicionalnog novinarstva obezbeđuju više vesti nego prihodi od digitalnih poduhvata".²

Sagledavanje tog složenog interaktivnog odnosa interneta i štampanih novina, kao paradigme suočavanja novih i tradicionalnih medija, i dolaženje do pouzdanijih zaključaka omogućeno je novim pristupom u odnosu na analize ovih pojava tokom prethodnog perioda: okretanjem od novih statistika o broju ljudi koji koriste web i mobilne aplikacije ka celokupnom pregledu promena u medijima, od fokusiranja na pojedine medijske kompanije i industrije ka razlikama ispoljenim kroz medijske sisteme.³

Drugo, niko u savremenom svetu ne radi više na tome da zadrži ljude obaveštenim, kao što to čine novinari. Kada se desi nešto spektakularno, novinari su prvi koji daju odgovore na pitanja i vredne informacije, iako će se godinama nakon toga pojavljivati ubedljivije i potpunije informacije o tome. Iako se možemo složiti da

² Ovakav zaključak nameće se posle komparativne analize Rasmusa Kleisa Nilsena, autora istraživačke studije *Ten Years that Shook the Media World* („Deset godina koje su potresle medijski svet“), bazirane na podacima o medijskim sistemima osam zemalja: Brazila, Finske, Francuske, Nemačke, Indije, Italije, Engleske i Amerike, i odgovarajućeg pregleda promena u tamošnjim medijima tokom poslednje decenije.

³ Pristup u ovakvoj analizi polazi od različitog nivoa razvoja društava i medijskih sistema u svetu, pa se medijski procesi posmatraju na bazi selekcije medijskih sistema u tri kategorije: onih u bogatim zemljama, u zemljama u razvoju i u južnoevropskim zemljama, uz sve posledice po sudbinu medija koje takva različitost podrazumeva.

veći deo novinarstva, posebno u poslednje vreme, služi razonodi i zabavi. Međutim, kako navodi Volter Lipman (Walter Lippmann) ova profesija je "kao zrak svetla koje se stalno pomera, osvetljavajući jedan pa drugi zamračeni deo" (Lippmann, 1997:358).

Treće, veći deo vesti koje se dele online dolaze upravo iz tradicionalnih medijskih organizacija, što je u savremenim uslovima izuzetno važno za očuvanje ključne funkcije medija. Istraživanja su pokazala da ljudi koji više pažnje obraćaju na profesionalno proizvedene vesti, imaju više znanja o svetu oko sebe, bolje shvataju političke procese i imaju veću ulogu u demokratskom životu (Norris, 2000:170).

Četvrto, priča o razmasovljenju medijske publike dobila je svoj skorašnji izraz u konstataciji o kraju masovne publike. Masimo Ruso (Massimo Russo), ističe: "Radimo u svetu u kome, osim onih koji obezbeđuju vesti, svi teže vrlo jednostavnom cilju, da privuku pažnju publike. Ta pažnja, u svakodnevnom životu predstavlja ograničeni resurs".⁴ Velika konkurencija i širok spektar opcija smanjili su broj svakodnevnih masovne publike i povećale broj niša publike (Webster, 2011:43-66). Masovna publika⁵, to jest većina populacije koja svakodnevno prati isti sadržaj u isto vreme, preko istog provajdera na istoj platformi nalazi se u stanju povlačenja.

Peto, mnogi medijski događaji koji danas privlače masovnu publiku nisu vesti u tradicionalnom smislu, nego izuzetni događaji i ritualniji prikazi (Nielsen 2012:21). Prema *Nielsen Research*, najveća TV publika na svetu iznosila je 4,7 milijardi ljudi, koji su gledali neke delove prenosa Olimpijskih igara u Pekingu 2008. godine, što je tri četvrtine svetske populacije.⁶ Istovremeno, kada se posmatra ukupna publika najpoznatijih organizacija vesti, nije sigurno da se ona svuda smanjuje. Sajтови najpoznatijih novina danas dostižu veći procenat publike nego ikada, zahvaljujući kombinaciji štampanih i online izdanja. *New York Times*, kroz štampu, veb-sajt, mobilne i tablet aplikacije, internacionalna izdanja (International Herald Tribune), internacionalni nedeljni dodatak koji se štampa u 36 zemalja, dostiže veliki procenat kombinovane publike, daleko veći od broja čitalaca štampe.

Abolicija interneta

Šesto, u vreme povećanog korišćenja interneta i opadanja novinskog tiraža, glavni faktor raspada novinske industrije nije internet. Da bi se razumela ova stručna abolicija interneta u masovnoj pomami optužbi na njegov račun za ubijanje štampe valja imati na umu i sledeće detalje. Novine masovnog tiraža sa jeftinim cenama oglašavanja i visokom strukturom troškova dosta su se borile sa konkurencijom za pažnju publike i reklamama (uglavnom zbog interneta), jer je kriza pogodila

⁴ Masimo Ruso direktor Wired Italia, bivši direktor digitalnih sadržaja Gruppo Editoriale L'Espresso, koji obuhvata najpopularniji italijanski novinski sajt *La Repubblica* (Intervju dat kao deo citiranog istraživanja i studije).

⁵ Pod masovnom publikom podrazumevamo veliku, geografski rasutu publiku, kojoj je zajednički isti medijski sadržaj.

⁶ "Beijing Olympics Draws Largest Ever Global TV Audience", NielsenBlog, 5.09.2008.

oglašavanje od kojih su novine zavisile (što nema mnogo veze sa internetom), a skoro svi oglasi iz novina prebacili su se na sajtove.

U 2000-oj godini, povećane cene naslova održale su prihode stabilnim, uprkos opadanju tiraža, ali je gubitak moći samog monopola značio da su se prihodi od oglasa smanjili sa 49 milijardi dolara u 2000. godini na 27 milijardi dolara u 2009. godini (uključujući onlajn oglašavanje od oko 2.8 milijardi dolara). Na drugoj strani, mnoge evropske novine, u zemljama kao što su Francuska, Finska, Nemačka i Italija, isto zarade od pretplata i prodaje kao od oglašavanja i uspele su da izdrže krizu i da ne zavise od reklama, kao što je to slučaj u Americi.

Dakle, može se zaključiti da je "internet povećao konkurenciju za publikom i reklamama, ubrzao pad štampanih dnevnih novina, koje su decenijama trajale, ali tom padu je prethodio internet bar deset godina, a negde i mnogo ranije" (Nielsen, 2012:28). Stalno opadanje tiraža i onlajn model besplatnih vesti predstavljaju ozbiljnu pretnju prihodima od prodaje, ali su se oni do sada bolje održali nego prihodi od oglašavanja, pokazujući da pojedine kompanije još uvek imaju sredstava da finansiraju redakcije, ali i da investiraju u adaptiranje na novo medijsko okruženje.⁷ Iskustva iz medijskih sistema Finske i Nemačke, recimo, to najbolje pokazuju.

Internet nije ubio novine i njegova uloga u skorašnjem padu industrije štampe je preuveličana. Na drugoj strani, on je štampanim novinama omogućio nove načine osvajanja čitalaca i time povećao konkurenciju za privlačenje pažnje publike i prihoda od oglašavanja, terajući novine da razmisle o svojoj poziciji i kako da ostanu različite i značajne svojim čitaocima. Optimistične procene insistiraju da će "mediji morati da nastave da štampu svrstavaju u najvažniji način povezivanja sa čitaocima" (Nielsen, 2012:28).

Sedmo, osnova medija i dalje ostaje novinarstvo, kao najveći izvor informacija, medijska rutina stanovništva brže se kreće u pravcu digitalne upotrebe što sve zajedno proizvodi direktne implikacije za ulogu koju igraju tradicionalni mediji: veći deo medijskih korisnika kombinuje stare i nove medije. Na neki način oni koegzistiraju, pa gde god postoje novi oni dopunjuju stare medije, pre nego što ih menjaju.

U Engleskoj, recimo, gde upotreba interneta prelazi 80 odsto, gledanost TV i dalje iznosi 83 odsto. U 2009, glavni ekonomista Google-a Hal Varian (Hal R. Varian) procenio je da je broj pregleda štampanih novina nadmašio broj pregleda onlajn novina, više od 30 prema 1. Samo je 2010. godine, pristup onlajn vestima nadmašio pregled štampe.⁸ Te godine, 21 odsto Amerikanaca starosti od 18 do 29 godina, reklo je da vesti dobija isključivo iz novina – to je manje od 31 odsto nacionalnog proseka, ali i dalje znatan broj ukazuje na to da novine i dalje imaju svoje čitalaštvo, čak i u konkurentnom medijskom okruženju.⁹ Ali, kada ljudi napuste televiziju i štampu kako bi našli zabavu i vesti na webu, većina njih odlazi na sajtove i mobilne aplikacije provajdera poznatih brendova (Foster, 2011; Newman, 2012).

⁷ Zbog velikog oslanjanja na prihode od prodaje, dominantna doktrina slobodnih onlajn vesti predstavlja ozbiljan izazov skupim evropskim novinama, pre nego jeftinim američkim.

⁸ Pew Research Center, "Americans Spending More Time Watching the News", 10. septembar 2012.

⁹ Pew Research Center, "Internet Gains on Television as Public's Main News Source", 4. januar, 2011.

Iako je Finska zemlja sa najvišim nivoom upotrebe interneta, čak 60 do 70 odsto čitalaca su mešoviti čitaoci, 20 odsto čita samo štampu, a isto toliko samo online novine. Anketa koju je 2012. godine obavio Ofcom u Engleskoj pokazuje da se internet nalazi poslednji na listi od četiri izvora vesti, kad je reč o dnevnoj upotrebi vesti – 71 odsto za TV, 41 odsto za radio, 30 za novine, a samo 29 odsto za internet.¹⁰

Sve ovo upućuje na zaključak da “nije sasvim sigurno da je razvoj interneta i mobilnog telefona doveo do zamene novih medija za stare” (Cooper, 2007). Staromodne forme medijske upotrebe su usađene u svakodnevnu rutinu ljudi i postepeno se menjaju, dok god se doživljavaju kao zadovoljavajuće.

Osmo, promene tiraža štampanih novina imaju mnogo dramatičniji i neposredniji uticaj na celokupne prihode medijskih kompanija, nego što je imao internet tokom poslednje decenije (Van der Wurff, Bakker, Picard, 2012: 28-52). Internet jeste i biće važan faktor ali je kriza ta koja je najviše pogodila medije. Naime, ubrzano širenje interneta kasnih 90-ih i 2000, poklopilo se sa ogromnim ekonomskim teškoćama za novine širom sveta. Čitaoci i oglašivači počeli su da se premeštaju iz profitabilnih štampanih novina na neprofitabilne online sajtove. Primer Nemačke, gde su se u periodu od 2000 do 2003. godine sve kategorije oglasa, osim online, smanjile za 25 odsto, što iznosi oko 2,5 milijardi evra, iako je tiraž štampe opao samo za šest odsto, a uz to su internet reklame uvećane za 100 miliona evra, to najbolje ilustruje.

Deveto, internet je samo jedan od mnogih novih medija koji su nakon Drugog svetskog rata izvršili veliki pritisak na poslovni model plaćenih štampanih novina i dovele do njihovog postepenog raspada. Njegov potpuni uticaj na medijsko tržište tek treba da se oseti, budući da je publika prihvatila digitalne platforme, ali ih je do sada koristila kao deo šireg medijskog sklopa, koji i dalje ostaje pod najvećim uticajem televizije. Najveći problem je što se oglašivači sporije pomeraju na online sadržaje od čitalaca. Zato se i kaže da internet nije ubio novine, ali su pojedini internet sajtovi uništili profitabilne kategorije reklamiranja u novinama, koje su se razvijale zajedno sa njima. Novine, posebno u SAD, ostale su bez prihoda kada je okončan njihov monopolski status u nekoliko kategorija reklamiranja.

Deseto, jedan od ključnih ekonomskih udaraca medijima zadat je razdvajanjem medijskih prihoda i investicija u vesti. Otuda danas ne postoji veza između komercijalnog uspeha i investiranja u vesti u dve oblasti koje se najbrže razvijaju: kablovskoj TV i internetu.

Iskustva pokazuju da je, na jednoj strani, jako teško finansirati profesionalnu produkciju vesti samo na osnovu online operacija, dok su na drugoj organizacije vesti tradicionalno finansirale njihove redakcije ili na osnovu prihoda od prodaje zajedno sa prihodima od reklama, ili samo na osnovu prihoda od reklama. Svi ovi online prihodi su prilično nesigurni, tim pre jer je glavna paradigma među medijskim kućama besplatan sadržaj. U nameri da se privuče publika i novi korisnici offline proizvoda vesti su postale – besplatne. U takvim okolnostima reklame su bile najveći izvor online prihoda.

¹⁰ Ofcom, Measuring Media Plurality, London: Ofcom, 2012.

Finansijsko oslanjanje samo na reklame u produkciji vesti opterećuju dva dodatna momenta: a) sajtovi vesti privlače samo mali deo ukupnog vremena provedenog online – između jedan i pet odsto, pa onda i mali deo prihoda ide medijskim organizacijama; i b) vrednost bilo kakve online publike stagnira ili opada.¹¹

Najpopularniji svetski novinski sajt, u Engleskoj – Mail Online, najbolje prikazuje ovaj problem. Pristup sajtu je besplatan i privukao je oko šest miliona čitalaca u 2011, sa ukupnih 40 miliona posetilaca mesečno. Međutim, godišnji prihodi sajta bili su svega 16 miliona funti za 2010-2011. Nasuprot tome, štampano izdanje Daily Mail-a (sa Mail on Sunday), zaradilo je oko 700 miliona funti od prodaje i reklama, sa 4 miliona čitalaca dnevno. Besplatne novine Associated Newspapers-a, Metro, zaradile su 80 miliona funti od reklama na osnovu tiraža od milion funti i 3 miliona čitalaca.¹² Porast od 65 odsto u prihodima Mail Online u periodu 2010-2011 i 10 odsto u prihodima Metro novina, nadoknadio je pad od 5 odsto koji je zabeležen u Daily Mail-u. Tradicionalne medijske kompanije nastavljaju da dominiraju onlajn snabdevanjem vesti, ali njihov sadržaj uglavnom finansiraju prihodi stvoreni offline (van mreže). To nije održivo na duže staze.

¹¹ Podaci iz Experian Hitwise pokazuju da su različiti oblici vesti privukli oko 4.4 odsto celokupnog internet saobraćaja u Americi 2010, što je više od 6.7 odsto u Engleskoj.

¹² DMGT 2011 Annual Report, 2.oktobar 2011.

Zaključak

Iz svega prethodno izloženog, analiza kretanja i dešavanja u osam svetskih zemalja i unutar njihovih medijskih sistema ukazuje na nekoliko bitnih momenata koje treba imati u vidu, posebno sa stanovišta da se nalazimo tek na početku sadašnjih transformacija medija. Stari mediji su još sa nama i ne deluje kao da će potpuno nestati.¹³ Imajući to na umu medijskim poslenicima i analitičarima, umesto lažnog utiska nudi se suštinska dijagnoza o uzrocima onoga što je uzdrimalo medije u poslednjoj deceniji i način kako se to može, ako ne prevladati, makar ublažiti:

- najveći deo vesti koje se dele *online* proizveden je u tradicionalnim medijskim organizacijama, a novine i televizija proizvode više vesti i dopiru do veće publike nego sve ostale medijske organizacije;
- osnova medija ostaje novinarstvo, kao najveći izvor informacija;
- novine treba da ostanu najvažniji izvor, potrebno je da se zaposli više novinara i da sadržaj bude što originalniji;
- u vreme pojačanog korišćenja interneta i opadanja novinskog tiraža, glavni faktor raspada novinske industrije nije internet, kriza je pogodila oglašavanje od koga su novine zavisile, što nema mnogo veze sa internetom; internet nije ubio štampane novine, ali su pojedini sajtovi uništili profitabilne kategorije oglašavanja u novinama, koje su se razvijale zajedno sa njima;
- štampane novine, ukoliko su skrojene po meri publike, još mogu da igraju važnu ulogu u društvu;
- sadržaj štampanih novina se u današnjem svetu ne koristi radi vesti, nego za refleksiju i pozadinu;
- novo vreme nametnulo je modifikovan poslovni model koji kombinuje štampano i digitalno izdanje, prodaju i reklame, a zasnovan je na lojalnoj publici;
- danas imamo dominaciju mešovite upotrebe medija, koegzistenciju starih i novih medija, budući da novi gde god postoje, dopunjuju stare, pre nego što ih menjaju;
- vreme će pokazati koliko dugo će kombinacija novih i starih medija deliti scenu, ali je jasno da ne mogu zameniti jedni druge.

¹³ Prema podacima Newspaper Association of America, više naslova je ugašeno 80-ih (119) i 90-ih (128), nego 2000. godine (83 naslova)

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dr Radmila R. Čokorilo,¹ docent

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci (Republika Srpska, BiH)

Globalni mediji i demokratija

Apstrakt: Početkom osamdesetih godina XX vijeka, naporedo sa pojavom istinski globalnog komercijalnog medijskog tržišta, došlo je do dramatičnog restrukturiranja nacionalnih medijskih industrija. Novouspostavljenim globalnim medijskim sistemom dominira trideset ili četrdeset velikih transnacionalnih korporacija (TNC), od kojih su desetak konglomerati sa sjedištem u SAD-u, koji nadziru globalno tržište. Uz centralizaciju medijske moći, glavna karakteristika globalnog medijskog poretka je njegova sveukupna komercijalizacija i očigledan pad značaja javnih servisa. Takva koncentracija medijske moći u organizacijama koje se oslanjaju na podršku oglašivača i primarno su odgovorne akcionarima, predstavlja jasnu i neposrednu opasnost za aktivno učešće građana u društvenim zbivanjima, ali i za razumijevanje društvenih problema i djelotvornost demokratije.

Ovdje ćemo govoriti o pojavi globalnog medijskog sistema i političkim, ekonomskim i tehnološkim faktorima koji su doveli do njegovog uspona. Istraživaćemo kako djelovanje globalnih medija utiče na strukturu i učinak medija, kao i na njihov politički i kulturni uticaj na brojne zemlje širom svijeta. Namjera je da se doprinese razumijevanju ekonomske i političke dinamike rasta i posljedica globalizacije medija, istovremeno ukazujući na alternativu i relativno demokratsku medijsku strukturu i politiku.

Ključne riječi: *globalizacija, demokratija, mediji*

¹ E-mail: cokorilo@hotmail.com

Phd Radmila R. Čokorilo, docent

Faculty of Political Science, University of Banja Luka (Republic of Srpska, BiH)

Global Media and Democracy

Abstract: At the beginning of the 80s of the twentieth century, parallel with the emergence of a truly global commercial media market, there has been a dramatic restructuring of the national media industry. The newly established global media system is dominated by thirty or forty large transnational corporations (TNC), of which a dozen are conglomerates based in the United States that oversee global markets. With the centralization of the media power, the main characteristic of the global media system is its overall commercialization and the apparent decline in the importance of public service. Such a concentration of media power in organizations that rely on the support of advertisers and are primarily accountable to shareholders, represents a clear and immediate danger to the active participation of citizens in social events, but also for the understanding of social problems and the effectiveness of democracy. Here we will talk about the emergence of a global media system and political, economic and technological factors that led to its rise. We will research how the effect of the global media influences the structure and performance of the media, as well as their political and cultural influence in many countries around the world. The intention is to contribute to the understanding of the economic and political dynamics of the growth and consequences of the globalization of the media, while at the same time pointing to an alternative and relatively democratic media structure and policy.

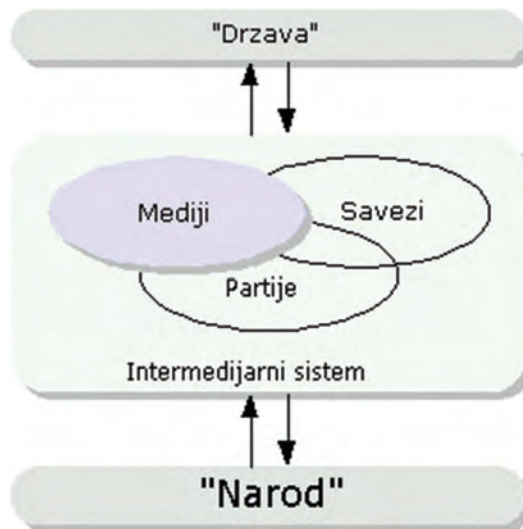
Keywords: *globalization, democracy, media*

Uvod - Mediji u funkciji demokratije

Mediji igraju centralnu ulogu u demokratizaciji, a globalni mediji su glavno sredstvo za reklamiranje i formiranje javnog mnjenja. Informativni i zabavni program globalnih medija nezadovoljava standarde profesionalnog novinarstva, postoji opravdana bojaznost da bi globalni mediji mogli da ubrzaju proces profesionalnosti u novinarstvu.

Globalizacija medija ostavila je i ostavlja štetne posljedice i predstavljaju dugoročnu prijetnju demokratskim procesima, ali i novinarstvu kao profesiji. Posljedice se posebno odnose na razvoj medija i na kvalitet javne sfere.

Mediji se često nazivaju „četvrta sila” u državi, a moderne demokratije se nazivaju „medijske demokratije”. *Šta se skriva iza ovakvih naziva? Kakvu to moć zaista imaju mediji? Kako se može opisati njihova funkcija u interakciji svih dijelova intermedijarnog sistema?*



Slika 1.²

Politika u modernim državama i u masovnim društvima nije više moguća bez pomoći masovnih medija. Nije više slučaj kakav je bio u antičkoj Grčkoj, gdje su se građani mogli sakupiti na trgu (*agora*) da bi diskutovali o odluci koju treba donjeti. Politika se sada usvaja i prosljeđuje putem masovnih medija. Ono što mi, na primjer, znamo o politici naše zemlje uglavnom smo saznali putem televizije, radija ili novina. Zbog toga mediji u intermedijarnom sistemu imaju važnu ulogu.

Na političkom nivou, mediji igraju centralnu ulogu u demokratizaciji. Istorijski posmatrano, ključna odlika pokreta demokratizacije jeste stvaranje javnog mnje-

² https://www.google.ba/search?q=www.dadalos.org&source=lnms&tbnm=isch&sa=X&ei=KaoLU8D-qHImQtAbqs4C4Bw&ved=0CAcQ_AUoAQ&biw=1280&bih=633 (posjećeno 4.02.214.)

nja, pri čemu se misli na sva mjesta i forume na kojima se raspravljalo o pitanjima vezanim za političku zajednicu, i gdje su plasirane informacije ključne za učešće građana u javnom životu. Ovakav koncept je važan, jer demokratsko društvo zavisi od dobro informisane populacije sposobne da napravi politički izbor. Po mišljenju Jirgena Hebermsa (Jürgen Habermas) i drugih, javnost je najefikasnija za demokratiju kada je institucionalno nezavisana od države i društveno dominantnih ekonomskih snaga. "Za neke, javnost se najbolje ogleda u neprofitnom, nekomercijalnom javnom servisu, kakav je, na primjer, BBC koji teži da bude relativno nezavisan, a time do odgovarajućeg stepena i objektivan" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:8). Ovakav vid medijske kulture se vezuje uglavnom za najdemokratičnije političke sisteme. Jedno je sigurno, mediji predstavljaju najmoćnija sredstva komunikacije kojima javnost učestvuje u političkom procesu, a kvalitet doprinosi javnom mnjenju značajno određuje i kvalitet demokratije.

Uspon globalnih medija

Pojava istinski globalnog medijskog sistema skorašnjeg je datuma i u priličnoj mjeri reflektuje globalizaciju tržišne ekonomije. Globalni mediji predstavljaju glavno sredstvo za reklamiranje korporativnih proizvoda namijenjenih prodaji i na taj način olakšavaju prodor korporacija u nove zemlje, regione, i tržišta. S druge strane, informativni i zabavni program globalnih medija stvaraju povoljnu informativnu i ideološku klimu. Globalni mediji predstavljaju neophodnu komponentu globalnog kapitalizma i jedna su od njegovih glavnih karakteristika. Iako je uspostavljanje integrisanog globalnog medijskog tržišta počelo tek kasnih osamdesetih godina XX vijeka i sve do devedesetih nije dostiglo granice svojih mogućnosti, korjenje globalnog medijskog sistema možemo pratiti decenijama, pa i vijekovima unazad.

Mediji, globalni ili drugačiji, najbolje se mogu razumijeti u političko-ekonomskom kontekstu, stoga i najviše treba istaći odnos medija i kapitalizma. Pažnja se najviše posvećuje usponu „neoliberalnog tržišta“, tokom osamdestih i devedestih, i ovo objašnjava zašto je globalni medijski sistem u tolikoj mjeri pod dominacijom zapadnih, a posebno, američkih medijskih kompanija. Osim toga, pošto smo najviše zainteresovani za sposobnost medija da obezbijede javnost za demokratiju, naše analize kapitalizma uključuju i razmatranje njegovog odnosa prema političkim institucijama. Samo uz razumijevanje društvenih i političkih implikacija globalnog korporativnog kapitalizma možemo da objasnimo značajnu društvenu i političku ulogu globalnih medija.

Porijeklo globalnih medija

Globalni mediji nastali su dugo nakon pojave lokalnih i nacionalnih. U Zapadnoj Evropi, prvi veliki masovni medij bile su novine koje su dominirale tokom XIX vijeka. Uspon štampe i pismenosti, uz prateći razvoj novinarstva, bili su sastavni dio demokratskih revolucija i savremenog poimanja informisanja. Razvojem kapitaliz-

ma i novine su pale pod kontrolu biznisa i počele da posluju u skladu sa tržišnim principima. Komercijalni mediji su se razvijali kao mala preduzeća na konkurentnom tržištu, da bi tokom vremena evoluirali u velika preduzeća koja posluju na monopolističkim ili oligopolističkim tržištima.³ Kao kapitalistička preduzeća ove firme su pod pritiskom konkurencije gurnute u nove medije, i u tom svijetu enormnih dispariteta i političko-ekonomskom razvoju, te zapadne vlade i medijske korporacije postaju primarni, čak i ekskluzivni, kreatori globalnih medija. Činjenica je, da su novine do današnjih dana ostale najmanje integrisana industrija u globalni medijski sistem. Pojava telegrafa i podvodnih kablova sredinom XIX vijeka, obilježila je početak doba telekomunikacija. Sve više je rastao značaj globalne trgovine, a time i velika komercijalna vrijednost rapidno rastuće telegrafске razmjene svjetskih vijesti. Stoga su telegrafске međunarodne novinske agencije bile prva značajnija forma globalnih medija.

Novinske agencije: francuska Havas, njemačka Wolff i britanska Reuters su komercijalne novinske agencije, osnovane u XIX vijeku, prvobitno kao domaća preduzeća, ali s posebnim interesovanjem za strane vijesti. One su proizvodile vijesti i prodavale ih novinskim kućama. Kasnije se, u XIX vijeku, pojavila američka agencija Associated Press (AP). Ove novinske agencije su, u stvari, bili globalni mediji sve do XX vijeka. Tek je pojavom istinski globalnih medija krajem XX vijeka, uticaj novinskih agencija počeo da jenjava.

Glavna promjena za globalni kapitalizam koja je postavila temelj za uspon globalnih medija, bio je nastanak i razvoj transnacionalnih korporacija (TNC). To su one korporacije koje imaju kapacitete u više zemalja, poslove i investicije planiraju u perspektivi u više zemalja.

Dvije nove medijske tehnologije – pokretne slike i radio – doprinijele su razvoju globalnih medija u prvoj polovini XX vijeka. Filmska industrija je veoma brzo izrasla u oligopolističku i ona je bila prva medijska industrija u službi pravog globalnog tržišta. "Članovi ovih novih oligopola bili su isključivo Amerikanci, situirani u Holivudu, i sa veoma bliskim vezama sa glavnim finansijskim interesima u Vol Stritu. Već 1914. godine oko 85% svjetske filmske publike gledalo je američke filmove. Godine 1925. američki filmovi su ubirali više od 90% filmskih prihoda u Velikoj Britaniji, Kanadi, Australiji, Novom Zelandu i preko 70% filmskih prihoda ostvarenih u Francuskoj, Brazilu..." (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:22). Iako je ovaj procenat smanjen pojavom zvučnih filmova, dominacija Holivuda nikada nije dovedena u pitanje.⁴

Radio se pojavio početkom XX vijeka. U Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, korporacije su jako brzo shvatile značaj komercijalnih potencijala radija kao reklamnog medija, pa su njegovu ogromnu političku snagu iskoristile za preuzimanje kontrole nad industrijom. "Emitovanje radio programa je tek krajem dvadesetih

³ Oligopolističko tržište - kada manja grupa firmi-kompanija iz srodnih grana kontroliše tržište (Vujaklija, 2006).

⁴ Globalna filmska industrija je takođe u poslijeratnim godinama primarno ostala u rukama nekoliko američkih firmi – Columbia, Twentieth Century-Fox, United Artists, Warner Brothers, Paramounth. Velike domaće filmske industrije pojavile su se i drugdje, na primjer, u Indiji i Japanu, ali globalna izvozna industrija bila je sinonim za Holivud.

godina XX vijeka, sa razvojem kratkih talasa, postalo istinski globalno, i već krajem Drugog svjetskog rata, 55 zemalja formalno je imalo kratkotalasne emitterske servise na stranom jeziku” (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:24).

Okončanje Drugog svjetskog rata obilježilo je početak nove ere rapidnog rasta ekonomije. Sjedinjene Države su iz rata izašle jače nego ikad. SAD su bile u stanju da uspostave novi svjetski poredak u službi vlastitih političkih i ekonomskih interesa. Amerika je upotrijebila moć koju joj je obezbijedila kontrola nad MMF-om i Međunarodnom bankom za rekonstrukciju i razvoj, a njene velike transnacionalne korporacije napravile su ogroman globalni pomak u automobilske, hemijske, kompjuterske, naftne, elektonske industriji. U poslijeratnom periodu SAD su se izborile da pojam „slobodan protok informacija“ postane univerzalni princip. Odmah je slobodan protok informacija postao ubjedljiv demokratski princip. Suštinski operativni zadatak tog principa bio je da sa transnacionalnim medijskim kućama i oglašivačima omogući globalno funkcionisanje. Prema viđenju tvoraca američke politike, ovo je bio jedini vid slobodne štampe koji je odgovarao demokratskom svjetskom poretku.

Koncentracija medija i njihova korporativna kontrola predstavljale su obrazac i za bujanje globalnog tržišta u muzičkoj produkciji. Tri od pet najznačajnijih transnacionalnih produkcijskih muzičkih kuća su bile osnovane u SAD i svaka od njih je bila filijala većeg medijskog koncerna: CBS-a, Warner Brothersa i RCA-a. Druga dva giganta muzičke produkcije bili su britanski EMI i holandski PolyGram. Ove firme su do 80-ih godina ostvarile više od polovine globalne prodaje.

Najdramatičniji i najznačajniji razvoj medijske industrije u poslijeratnom periodu označila je pojava televizije. Televizija je u početku osnovana kao neprofitni i nekomercijalni nacionalni servis, što je ograničavalo mogućnost za globalnu medijsku ekspanziju. Međutim, ono što je komercijalno moglo da se iskoristi bila je neprestana potreba za televizijskim programima. “Prodaja američkog televizijskog programa u inostranstvu porasla je sa 15 miliona dolara u 1958. Na 130 miliona u 1973. godini” (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:45). Mnoge zemlje su uvezile veći dio programa i SAD su bili glavni dobitnici. Reklamiranje pokreće televizijski bum u SAD u poslijeratnom periodu, te time pospješuje uspon međunarodnog oglašavanja, stimulišući razvoj globalnih medija. Američka reklamna industrija, radeći za sopstvene interese ali i za interese velikih korporativnih klijenata, značajno je doprinijela borbi za komercijalizaciju globalnih medija.

Globalni mediji krajem 90-tih su tri medijske industrije koje su se pojavile sa najrazvijenijim globalnim tržištima – izdavaštvo, muzička i filmska produkcija – nastavile su rast u klimi bujajućeg oligopolističkog tržišta. Izdavaštvo je zbog jezičkih razlika, manje koncentrisano od filmske i muzičke produkcije. Tri najveća svjetska izdavača knjiga u vlasništvu su kompanija Bertelsmann, Time Warner i Viacom, koja su na prvom, trećem i četvrtom mjestu na listi najvećih svjetskih konglomerata. Najkoncentrisanije svjetsko medijsko tržište pripada muzičkoj produkciji. Pet vodećih kompanija su: PolyGram (19% udjela), Time Warner (18%), Sony (17%), EMI (15%), Bertelsmann (13%).

Televizija predstavlja medij vijeka i obezbjeđuje osnovu za integrisano globalno komercijalno medijsko tržište. Komercijalni mediji su ti koji igraju centralnu ulogu u globalnom procesu. Razvoj globalnog komercijalnog sistema jeste logičan rezultat politike „slobodnog tržišta“ u oblasti komunikacija. Globalni mediji su misionari našeg doba koji glasno zagovaraju vrline komercijalizma i tržišta kroz svoje profitno orijetisane i markentiški podržane inicijative. Širenjem komercijalne globalne televizije u svijetu devedesetih godina XX vijeka, postale su očigledne i promjene u globalnim medijima. Sa pojavom satelitskog i kablovskog distribuiranja programa 90-ih godina dramatično je povećan broj kanala dostupnih u mnogim zemljama. U ovom periodu proces komercijalizacije je dostigao pun zamah. U toj atmosferi, kada politička moć komercijalnih medijskih kuća raste, mnogi javni emitterski sistemi biće na udaru. Ukoliko javni emiteri i dalje budu gubili publiku, pitanje je vremena kada će im biti ukinute državne subvencije. Ali, iako otpočinu da imitiraju komercijalne emitere da bi povećali gledanost, rizikuju da izgube legitimno pravo na državnu subvenciju. Velika četvorka zapadnih novinskih agencija – AP, UPI, Reuters, AFP – još uvijek dominira svjetskim štampanim medijima, dok su Reuters TV i Worldwide Television News ostale dominantne globalne televizijske informativne agencije, mada je satelitska televizija omogućila i rad regionalnih i globalnih kanala. Najistaknutiji je CNN International, vlasništvo Time Warnera, koji se gleda u više od dvije stotine zemalja. Međutim, BBC World Service i Voice of America, iako su subvencionisani, i dalje obezbijavaju svjetski servis vijesti na brojnim jezicima i emituju ih preko nekomercijalnih i neprofitabilnih kanala na kratkim talasima. Globalni kanali vijesti, kao CNN, koji se finansiraju od reklama i namjenjeni su poslovnim ljudima i višoj srednjoj klasi. Prvu ligu globalnih medija čini desetak vertikalno i horizontalno integrisanih medijskih konglomerata nastalih nizom spajanja i pripajanja. To su:

NEWS CORPORATION

TIME WARNER

POLYGRAM

DISNEY

NBC

BERTELSMANN

UNIVERSAL

VIACOM

SONY

TCI

Godišnji promet svake od njih 10 - 25 milijardi dolara

U ovom poglavlju pokazaćemo profil deset firmi iz prve dominantne lige globalnih medijskih oligopola. Pet najvećih medijskih firmi u svijetu kada je o prodaji riječ – Time Warner, Disney, Bertelsmann, Viacom, News Corporation – predstavljaju i najintegrisanije globalne medijske gigante. Ovi giganti (izuzev Bertelsmann-a) posjeduju ogromne filmske i televizijske produkcione kapacitete. Razmotrićemo i ostale četiri firme koje se rangiraju niže u prvoj ligi – PolyGram, Seagram, Sony, General Electric.

News Corporation – iako se rangira na petom mjestu, "sa približno 10 milijardi dolara prodaje u 1996., ona predstavlja pravi model globalne medijske firme za XXI vijek i najbolji primjer za razumijevanje funkcionisanja globalnih medija" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:106). News Corporation se često poistovjećuje sa njenim prvim čovjekom, Rupertom Mardokom, čija porodica kontroliše oko 30% akcija. Za Mardoka se govorilo: "on praktično hoće da osvoji svijet, a izgleda da će to i učiniti." Mardokov cilj je bio da NC posjeduje sve vrste programa – vijesti, sport, film i dječije programe, što je i uspio. Možda je najbolji primjer za ilustraciju Mardokovog uticaja taj da je prisutan i na medijskom nebu Srbije (FOX TV).

Time Warner je najveća medijska korporacija u svijetu, "sa prodajom koja se 1997. približila sumi od 25 milijardi dolara" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:116). Muzika pokriva više od 20% biznisa TW, a isto važi i za izdavačku djelatnost, objavljivanje časopisa, knjiga i kablovski kanal vijesti. Iako se NC i TW fokusirao na globalnu televizijsku mrežu kao najlukrativniju oblast za razvoj, TW se više posvetio produkciji programa i kanala. Time Warner je i jedan od najvećih svjetskih vlasnika bioskopskih dvorana.

"Sa prodajom od skoro 24 milijarde dolara samo u 1997., Disney je, kada je riječ o statusu najveće svjetske medijske firme, najbliži konkurent TW." (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:121). Početkom 90-tih, Disney se uspješno preorijentisao sa zabavnih parkova i mjesta za razonodu na filmsku i televizijsku produkciju. Mada, istorijski gledano, Disney je oduvijek bio jak u zabavnim sadržajima i animaciji, oblastima koje se dobro kotiraju na globalnom tržištu. Kupovinom kanala ESPN, televizijske sportske mreže ABC, Disney je postao globalni lider bez premca. Jedan od direktora Disneya smatra da korporacija ima "dva konja za jahanje na stranom tržištu, a ne jednog – sa sportskom mrežom ESPN i porodičnim Disney Channelom" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:125).

Kompanija Viacom je manja, "sa prihodom od oko 13 milijardi dolara u 1997., od čega svega 20% dolazi izvan teritorije SAD-a" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:126).

Bartelsmann je jedina evropska firma koja se našla u prvoj ligi medijskih giganta. Treća po veličini medijska grupa u svijetu "sa prodajom od blizu 15 milijardi dolara u 1996. godini" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:130). Imperija Bertelsmann građena je na globalnoj mreži klubova, knjiga i muzičkih proizvoda.

TCI korporacija Tele-Comunications, Inc. manja je od ostalih firmi iz prve lige, "sa prihodom u 1996. od skoro 7 milijardi dolara" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:133), ali ju je njena jedinstvena pozicija u industriji učinila centralnim igračem u globalnom medijskom sistemu. Temelj TCI-ja predstavlja njena dominantna pozicija vo-

dećeg provajdera kablovskog televizijskog sistema u SAD-u. Četiri firme pridružile su se navedenoj šestorci medijskih džinova iz prve lige globalnih medijskih oligopola: Universal (Seagram), Sony, PolyGram, NBC (GeneralElectric). Više od polovine prihoda Universal je ostavrio produkcijom filmova i televizijskih programa u svojim studijima. Ova kuća je takođe vodeći muzički producent i izdavač knjiga, a upravlja i sa nekoliko zabavnih parkova. PolyGram je otprilike iste veličine kao Universal, "sa prosječnom prodajom od oko 6 milijardi dolara u 1997. godini. Ogromna holandska kompanija za elektroniku Philips, vlasnik je 75% odsto akcija firme PolyGram" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:138) Kao i Universal, i PolyGram spada u produkcionu firmu koncentrisanu na muziku i film. Sony je po mnogo čemu sličan kompaniji PolyGram, sa dionicam u medijima uglavnom koncentrisanim na muzičku produkciju, ali i filmsku i televizijsku. General Electric je jedna od vodećih kompanija za elektroniku i proizvođač u toj oblasti u svijetu, "sa prodajom od blizu 80 milijardi dolara u 1996. godini" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:140).

Od analognog ka digitalnom

U ovom dijelu govorićemo kako se digitalna revolucija i Internet razvijaju i kako mijenjaju raniju viziju globalnih medija. U periodu ubrzanog razvoja komunikacijske tehnologije Internet je rušio predviđanja i sa sobom donio mnoga iznenađenja. "Govorilo se da je on „više fenomen nego činjenica. Takođe, govorilo se da je to "granica divljeg Zapada u oblasti komunikacije" (Brigs, Berk 2006:410).

U početku je to bila ograničena mreža, u kojoj su se razmjenjivale informacije između univerziteta i drugih istraživačkih institucija. Međutim, njegova globalna upotreba i ekspanzija počinje kada je Tim Berners osmislio ono što je nazvao Mreža (World Wide Web). Ona je mogla i trebala da bude rasprostranjena po cijelom svijetu. Časopis Tajm, koji ga je pozdravio kao jedinog roditelja Mreže, a za njegovo dostignuće pisao da je "uzeo snažni komunikacijski sistem koji je samo elita mogla da koristi i pretvorio ga u masovni medij" (Brigs, Berk, 2006:413).

Tokom devedestih godina, prelazak na digitalni format svih formi podataka tekao je ubrzanim tempom. Ovaj prelazak na kompjuterski jezik već tada je redefinisao muzički industriju, i tih godina se predviđalo da će osvojiti i filmsku, radijsku, televizijsku produkciju. Bilo je jasno da će sve biti drugačije. "Oduvijek je bilo sasvim jednostavno napraviti razliku između dnevnih novina, televizije, kablovske televizije, kompjutera, filmova i telefonskih kompanija', objašnjava jedan poznavalac industrije. Međutim, ove razlike veoma brzo nestaju kada se pojave novi, univerzalni mediji" (Brigs, Berk 2006:413). Tako je i bilo. Internet je postao zlatna groznica, koja je najviše zahvatila Zapadne zemlje. Iako je Internet u osnovi globalni medij, pravac njegovog razvoja je prevashodno definisan u Sjedinjenim Državama i nekoliko drugih zemalja.

Lari Elison, glavni izvršni direktor firme Oracle kaže: "Kao nafta prije jednog vijeka, kompjuterski softver sada postaje najznačajnija industrija u svijetu... softver je gorivo informatičkog doba" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:188). Veličina i tržišna moć Interneta bili smo pod znakom pitanja sve dok globalne medijske firme nisu inkorporirale Internet u svoje konglomerate. "Pravo pitanje je, piše Tajms, da li jedan

komercijalni veb sajt može da prosperira ukoliko nije dio neke korporacije ili makar povezan sa medijskim gigantom" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:185). Stoga, globalni medijski giganti iz prve lige koriste sve metode da bi se našli među privilegovanim provajderima Interneta. Zato su kuće CBS i Disney osnovale glavne sportske onlajn servise, „a decembra 1996. medijski giganti su odnijeli značajnu pobjedu kada se 160 zemalja složilo, forsirane od Sjedinjenih Država, da se primjena autorskih prava proširi i na sajberspejs, ali sa izraženom željom da se podstakne razvoj intreneta kao komercijalnog medija" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:194). Uspon interneta zahvatio je gotovo sve, uključujući i firme za telekomunikacije, koje su se konvergencijom telekomunikacija, medija i kompjuterske industrije, opremile za pravi juriš na novu teritoriju. Kada je riječ o veličini kompanija, "najveće svjetske firme za telekomunikacije su japanska NT&T (prodaja u 1996. 82 milijarde dolara), AT&T (prodaja u 1996. 53 milijarde dolara), njemački Telecom – prodaja 46 milijardi dolara; francuski Telecom – prodaja 30 milijardi dolara; italijanski Stet – 26 milijardi dolara" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:170). Svaka od njih je značajno veća od najvećih globalnih medijskih giganata, kao što su Time Warner i Disney, čija je prodaja u 1996. bila nešto više od 20 milijardi dolara.

Gdje je demokratija u globalnom svjetskom poretku!?

Globalizacija i komercijalizacija medija ostavile su štetne posljedice i predstavljaju dugoročnu prijetnju demokratskim procesima. Te posljedice se posebno odnose na razvoj medija, na kvalitet javne sfere, mjesta i foruma na kojima se razmatraju društvena pitanja. Analize medijskih procesa ukazuju na to da će komercijalizacija medija biti štetna za javnost (a to je već očito), te se postavlja pitanje koliko dobro su građani informisani, kako funkcioniše demokratski poredak, da li je moguća veća socijalna stabilnost!? Razvoj komercijalnih medija ne supstituiše samo razonodu za javni servis; iskustvo SAD je pokazalo da taj razvoj sa sobom nosi i pad u različitim stavovima ali i veću zaštitu interesa establišmenta. Sljedeći primjer najbolje ilustruje kako se manipulisalo Vijetnamskim ratom, o čemu Erik Barnou bilježi: "*Eskalacija rata u Vijetnamu u periodu 1965-1967. najbolje je pokazala kako je komercijalna televizijska mreža u oblikovanju informacija kontinuirano bila na liniji administracije. Vijesti su izgledale kao produžena ruka vladinih obrazloženja i saopštenja... iako se kod kuće a i širom svijeta rađao ogroman talas openata ratu, televizijska mreža bila je na mukama da gledaoce izoluje od tog uticaja ...veći dio sponzorisanog zabavnog programa bio je šovinistički.*"⁵ Ovaj primjer očito pokazuje kako se građanima uskraćuje mogućnost detaljnije i višeizvorne informisnosti, te postaju žrtve manipulisanja, usljed nekritičkog usvajanja informacija. Američke mreže ne samo da nisu napravile nijedan ozbiljan dokumantan program o ratu, nego su čak prvih godina rata zabranjivale prikazivanje stranih dokumentaraca. Barnou ističe: "*ovakva politika je de facto konstituisala nacionalnu cenzuru, mada*

⁵ <http://www.oah.org/programs/awards/erik-barnouw-award/erik-barnouw-award-winners/> (posjećeno 22.02.2014.)

privatno sprovedenu".⁶

Ovaj primjer nedemokratskog funkcionisanja medija u službi vlasti objašnjava zašto su se predsjednici Džonson i Nikson borili za kontrolu nad javnim emiterima, pri čemu su otvoreno tražili smanjenje programa sa aktuelnim temama. Komercijalni sistemi su tako i uradili. Dobar primjer nedemokratskog i manipulatorskog postupanje je i Zalivski rat (1990-1991) gdje su američki komercijalni emiteri, tada više nego ikad reklamno orijentisani i centralizovani, bili još funkcionalniji kao vladin propagandni servis. Veoma mlako su protestvovali zbog slučajeva grube cenzure, lakovjerno su prihvatili lažne propagandne tvrdnje, nisu se ozbiljno pozabavili temama od suštinskog značaja za razumijevanje javnosti i prihvatili su ulogu u propagandnom horu pomažući prodaju rata. Temeljniju prezentaciju vijesti američka televizija dostigla je tek sredinom pedesetih. Početkom 60-ih oživljavaju dokumentarni programi, a kod nas to stiže mnogo kasnije, naravno, uz pratnju komercijalizacije i dan danas.

Komercijalna TV i plutokratizacija politike slabe Demokratiju

Sazrijevanje komercijalne televizije u SAD-u zaista je imalo nekoliko značajnih negativnih efekata na politički proces. Tomas Peterson komentariše: "*Nije slučajno što je predsjednička kampanja iz 1964. bila istovremeno i prva koja je koristila reklamiranje i prva u kojoj je ukupan trošak kampanje dostigao nevjerovatne razmjere*" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:217). Ovo je umanjilo demokratski karakter političkog života u SAD ograničavajući dalju borbu za određenu poziciju samo na bogate i one spremne da služe interesima bogatih. Drugo, komercijalizacija emitera uticala je na dalje slabljenje demokratije delokalizujući politiku, jer su, komentariše Džerald Benjamin: "*Apeli upućeni na jednom mjestu ili jednoj grupi mogli neposredno da se prosljede na regionalno ili nacionalno. Zato kandidati više ne mogu neposredno da upućuju političke apele određenoj grupaciji, a da prethodno ne uzmu u obzir moguće posljedice na ostale grupe u izbornim koalicijama*" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:217). Pojedinaac je još više izolovan, jer se teži smanjenju političke participacije, a ideja o kolektivnoj društvenoj akciji je oslabljena. Jasno je da su cijena i značaj televizije usredsređeni na dobro urađene i brižljivo upakovane „spotove“ koji slikovito predstavljaju svaku zamisao. Zato, kandidat za glavnu političku poziciju više ne planira govore, on planira i proizvodi reklame.

Mediji u drugim državama su sličnih karakteristika kao i oni u SAD-u. Svi oni funkcionišu po uzoru na američke medije (pod uticajem stalnih ekonomskih, političkih i vojnih pritisaka), plasirajući jeftine, brze, kratke vijesti prepune akcije. Amerika je odavno prisvojila pravo da interveniše u svim zemljama svijeta u korist svojih interesa. U Velikoj Britaniji, značajne promjene u elektronskim i štampanim medijima, koje su bile odraz globalnih snaga, desile su se za vrijeme Margaret Tačer, koja je uvela neokonzervativnu ideologiju i vjeru u tržište. U Italiji, Berluksoni je globalizovao elek-

⁶ <http://www.oah.org/programs/awards/erik-barnouw-award/erik-barnouw-award-winners/>
(posjećeno 22.02.2014.)

tonske medije. Uspon njegove imperije najbolje ilustruje intenziviranje politizacije i masovnih medija u procesu globalizacije i komercijalizacije. Karipskim medijima (poslije nezavisnosti), nastavile su da dominiraju vlade, smatrajući radio i televiziju veoma značajnim za očuvanje interesa vlasti i u procesu razvoja. Novozelandski mediji su već 1984. godine bili znatno komercijalizovani. Štampani mediji su bili oslonjeni na oglašavanje, znatan rast komercijalnih TV programa, programi su uglavnom služili interesima sponzora, predstavnici vlade su konstantno napadali javni servis i pokušavali da ga oslabe. Svi ovi primjeri daju nam sliku demokratskog sistema u različitim državama svijeta i prikazuju njegovo ozbiljno narušavanje.

Kako se da zaključiti, najveća posljedica globalizacije su komercijalizacija i njen uticaj na javnu sferu. To se dešava upravo zato što u procesu globalizacije postoji snažna tendencija koja se ogleda u preferencijama oglašivača da lakši sadržaji preovlađuju u programima, dajući nultu težinu pozitivnim eksternalijama programa javnog servisa, ali punu podršku atraktivnim programima. Dakle, globalni mediji tretiraju publiku kao potrošače, a ne kao građane koji treba da učestvuju u javnom životu i javnim dešavanjima. Služenje interesima javnosti je izvan njihovog djelokruga, pa se postavlja pitanje ima li tu mjesta Demokrtiji!? U takvim okolnostima građani imaju „slobodu izbora“ samo u okviru ponude koju serviraju gospodara i tržišta.

Posljedice globalizacije medija i moć medija – blagoslov ili opasnost!?

Glavne karakteristike globalizacije medija u posljednjoj deceniji ili duže bile se: prekogranični protok informacija, rast TNC, tendencija centralizacije kontrole medija i širenje komercijalizacije. Nove tehnike komunikacije donose manje blagodeti, a mnogo više opasnosti. Globalizacija podstiče i afirmiše regionalni i lokalni razvoj. Zahvaljujući globalizaciji države su postale premale da rješavaju velike problema, ali su istovremeno ostale i prevelike da bi uspješno rješavale lokalne i regionalne probleme. Jedna od pozitivnih posledica globalizacije jeste buđenje i jačanje regionalnih kulturnih identiteta i to u okviru najrazvijenijih zemalja. U pozitivne efekte možemo da ubrojimo, prije svega, pritisak konkurentnih globalnih medija i njihovo ugrožavanje državno kontrolisanih elektronskih sistema, koji su ponekad samozadovoljni, dosadni, sa lošim učinkom i potreban im je podsticaj da prošire i prodube svoje usluge. Kao drugi pozitivan efekat globalizacije i komercijalizacije medija navodi se rapidno širenje popularne kulture do najudaljenijih krajeva svijeta, kreirane u moćnim komercijalnim centrima. Prema mišljenju Jirgena Habermas "*njena globalna dostupnost je omogućila je veću povezanost i zajedništvo među ljudima, odnosno nastanak neke vrste globalne kulture*" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:15). Za ovakav stav se postavlja pitanje koliko je to zajedništvo poželjno i da li je zaista pozitivno? S druge strane, javlja se manje optimistično viđenje. Smatra se da je primarni efekat procesa globalizacije, odnosno glavna karakteristika globalizacije, u uspostavljanju komercijalnog modela komunikacije, njegovom širenju na javne emitere i „nove“ medije i postepenom jačanju pod uticajem konkurencije i pritiska. Komercijalni model ima svoju unutrašnju logiku, a pošto je u privatnom vlasništvu i oslanja se na podršku oglašivača, teži da

erozira javnost i kreira „kulturu zabave“ što je nespojivo sa demokratskim poretkom. Proizvodi medija pretvaraju se u robu i dizajniraju se tako da služe ciljevima tržišta, a ne potrebama građana. Stoga je opšti trend insistiranja medija na zabavnim i lakim sadržajima posljedica gotovo potpune komercijalizacije, a samim tim globalizacije medija. Čuvena sintagma da mediji kreiraju kulturu zabave potpuno je na djelu. To loše utiče na kvalitet programa i zahtjeve javnog mnjenja, koje je pod ovim uticajem, te promoviše jednu elitističku potrošačku kulturu u okviru šireg društva. Posebno veliki uticaj na formiranje ovakvog karaktera modernih medija, trpe siromašni i manje razvijeni informaciono – komunikacijski prostori. Domaći kulturno-politički medijski prostor ovih zemalja pod snažnim je delovanjem političkog i medijskog sistema bogatih država, prije svega SAD-a, zemlje koja služi kao najbolji model za analizu neoliberalnog i komercijalno povezanog svijeta. Sve zemlje se kreću, svaka na svoj način, ka modelu SAD, i kao što primjećujemo ovaj proces se učvršćuje; globalni mediji prelaze granice, sklapaju savez sa lokalnim firmama, uspostavljaju impresivnu političku snagu i rastuće komercijalne sektore, podsjećajući ujedno i na dugu komercijalnu tradiciju ove zemlje (koja godišnje troši oko 160 milijardi dolara za reklamu, od toga preko 30 milijardi ide na televizijsku reklam).

Kao posljedica globalizacije redovno su se javljali pokreti nezadovoljstva i bunta protiv globalnog medijskog sistema i njihovog antidemokratskog djelovanja. Povod za raspravu o globalnim medijima došao je iz redova pokreta nesvrstanih (zemlje Trećeg svijeta). Pokret je kritikovao sistem na nekoliko različitih nivoa. Glavna kritika se odnosila na monopol Zapada nad globalnim informativnim servisima i njihovo gotovo isključivo služenje potrebama razvijenih zemalja. Članice Trećeg svijeta oštro su kritikovale dominaciju zabavnih programa, smatrajući ih kulturnim imperijalizmom koji je publici nametao tuđe, zapadne vrijednosti. Globalni mediji tretirani su u službi transnacionalnih korporacija i marketinga, koji kao takvi dodatno produbljuju nejednakost svjetske ekonomije. Ovaj pokret je zagovarao „*novi svjetski informacijski i komunikacijski poredak*“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:35).

Novi svjetski informacijski i komunikacijski poredak (NWICO) koji se suprotstavlja antidemokratskom djelovanju globalnog medijskog sistema, kako su to oni isticali. Za članice pokreta nesvrstanih, država je bila jedini organ koji efikasno može da zastupa volju naroda protiv interesa moćnih globalnih korporacija i institucija. U SAD se smatralo da je država jedini neprijatelj slobode štampe i zato jedino tržišno zasnovani i profitno usmjereni sistemi mogu da imaju legitimne demokratke akreditive. NWICO je prije bio retorički izazov, nego organizovana politička prijetnja globalnom sistemu. I kako je Zapad sila protiv koje se teško boriti, zapadni mediji su 80-ih godina organizovali agresivan napad na NWICO, te su pristalice ovog pokreta okarakterisani kao „prevrtljivi diktatori koji su željeli da cenzurišu štampu da bi sakrili istinu od svog naroda i svijeta“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:39). Možda ovdje, u neku ruku, ima istine, i možda je to važno za pojedne pristalice ovog pokreta, al zapadni mediji su to, svakako, na pametan način plasirali. Sigurno je da izrazito pristrasni novinarski izvještaji nisu američkim čitaocima ostavljali mogućnost da procjene te optužbe protiv NWICO-a.

Zaključak

Najveća posljedica globalizacije su komercijalizacija i njen uticaj na javnu sferu, odnosno indirektno na profesionalno novinarstvo koje u globalnim medijima polako nestaje i ustupa mjesto senzacionalizmu. Novinarstvo i proizvodi medija pretvaraju se u robu i dizajniraju se tako da služe ciljevima tržišta, a ne potrebama građana. Stoga je opšti trend insistiranja medija na zabavnim i lakim sadržajima posljedica gotovo potpune komercijalizacije, a samim tim globalizacije medija. Uprkos jasnim ekonomsko-proizvodnim zaslugama, što se može odrediti kao pozitivna posljedica procesa globalizacije, globalna tržišna ekonomija ima jasno antidemokratsko obilježje, ukoliko pod demokratskim podrazumijevamo da svi ili makar većina ljudi može da bira ili utiče na formiranje ključnih političkih i ekonomskih odluka koje ih se tiču. Paradoks je da iako formalna demokratija obuhvata veći dio svjetske populacije nego ikada ranije, većina tih demokratskih zemalja i dalje osjeća političku nemoć. Presudni faktor u slabljenju demokratije bilo je slabljenje radničke klase koja je nezaobilazni granični kamen u političkim pokretima za socijalnu demokratiju. Ovo je direktna posljedica globalizacije. "Nove tehnologije i povoljna politička klima omogućile su TNC da alokacijom svojih direktnih investicija reorganizuju globalnu podjelu rada. Nova mobilnost premjestila je ravnotežu moći klasa snažno u korist kapitala a protiv rada, koji je prostorno nepokretan" (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:51). Još je nejasno u kojoj mjeri politički ojačani radnici i druge nekorporativne snage mogu da se udruže i kakve nove forme otpora mogu da preduzmu. To će biti određeno u budućnosti, ali države i sindikati ostaju glavna polja i sredstva političke borbe. Osim toga, logika globalnog sistema sugerise da će i demokratske snage, da bi bile efikasnije, takođe morati da se organizuju preko nacionalnih granica, iako je to još neistražena politička teritorija. Praveći rezime prethodnog evidentne su četiri blisko povezane karakteristike:

- ubrzani razvoj globalnog komercijalnog medijskog sistema koji sve više utiče na pravac i sadržaj nacionalnih medija u dobrom dijelu svijeta;
- globalnim medijskim sistemom vlada oko desetak transnacionalnih medijskih konglomerata, sa sjedištem u SAD-u;
- globalni medijski sistem predstavlja nužnu komponentu globalizacije tržišne ekonomije u cjelini;
- globalni medijski sistem ima strukturne nedostatke koje ograničavaju doprinos demokratiji;

Analizirajući djelovanje mnogih istorijskih, ekonomskih i političkih faktora koji su uticali na najvažnije odlike globalizacije medijskih sistema, u ovom procesu uočava se dominacija velikih država i moćnih transnacionalnih kompanija koje po efektu tržišnih zakonitosti djeluju i u sferi medijske industrije i medijskih sistema. Globalni mediji zasigurno već dugo čine neophodnu komponentu kapitalizma, oni su misionari korporativnog kapitalizma. Ovi procesi direktno utiču na opštu komercijalizaciju medija u svijetu i time sasvim sigurno na demokratiju i kao ideju i kao državni sistem. Glavno obilježje ove epohe je, definitivno, širenje globalnog

kapitalizma, globalnih komercijalnih medija i komunikacionog sistema, kao i razvoj revolucionarnih tehnologija. U jednom ovakvom sistemu postavlja se pitanje kakav je položaj pojedinca u njemu, da li ima realnu percepciju okoline, stvari oko sebe i svijeta kakav zaista jeste!? ili stvara ličnu percepciju toga svijeta – pseudo okolinu!? Razvoj elektronskih medija, digitalizacija, satelitski prenos informacija ukidaju naše ustaljene predstave o prostoru i vremenu, i mi ulazimo u svijet “sve je tu u istom trenu”, u svijet u kome je sve u rezonanci istovremeno. I zaista *“odnos čovjeka i kompjutera nije po svojoj prirodi mnogo različit od odnosa praistorijskog čovjeka i njegovog prvog čamca ili upravo pronađenog točka, ali jedina bitna razlika je to da je čovjekov odnos prema prethodnim tehnologijama bio parcijalan i povremen, dok je sa elektronikom totalan i veže čovjeka u svakom momentu i bilo gdje. Čovjeku se sada mozak izvlači iz lobanje a nervi iz kože. Nova tehnologija stvara novog čovjeka”* (Mekluan po Brigs, Berk 2006:410).

Današnji čovjek je prevaren, jer je američki kapitalizam ubijedio ljude širom planete da je američki način života to što oni žele, te da je američka superiornost prirodna i u interesu svih. Današnji čovjek slijepo vjeruje da globalizacija, u kojoj je toliki upliv medija, u principu zaista donosi mogućnost dostupnosti najrazličitijih kulturnih vrijednosti u bilo kom dijelu svijeta. Pod tim uticajima mi više ne možemo da živimo naše živote ‘lokalno’. Naše kulturno iskustvo prožeto je uticajima iz daljine – hrana koju jedemo, muzika koju slušamo, okolina, slike i događaji sa naših TV ekrana, mogućnost da govorimo telefonom s ljudima koji su na drugoj strani svijeta - sve to naš svakodnevni život čini nepojmljivo otvorenim za svijet. Nema više “moje zemlje”, “mog grada”, jer mi ono što živimo kao “svoj život” provodimo u “globalnom selu” u kome je u toku virtuelna homogenizacija - gdje se sve standardizuje, ujednačava i uniformiše. A vrlo je lako zaključiti da na kontinetu gdje je tako mnogo siromašnih masovna kultura kreće ka naglašavanju razlika. Jedan američki autor to svojim sunarodnicima pojašnjava pitanjima: *“Kada ste posljednji put vidjeli na televiziji program proizveden u Aziji, gledali film proizveden u Africi, ili čitali knjigu napisanu u Južnoj Americi? Pitajte nekog iz Azije, Afrike ili Južne Amerike kad je posljednji put vidio, slušao ili čitao proizvode iz SAD i dobićete potpuno drugačiji odgovor”* (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:307).

U ovom stanju i u ovoj fazi, proces globalizacije ne donosi ni demokratičnost, ni jednakost, već očito naglašavanje razlika. Budućnost je veoma nejasna i ostaje predmet, najviše, čovjekove kontrole. Ono što je do sada urađeno moglo bi da ima još veće konsekvence na ono što kasnije dolazi. Sistem bi mogao biti mnogo osjetljiviji i podložniji promjenama nego što trenutno izgleda. Sistem globalnog tržišta nije uveden u demokratsku utopiju i istorija nije okončana, već sasvim suprotno: ekonomska polarizacija, etnički sukobi i tržištem paralisana demokratija zadržavaju mogućnosti rapidnog i suštinskog preokreta, u svakom smislu. To treba mijenjati i to u pozitivnom pravcu: važno je da ljude nezadovoljne ovakvim stanjem ne savlada i ne obuzima istinska nemoć, u smislu beznadežnosti i cinizma. Kao što je Noam Čomski rekao: *„Ako se budeš ponašao koa da nema mogućnosti za promjenu, ti garantuješ da je neće ni biti“* (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:302).

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dr Sanja Domazet Daničić, docent¹

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Uticaj interneta i novih medija na krizu novinarske profesije

Apstrakt: U drugoj deceniji dvadesetog veka, teoretičari medija govore o industrijskoj revoluciji u medijima. Svedoci smo drastičnog porasta publike koja prati on-lajn medije, u odnosu na publiku koja prati štampano i elektronsko novinarstvo. U radu će biti odgovoreno na pitanja kako novi mediji menjaju novinarstvo, zašto je to novinarstvo opadajućeg kvaliteta i kako kvantitet ponuda informacija koje novi mediji neprekidno nude, utiče na pad kvaliteta interpretacije i analize istog. Takođe, u radu će biti reči i o tome kako elitni novinarski žanrovi nalaze sve manje mesta u tradicionalnim medijima koji, u trci sa novim medijima, očito još uvek ne nalaze odgovor na pitanje kako da reaguju na medije koji ruše geografske, socijalne, kulturne i tehnološke barijere, ali donose i krizu kvaliteta u novinarstvu. Jer ako novinarstvom u novim medijima može da se bavi širok krug pojedinaca bez kvalitetnog novinarskog obrazovanja i bez sposobnosti istinskog poniranja u suštinu, neminovno je da novi mediji donose u novinarstvo i novu krizu, čineći ga 'mekom' profesijom, otvorenom, transparentom, konvergentnom, ali, za sada, svakako ne kvalitetnijom.

Ključne reči: *novi mediji, kriza, višak informacija, manjak interpretacije, konvergentnost*

¹ E mail: sanjadom@eunet.rs

PhD Sanja Domazet Daničić, docent
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

The influence of the internet and new media to the crisis of the journalistic profession

Abstract: In the second decade of the twentieth century, media theorists speak of the industrial revolution in the media. We are witnessing a dramatic rise in audience that follows the on-line media, in relation to an audience that follows print and broadcast journalism. The paper will answer the question of how new media is changing journalism, why is the journalism declining in quality and how quantity of offered information to continually offered by the new media, affect the decline in quality of interpretation and analysis of the same. In addition, the paper will discuss how the elite journalistic genres find fewer places in the traditional media, which in a race with the new media, apparently still cannot find an answer to the question of how to respond to media that break down geographic, social, cultural and technological barriers, but also bring the quality crisis in journalism. Because if journalism in the new media can be engaged in a wide range of individuals without journalistic quality education and skills without diving deep into the true essence, it is inevitable that new media bring in journalism and a new crisis, making it a “soft” profession, open, transparent, convergent, but, for now, certainly not better quality.

Key words: *new media, crisis, the excess of information, lack of interpretation, convergence*

Internet, revolucija u svetskim okvirima

Živimo u kulturi koja je zasićena informacijama. Posredstvom onljajna i svih ostalih masovnih medija, svakodnevno primamo ogroman broj poruka. "Ove godine će, na primer, samo u SAD biti objavljeno 175.000 knjiga i svaka od njih se može naći u javnim bibliotekama ili kupiti u internet knjižarama po relativno niskoj ceni. Knjige su, pak, samo jedan od kanala informisanja. Radio stanice širom sveta emituju 65,5 miliona sati programa godišnje, a tome treba dodati i četrdeset osam miliona sati televizijskih programa. Povezivanjem na internet posredstvom ličnih kompjutera postaje nam dostupan veći broj informacija nego ikada do sada. Internet nam omogućava pristup na oko 3000 dnevnih listova. Globalna kompjuterska mreža omogućava pristup oko 2 milijarde dokumenata. To su materijali dostupni javnosti i poznati su kao *vidljiva* mreža. Postoji i takozvana *nevidljiva* mreža koja sadrži stranice dostupne članovima ili uz plaćanje, ili su pak privatne. Procenjuje se da je ta nevidljiva mreža četiri stotine do pet stotina pedeset puta veća od vidljive" (Poter, 2014:23).

Prirodno je što se nakon eksplozije interneta, ljudi sve više za dobijanje informacija oslanjaju na veb-sajtove, blogove i vesti s onljajna. U Americi, na primer, "sada više nego ikada pre, putem svetske mreže stižu se znanja o politici. Zato se predsednička kampanja iz 2008. godine značajno razlikovala od svih ostalih. Predsednički kandidati ne samo da su se reklamirali na televiziji i u štampanim medijima, već su morali da se fokusiraju i na reklamiranje na Internetu" (Tabs, 2013:639). Prema podacima Komskor ad Metriksa, kampanja BaracObama.com privukla je skoro četiri puta više posetilaca nego JohnMcKain.com. Čini se da su u oglašavanje na Internetu i posetioci veb-sajtova bili važan faktor u određivanju budućeg predsednika SAD.

Postavlja se još jedno pitanje? Da li su Čed Harli (Chad Hurley) i Stiv Čen (Steve Chen), osnivači internet stranice Jutjub (Youtube) postali moderne verzije Boba Vudvorda (Bob Woodward) i Čarlsa Bernstina (Charles Bernstein), novinara koje pamtimo po otkriću afere "Votergejt?" Prema novinarima na cnet.com, verovatno nisu, ali je njihov sajt brzo postao konkurent istraživačkim novinarima širom sveta. Sada, umesto da čitaju Njujork Tajms (The New York Times) ili da gledaju kanala Si-En-En (CNN), oni koji žele mogu njihove vesti direktno da preuzmu sa Jutjuba. Sada se tekstovi Njujork Tajmsa mogu čitati na svakog boljem android telefonu. "U starom svetu, tradicionalni mediji bili su čuvari kapije: činjenica je da je sada ta kapija srušena", kaže Dženeva Overholser, direktorka Škole novinarstva na Univerzitetu Južna Kalifornija. Danas, dakle, dobijamo nefiltrirane informacije direktno od izvora. Da li to doprinosi kvalitetu novinarstva? Na svetskom nivou, na ovo pitanje teško je dati precizan odgovor.

Duga tradicija postojanja izučavanja žurnalistike na univerzitetima u Americi (od tridesetih godina XX veka), savremena praksa u kojoj Pulicerovu nagradu za novinarstvo u SAD ne mogu dobiti novinari koji nemaju najviše obrazovanje, diktiraju da se Internetu pristupa na jedan drugi, nešto osmišljeniji način, nego što se čini u manje razvijenim zemljama. No, i ovde primećujemo obilje informacija koje

još uvek nisu selektovane, u čiju verodostojnost može da se posumnja, katkad i u kredibilitet. Naravno, odmah se stiče utisak da se po kvalitetu ne može onlajn novinarstvo izjednačiti sa klasičnim novinarstvom. Postavlja se pitanje šta je sa siromašnijim delovima sveta, kako vladavina onlajna, poplava informacija i neminovne promene u tradicionalnim medijima utiču na krizu novinarstva?

Novi medij u okvirima stare krize

Poslednja decenija može se smatrati decenijom u kojoj je i Srbija duboko uplovila u svetski trend globalne ekonomije, koji se odrazio na sve segmente srpskog društva u tranziciji, od tržišta, ekonomije, pokušaja socijalnih reformi, sve do kulture i medija. Zajedno sa privrednom globalizacijom, 'koja podrazumeva najtemeljniju reviziju svih političkih i ekonomskih sporazuma na planeti od vremena industrijske revolucije' (Mander, 2003:5) i čiji je talas na početku objašnjen od strane pobornika ovog poretka kao rešenje i univerzalni 'lek za sve planetarne bolesti' (Mander, 2003: 8), ispostavilo se da je globalizacija dala u svim segmentima svoje pojavnosti, potpuno suprotne rezultate. Svedoci smo da se obećana vizija nije ostvarila – rezultat globalizacije je 'sve veće rasulo društvenog poretka, siromaštvo, bezemljaštvo, beskućništvo, nasilje, otuđenost, i duboko u srcima ljudi, zabrinutost za budućnost' (Mander, 2003:12).

Logično, je da se sve ovo odrazilo i na medijsko polje Srbije, koje je upalo u duboku krizu. Uprkos pojavi novih medija, omasovljenja onlajn novinarstva i širenja uticaja socijalnih medija, zajedno sa materijalnom, u Srbiju je došla i duhovna beda, proces tabloidizacije, ozbiljno začet ratnih devedesetih godina prošlog veka se pojačao, a globalizacija je pomogla da se poljuljaju već znatno urušeni temelji novinarskog profesionalizma, objektivnosti i još više snize kriterijumi po kojima se određuje šta je medijska ličnost i šta je medijski događaj, odnosno šta zaista zavređuje da se nađe kao tema u svetu medija. „Kazino ekonomija“ rezultovala je „kazino medijima“.

Onlajn novinarstvo nije moglo značajno da pomogne u poboljšanju kvaliteta medijske ponude. Suprotno, njegova pojava čini se da je još više snizila standarde novinarske profesije. Internet je povećao brzinu kojom informacije do recipijentata stižu, njihovu dostupnost i transparentnost, ali je zato smanjio objektivnost, potpunost i istinitost, osnovne kriterijume za kvalitet medijske ponude. Društveno-ekonomski ćorsokak u koji nas je doveo slobodno tržište, izazvao je kaos i na medijskoj sceni, koja je postala tabloidna u visokom procentu. Novi mediji tu su tabloidizaciju, ili *tabloidiotizaciju* samo primili u svoje sadržaje, podržali i učvrstili. Isti, drastičan pad kvaliteta dogodio se kako u elektronskim, tako i u štampanim medijima.

Ovaj rad će pokazati kako je onlajn novinarstvo na srpskom medijskom prostoru, samo potvrdilo krizu novinarske profesije, pomoglo umnogome tabloidizaciji da stvori novo društvo u kome je „monokultura“ lako prerasla u odsustvo kulture, a novinarstvo u proizvodnju tabloidnih vesti i tabloidne svesti kako kod čitalaca, tako i kod slušalaca i gledalaca.

Da li novi mediji stvaraju novu vrstu novinarstva?

U trenutku kada se na 'naslovnoj strani Tajm magazina pojavio računar umesto ljudskog lica' (Todorović, 2002:30), bilo je jasno da je nova informatička revolucija počela i da je novi medij bio stvoren. No, u tom trenutku niko nije mogao da prepostavi šta će sve onlajn novinarstvo promeniti i kojom će se brzinom razviti. Prednosti ovog načina izveštavanja su očigledne: moguća je trenutna dopuna tekstova najnovijim informacijama, dakle, novinarstvo je steklo brzinu o kojoj je do Interneta moglo samo da se sanja.

Takođe, u literaturi je počeo da se upotrebljava termin „sasvim novo novinarstvo“ (Krejt, 2011:137), gde se ističe da su najbolji novinarski mediji upravo oni koji prvi saopštavaju najnoviju vest, a za otprilike sat vremena na raspolaganje stave i dodatne, iscrpne informacije. Krejt smatra da je glavna prednost onlajn medija nad štampom, radiom i televizijom upravo interaktivnost i da, pišući za onlajn, novinari imaju daleko širu platformu za izbor ideja o kojima će pisati, a to su: 'Internet forumi (prethodno se odnosilo na Usenet – širom sveta rasprostranjen sistem diskusije na Internetu, a sada govorimo o Gugl (Google) grupama pretraživačkog sajta Gugl, koje su starije od samog Veba i postoje još od vremena i kada se Internet zasnivao samo na tekstu), diskusione grupe i blogovi, pretraživačka mašina (sistem za pronalaženje informacija kao što su Gugl, Jahu(Yahoo), AltaVista (Alta Vista) i Likos (Lycos), i-mejl (e-mail) spiskovi, drugi novinarski sajtovi, početne stranice sa temama od posebnog interesovanja“ (2010:57).

Izvesno je da se stupanjem onlajna na novinarsku scenu promenila i priroda i suština novinarskog posla. Pol Bredšo (Paul Bradshaw) (Varagić, 2010:9), ističe da je u novinarstvu došlo do ključnih promena. Naime, on tvrdi da je sve veće učesće publike u stvaranju medijskog sadržaja, da čitaoci, slušaoci i gledaoci sada nisu puki konzumenti i korisnici, već aktivni saradnici, a sve češće i tvorci tekstova, amatera je u novinarstvu sve više i kako pojeftijuju mobilni telefoni kojima se može snimati i fotografisati, računari i kamkorederi, tako se i povećava broj blogova na netu i distribucija na Internetu, tako da sada čitaoci brzo mogu da uskoče u ulogu novinara. Nije više potrebno otići i kupiti novine ili pronaći odgovarajuću radio ili tv stanicu. Ne treba zaboraviti ni na mapiranje, odnosno mogućnost novinara da doctaju mapu kada priču daju na objavljivanje. BBC koristi vrlo sličnu tehnologiju ovoj, a prvi koji je ovaj način objavljivanja lansirao je „Telegraph“, sa prvom fazom svoje dinamičke političke mape.

Takođe, u novinama i dalje imamo problem sa čestim skrivanjem remitende. Na onlajnu je sve to daleko jednostavnije - najčitaniji tekstovi redovno su oni koji su najčešće komentarisani. Krejt izdvaja čak i nov način pisanja na Vebu, ističući da ovde mora biti pisano novim stilom i njezikom: 'Zamislite samo šta su ti novi novinari mogli da postignu sa videom i zvukom, sa hipertekstualnim linkovima i neograničenom količinom informacija, koja može da prođe kroz spoj na mreži. Ovo je novinarstvo koje koristi najbolje elemente romana, filma, radija, CD roma, komunikacija na mreži koja je u stanju da ispriča sve moguće priče“ (Krejt, 2010:139).

U svetu, devedesete godine dvadesetog veka zvale su se e-decenijom (e-text, e-learning, e-governance), a dve hiljadite mogu da se zovu o-decenijom (otvoreni arhivi, otvoreni standardi, otvoreni kod..) No, ispostavlja se da je transparentnost interneta krajnje dvostrukog karaktera. Iako se činilo da je potpuna sloboda stigla napokon u novinarsku profesiju uvođenjem transparentnosti, ispostavilo se da je ta sloboda krajnje prividna i sve afere, na čelu sa aferom 'Wikileaks' i 'Snouden' pokazale su da je transparentnost izvanredno poslužila i u kranje antidemokratske svrhe, potpuno suprotne slobodi javne reči i misli.

Ipak, ni u svetu, a ni kod nas, ne možemo reći da je stvoreno novo, veliko novinarsko ime, nailazimo i u onalajni i u klasičnim medijima na nedostatak istraživačkog novinarstva, na smanjenje zastupljenosti svih elitnih novinarskih žanrova (članka, kritike, komentara, kritike), a za razliku od tradicionalnih medija, na onlajnu recipijent još uvek ne može biti siguran u istinitost informacija koje mu se nude. Veoma često, osim na profesionalnim sajtovim, njihov izvor nije naveden, pa onlajn podseća na 'zgrtalicu' najrazličitih podataka, koji nisu ni razvrstani, a često ni potvrđeni. Ovde i porastu kvaliteta novinarstva ne može biti reči.

Kriza novinarske profesije i u doba onlajn novinarstva

Društveno-politički, ekonomski, kulturni, socijalni uslovi u kojima deluju svi mediji u Srbiji danas, mogu se okarakterisati kao izrazito nepovoljni u smislu promovisanja istinskih vrednosti. U društvima tranzicije, kakvo je naše, evidentan je nizak stepen svake, pa i medijske kulture, manifestovan kroz oštre konfrontacije pojedinaca i grupa na svim nivoima.

Tako je i onlajn novinarstvo najčešće posvećeno senzacionalističkim vestima, srpski Veb kao da ne poznaje analitičke žanrove, (koji su sve ređi i u štampanim medijima), pa je neverovatno, ali istinito da se na srpskim onlajn stranicama izuzetno retko mogu naći ozbiljne umetničke, arhitektonske, naučne kritike, članci, ili kvalitetni komentari ili kolumne, a daleko češće hibridne forme, po ugledu na fičere, koje služe da senzacionalističkim sadržajem privuku posetioce Veba.

Statistika kaže da je sedamdeset posto svih fotografija na Vebu cele planete - pornografskog karaktera. Samim tim, teško je očekivati da će se na mreži i u narednoj deceniji, ozbiljno, razviti *novi* novinarstvo.

U lošim ekonomskim uslovima kakvi su na Balkanu, tabloidni sadržaji i na Vebu bujaju, prodirući čak i u kvalitetne, netabloidne medije. Jezik kojim se novinari u svim medijima, pa i na Vebu, sada obraćaju čitaocima kombinacija je banalizovanog, standardnog jezika i uličnog žargona, u kome pežorativno zamenjuje duhovito, a manipulacija istinito i analitično (izuzetaka je malo, kako u štampanim, tako i u elektronskim medijima).

Srpski virtuelni novinarski svet veoma podseća na tradicionalne medije - iste su teme, tekstovi koji se nalaze na Vebu još uvek su najčešće preneseni iz drugih medija, ređe pisani specijalno za Veb, novinari koji rade u onlajn redakcijama su ve-

oma slabo plaćeni, tako da je prosek novinarske plate u Srbiji oko 350 evra.² Nizak nivo svih standarda, nemogućnost bržeg uključivanja u evropske i u svetske tokove, izolovanost od sveta, na medijskom prostoru ostavlja široko polje za manipulaciju i degradaciju sadržaja koje tretiraju.

Ukupnu društvenu situaciju u Srbiji u prvoj deceniji XXI veka karakteriše drastični pad životnog standarda, nezaposlenost, opšta depresija i proces raslojavanja na mali broj prebogatih i veliki broj izuzetno siromašnih. Siromašni nikada do Veb sadržaja neće ni stići, jer „nisu umreženi“, ne poseduju nijedan uređaj koji je povezan sa internetom. Iz mase osiromašenih i dezorijentisanih građana, izdvajaju se ‚prosečni čitaoci‘, potencijalni konzumenti tabloida. Frustracija zbog teškoća u preživljavanju zahteva brz komentar i brzo ‚razjašnjenje‘. Tabloidni sadržaji upravo to nude: jednostavna ‚rešenja‘ i lake izbore, najavljujući političke događaje i pripremajući javno mnjenje za najretrogradnije odluke političara i direktno učestvovanje u radikalizaciji društva. Opšti pad društvenog standarda, drastičan porast nezaposlenosti, štrajkovi, dramatične socijalne tenzije, izazivaju uznemirenost kod građana. Nezadovoljstvo čitalaca, slušalaca, gledalaca, stvarnošću, na momenat se ublažava posredstvom tabloidnog sadržaja, koji nudi, sa jedne strane laku, omamljujući zabavu, koja otupljuje i umrtvljuje, a sa druge utisak da tabloidi postoje upravo zbog ‚malih ljudi‘, čije interese ‚štite‘.

Jezik tabloida u svim medijima, pa i na onlajnu, posebna je tvorevina sačinjena od mešavine žargona i govora ulice. Obrazovni nivo članova redakcija je, najčešće, po sledećem obrascu: polovina svih redakcija, pa i onlajn redakcija, nema univerzitetske diplome, što se odražava na izbor tema i način njihove obrade. Stavovi autora, teror nad javnošću, neargumentovana kritika zamenjuju i na Vebu pokušaje istraživačkog novinarstva. Nije čudno što u novinarstvu i dalje ima mnogo kadra bez kvalitetne edukacije (privatni fakulteti novinarstva u Srbiji više podsećaju na kurseve, a kursevi ne daju temeljno znanje ni iz jedne oblasti, pa ni iz žurnalistike). Vlast se sa ovim prećutno slaže. Neobrazovani novinari su, po pravilu, bolji poslušnici, manje skloni istinskoj, argumentovanoj kritičnosti, skloniji senzacionalističkom, neargumentovanom, ‚psovačkom‘ novinarstvu. Relevantan informativni, kulturni, naučni ili umetnički koncept, zamenjuje se kombinacijom turbo, kič, šund, neofolk elemenata. Nekada je vladalo Šekspirovo „Biti ili ne biti“, u dvadesetom veku Fromovo „Imati ili biti“, a sada je na snazi „Prisustvovati ili biti, pojaviti se ili ne postojati“).

Uticaj konzumenata na sadržaj tekstova na vebu ipak je zanemarljiv. Jedina reakcija koju njihova uredništva očekuju od novinara je – tiraž. Širom sveta vlasnici medija od urednika zahtevaju samo jedno – da multipliciraju posećenost sajtovima. Tako se na sajtovima preko noći ponovo pojavljuju porno snimci Kim Kardašijan, zajedno sa vestima o zemljotresima i poplavama. Suštinsku prirodu Veba otkriva jedan podatak: prva vest koja je obišla svet, a koju je objavio Veb pre nego elektronski i štampani mediji bila je vest o aferi Monika Levinski. Takođe, na našim prostorima se Veb jedan jedini put ozbiljno bavio odlukama Nobelovog komiteta - onda kada

² Podsetimo da su tokom maja meseca 2014. državljani Švajcarske štrajkovali jer nisu pristali na minimalnu platu u iznosu od 3300 evra.

je pre pet godina puštena lažna vest da je nedavno preminuli književnik Dobrica Ćosić dobio Nobelovu nagradu za književnost. Zanimljivo je da je neko u ovo čak i poverovao.

Danas onlajn novinarstvo i dalje izbegava teme koje zahtevaju ozbiljnije novinarsko istraživanje. Takvim pristupom i inače nizak obrazovni nivo svojih čitalaca spuštaju za stepen niže. Publici sa poljuljanim ili neizgrađenim kriteriološkim stavovima, izuzetno je jednostavno ponuditi sadržaje nižeg standarda.

Sadržaj tabloida sačinjen je po sledećem obrascu: šokantna fotografija, bombastičan naslov (onaj koji zastrašuje ili je na ivici pornografskog), naduvavanje nevažnog do skandaloznog. Često se ne poštuju pravila pisanja elementarnih oblika novinarskog izražavanja. Nebitne događaje pretvaraju u važne, koriste podatke ne citirajući izvore. Na onlajnu se ovaj obrazac ponavlja: retko postoji kompletan naslovni blok, a informacija iz oblasti nauke istinska je retkost. Važan podatak u lиду je teksta, pa čitalac - konzument tekst dalje i ne mora da čita. Jer, veb još uvek kao i da nije predviđen za duže čitanje. Veb portali su, veoma često, nalik na slikovnice za odrasle koje se samo jednim klikom prelistavaju.

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dr Dragan Klarić¹ docent
Fakultet za menadžment u Herceg Novom (Crna Gora)

Finansiranje lokalnih javnih emitera u vremenu krize na primjeru Radio televizije Budva

Apstrakt: Kriza novinarstva na početku 21. vijeka može se locirati u različitim naučnim poljima. Danas možemo govoriti o krizi profesije u etičkom smislu, zatim o krizi i prelomnim momentima za novinarstvo u tehničkom smislu, međutim područje u kome se kriza jasno vidi i koje je direktno povezano sa ostalima je ekonomska situacija. Kako smo svjedoci činjenice da finansijska nezavisnost osigurava i nezavisnost u donošenju odluka i slobodu uređivanja možemo zaključiti da se danas sa problemom finansijske krize suočavaju brojni mediji u svijetu.

Kako bi ukazali na istovjetan problem koji je prisutan u crnogorskom medijskom sistemu u ovom radu ćemo se baviti analizom finansiranja lokalnih javnih emitera u Crnoj Gori i to na primjeru Radio-televizije Budva. Osnovna hipoteza od koje polazimo jeste da način finansiranja lokalnih javnih emitera u Crnoj Gori i sredstva koja oni prihoduju u toku godine direktno utiču na krizu profesije u tim medijima. Neprimjenjivanje Zakona o elektronskim medijima, od strane osnivača, loša finansijska situacija u pojedinim opštinama i nedovoljno izdvajanje sredstava za nesmetano funkcionisanje prouzrokuju probleme i stvaraju klimu u kojoj su novinari neadekvatno plaćeni, nemotivisani i neinovativni, u kojoj se proizvodnja sopstvene produkcije dovodi u pitanje i gdje se nelojalna konkurencija nameće na nedefinisano tržištu.

Ključne riječi: *lokalni javni emiteri, finansiranje, Radio televizija Budva, lokalne uprave*

¹ Izvršni direktor RTV Budva - Crna Gora, član Upravnog odbora Unije lokalnih javnih emitera Crne Gore
E-mail: dklaric@t-com.me

PhD Dragan Klarić, docent
Faculty of Management in Herceg Novi (Montenegro)

Financing of the local public broadcasters during the crisis on the case of Radio Television Budva

Abstract: The crisis of journalism at the beginning of the 21st century may be located in various scientific fields. Today we can talk about the crisis of the profession in an ethical sense, then the crisis and the crucial moments in journalism in the technical sense, but the area in which the crisis is clearly visible and which is directly connected with the rest is the economic situation. As we are witnessing the fact that financial independence provides the independence in decision-making and freedom of editing, we can conclude that today the problem of the financial crisis is facing many media in the world.

To point to the same problem which is present in the Montenegrin media system in this paper we deal with the analysis of financing of local public broadcasters in Montenegro in the example of Radio Television of Budva. The basic hypothesis of the paper is that a way of financing of local public broadcasters in Montenegro and their income for the year directly affects the crisis of the profession in these media. Failure to implement the Law on electronic media by the founders, poor financial situation in some municipalities and lack of funds for the normal functioning cause problems and create a climate in which journalists are not paid, unmotivated and non-innovative, where the production of its own products is in question and where the unfair competition is imposed in the undefined market.

Key words: *local public broadcasters, funding, Radio television Budva, local government*

Uvod

Od momenta kada su elektronski mediji, kao tehnološki fenomen, napustili okvir u kome su nastali, postali su moćno sredstvo u rukama najprije političkih, a zatim i komercijalnih struktura moći. Mediji, bez obzira da li je riječ o radiju ili televiziji, opstaju na istoj formuli. Ključna odrednica tog fenomena je masovna publika, koja je trasirala budućnost radio-difuzije u svim bitnim elementima. S druge strane, budućnost, koja je odavno počela, iz te okolnosti izrodila je veliki problem. Pojavilo se mnogo moćnije sredstvo kojim će se realizovati "vječni ciljevi" dvije grupacije koje su pomenute, a to je Internet. Igra nula i jedinica, digitalni formati i mobilne platforme, započele su nepovratne procese marginalizacije radio-difuzije, onakve kakvu smo je mi znali. Kada govorimo o stvarnom uticaju koji mediji imaju u kreiranju javnog mnjenja, možemo iznijeti tvrdnju, oko koje se slažu mnogi teoretičari, da je XX vijek upravo bio vijek medija, a XXI vijek, u kome živimo, bi mogao biti, šta drugo nego vijek – Interneta.

U procesu neprestanih tehnoloških inovacija i tehničkih promjena u nauci, svakako da ni oblast medija ne može da ostane izolovana. Brojni su razlozi za brigu i promišljanje o krizi novinarske profesije. Tako su novi mediji odavno uzdrмали tron tradicionalnih - štampe, radija i televizije i ukazali na neophodne intervencije u načinu rada i prezentacije sadržaja publici. Kako Andrijana Rabrenović zaključuje "Online mediji generalno su u prednosti nad ostalim medijima zbog mogućnosti koje su donijele upravo nove tehnologije, a ogledaju se prije svega u multimedijalnom izvještavanju" (Rabrenović, 2013:325). Međutim, tehnički aspekt koji je uticao da se radio i TV programi, htjeli ili ne, nađu na Vebu, samo je jedan od mogućih razloga nastanka problema sa kojima se suočava radio-difuzija danas.

Ekonomska situacija, kriza koja je uzdrmala cijeli svijet, svakako se odrazila i na medije. U trci za profitom najveće radio i TV kuće pronalaze različite načine kako bi opstale. Brojne medijske organizacije podliježu duhu vremena i u trci za informacijama gube trku sa kvalitetom. Sadržaji koji nas preplavljaju su tabloidnog karaktera, lake zabave i kopiranih rijaliti programa. U takvoj utakmici javni servisi na nacionalnom, ali i na regionalnom i lokalnom nivou su ili na klupi za rezervne igrače ili u timu koji gubi, jer u cilju javnog interesa nije moguće proizvoditi program koji će se prodavati širokim masama. Slično zapažanje iznosi i Rade Veljanovski. Naime, on tvrdi "...istraživanja javnog mnjenja i merenja slušanosti i gledanosti pokazuju da ima primera gde popularnost programa javnog servisa ne zauzima više prvo mesto na lestvici slušanosti ili gledanosti" (Veljanovski, 2005:266). Stoga posebno želimo da ukažemo na činjenicu da se svjetski trendovi na medijskoj sceni i te kako odražavaju na današnje stanje u crnogorskom medijskom sistemu.

Upravo zbog toga što se javni servisi nalaze u specifičnoj situaciji u medijskom sistemu u Croj Gori, a samim tim i u vremenu krize, nastojaćemo na primjeru jedne lokalne javne radio televizije da ukažemo na aktuelni problem. Osnovna hipoteza od koje polazimo jeste da način finansiranja lokalnih javnih emitera u Crnoj Gori i sredstva koja oni prihoduju u toku godine direktno utiču na krizu profesije u tim

medijima. Prije svega ćemo napraviti osvrt na trenutnu medijsku scenu u Crnoj Gori, a nakon toga ukazati na stanje i položaj lokalnih javnih emitera i predstaviti način finansiranja RTV Budva.

Medijska scena Crne Gore

Od uvođenja višepartizma, promjena u političkom sistemu Crne Gore i pojave prvih privatnih medija početkom '90-tih godina prošlog vijeka situacija se više puta mijenjala. Nastajali su i nestajali mnogi štampani i elektronski mediji širom Crne Gore. Kako nas podsjeća jedno od istraživanja "medijsko tržište 1990. godine sastojalo se od jedne dnevne novine, jednog državnog radija i uticajne državne televizije, kao i nekoliko radio stanica u posjedu lokalnih vlasti" (Bašić-Hrvatini, Petković, 2004:43). Od tada se u protekle 24 godine mnogo toga promijenilo.

Danas u Crnoj Gori izlazi šest dnevnih novina i to: "Pobjeda", "Vijesti", "Dan", "Dnevne novine", "Blic" i "Informer", nedeljnik "Monitor", petnaestodnevne novine "Magazin" i mjesečna izdanja, "Gracija", "Medikal", "Ljepota i zdravlje", zatim periodična izdanja: "Komuna", "Renome", "Montenegro family", kao i lokalne novine: "Kolašinske novosti", "Pljevaljske novine", "Mozaik BP", "Glas Berana", "Novske novine", "Mojkovačke novine", "Cetinjske novine", "Danilovgradske novine", "Tokovi Berana" i "Alav – romske novine"².

Istovremeno na crnogorskom medijskom prostoru u 2013. godini program emituju, čak 43 komercijalne radio stanice. Pretežan broj komercijalnih radio stanica formiran je u Podgorici i na crnogorskom primorju, tj. u sredinama koje su ekonomski snažnije od ostalog dijela Crne Gore. U 15 crnogorskih opština formirani su lokalni radio emiteri, dok u opštinama Budva, Pljevlja i Nikšić u sklopu javnih servisa egzistiraju i lokalne televizije.

Komercijalne radio stanice	34
Komercijalne TV stanice	10
Radio LJRDS	15
TV LJRDS	5*
Nacionalni JRDS	5
Radio stanice u kablu	2
TV stanice u kablu	7

Tabela br. 1. – Ukupan broj elektronskih medija u Crnoj Gori u 2013. god.³
*dvije u osnivanju

² Ružić, N. (2012): Crna Gora: Nacionalne manjine i mediji - Manjinski mediji u borbi za opstanak na crnogorskom tržištu, Podgorica

³ Agencija za elektronske medije Crne Gore, http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com_sobi2&Itemid=84, posjećeno 3. mart 2014. godine

U Crnoj Gori distribucijom programa, kroz kablovske sisteme putem neke od tri platforme bavi se osam distributera sa ukupno oko 800 kanala. Na taj način građani su u prilici da gledaju preko 250 različitih programa.

1.	BBM
2.	Cabling
3.	Crnogorski telekom – Extra TV
4.	Elta Mont
5.	M – kabl
6.	Medianet
7.	Total TV Monteenegro
8.	M:tel

Tabela br. 2. – Kablovski sistemi u Crnoj Gori u 2013. godini⁴

Osim toga kako zapaža Dragić Rabrenović “treba pomenuti da Crna Gora, kao geografski malo područje, sa već prezasićenim tržištem i više nego dovoljnim brojem radio i TV stanica ima poteškoće sa uticajima medija iz susjednih država koji se mogu gledati i slušati na kablovskim mrežama”.⁵ Treunutno građani Crne Gore mogu putem kablovskih operatera da gledaju skoro sve televizije koje u Srbiji, Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini imaju dozvolu za nacionalnu pokrivenost. Osim toga, pojedinačni televizijski programi se redovno emituju na privremeno kupljenim frekvencijama ili su dio programa crnogorskih televizijskih stanica. Treba dodati da se štampani mediji iz Srbije, većina dnevnih listova, redovno distribuiraju u Crnoj Gori. Dok sa druge strane to nije slučaj sa crnogorskim radio ili televizijskim stanicama, pa čak se ni crnogorski štampani mediji redovno ne distribuiraju na tržište Srbije.

Finansiranje lokalnih javnih emitera u vremenu krize

Na tržištu na kome novac caruje, mali sistemi, poput lokalnih javnih emitera nemaju šta da traže. Njihovi prihodi u odnosu na komercijalne emitere mogu se smatrati statističkom greškom. Međutim, značajan dio predstavnika medijske zajednice, pogotovo one koja se nalazi u direktnoj vezi sa komercijalnim emiterima, smatra da lokalni javni emiteri ne treba da postoje, ističući pri tome da se nijesu legitimisali svojim radom i da ne zaslužuju povjerenje javnog interesa i tako čine višak na medijskoj sceni. S druge strane u Zakonu o elektronskim medijima, koji

⁴ Agencija za elektronske medije Crne Gore, http://www.ardcg.org/index.php?option=com_sobi2&catid=9&Itemid=84, posjećeno 3. mart 2014. godine

⁵ Rabrenović, D. (2014). The role and importance of local public broadcasters in the media system of Montenegro, conference “Comparative Media Systems: Post-Transition”, Inter University Center, Dubrovnik, 7-11 April 2014.

je donesen u skladu sa najstrožijim evropskim propisima, priznaje se važnost i dodatno osnažuje pozicija lokalnih javnih emitera. Zakon o elektronskim medijima Crne Gore, koji je donijela Skupština Crne Gore jula 2010. godine, jasno definiše način osnivanja i finansiranja lokalnih javnih emitera. Jasno je precizirano pod kojim uslovima se može osnovati ovakav medij. "Odluku o osnivanju lokalnih javnih emitera donosi Skupština lokalne samouprave za njenu teritoriju. Skupština jedinice lokalne samouprave može osnovati samo jednog radijskog ili televizijskog lokalnog javnog emitera".⁶

U skladu sa pomenutim zakonom suština lokalnih javnih emitera je proizvodnja i emitovanje programa koji između ostalog afirmišu ostvarivanje prava manjinskih naroda, ostvarivanje ljudskih i političkih prava građana, očuvanje crnogorskog nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta, podsticanje kulturnog stvaralaštva, informisanje lica oštećenog sluha i vida. Ukoliko urednici i novinari u lokalnim javnim emiterima imaju u vidu ovu zakonsku obavezu jasno dolazimo do zaključka da ovakvi programi nijesu komercijalnog karaktera. Obavljanje funkcije javnog servisa na lokalnom nivou, osim što po definiciji predstavlja odgovoran posao, u vremenu krize je dodatno otežan.

Ekonomski problemi su uočljivi na najmanje dva nivoa. Prvi je nelojalna borba na tržištu sa komercijalnim medijima čiji programi su namijenjeni sticanju profita, kao i ne manje važan problem loša ekonomska situacija osnivača, to jest lokalnih uprava.

Naime, u skladu sa Zakonom o elektronskim medijima "javni emiteri stižu prihode iz dijela opštih prihoda budžeta Crne Gore, odnosno dijela opštih prihoda budžeta jedinice lokalne samouprave i drugih izvora u skladu sa zakonom i osnivačkim aktom".⁷ Međutim, finansiranje lokalnih javnih emitera je u mnogim lokalnim upravama veoma problematično. Iako zakonsko rješenje ide na ruku lokalnih emitera, u stvarnosti je situacija sasvim drugačija. Okolnosti u kojima se nalaze lokalne uprave su izuzetno loše i ne omogućavaju ispunjenje preuzetih obaveza prema lokalnom mediju.

Osim problema sa ekonomskom situacijom u pojedinim gradovima u Crnoj Gori, poseban problem je i nepoštovanje zakonske regulative od strane osnivača. Pojedini lokalni emiteri imaju više štete nego koristi od tog statusa pogotovu kada su u pitanju neodgovorne lokalne uprave koje ne izvršavaju svoje obaveze. Često se Unija lokalnih javnih emitera Crne Gore (ULES CG), kao krovna organizacija, tražeći podršku za zaštitu zakonske regulative za pomoć obraćala nadležnim institucijama među kojima su i Ministarstvo kulture, odnosno Direktorat za medije i Agencija za elektronske medije, ali i međunarodne organizacije i predsjednik Vlade Crne Gore. U jednom od saopštenja upućenih premijeru 2012. godine između ostalog se navodi: "Zajednički zaključak ULES-a, ali i evropskih eksperata iz oblasti medija koji su se nedavno mogli čuti, jeste da zakon nije dobro primjenjen. Stoga i sada zahtjevamo adekvatnu implementaciju ili eventualne promjene zakona koji bi prepoznali važ-

⁶ Zakon o elektronskim medijima Crne Gore, "Sl. list 46/10" čl. 75.

⁷ Isto. čl.76

*nost postojanja lokalnih javnih emitera. Najvažnija pitanja koja želimo da riješimo u skladu sa zakonom su stabilno finansiranje...*⁸ Uprkos zalaganjima lokalnih javnih emitera da se problem finansiranja, odnosno poštovanja zakonskih normi riješi, situacija je i danas ista. U prilog govore i slična saopštenja i zahtjevi koje je ULES CG upućivao predsjednicima Opštine i predsjednicima Skupštine Opštine godinu dana kasnije, odnosno krajem 2013. godine. Uprkos činjenici gdje se izričito navodi da: "Neadekvatno primjenjivanje zakonske regulative ostavlja prostor za različite vrste pritiska na medije, što svakako ne ide u prilog pristupanju Crne Gore Evropskoj uniji i pregovorima koji se odnose na medije"⁹ opet nije bilo reakcije nadležnih.

Umjesto ispunjavanja preuzetih ugovorenih obaveza, koje proizilaze iz pomenutog Zakona o elektronskim medijima, pojedini osnivači ponašaju se krajnje neodgovorno u ispunjavanju svojih ugovorenih obaveza pa paušalno izdvajaju finansijska sredstva iz opštinskih budžeta, koja su najčešće nedovoljna za održivost sistema. Pri čemu se u pojedinim gradovima biraju različiti kriterijumi za visinu godišnjeg izdvajanja za javne emitere, u većini se i određena sredstva uplaćuju sa zakašnjenjem od nekoliko mjeseci, dok se u pojedinim opštinama iz budžetskih sredstava predviđenih za finansiranje lokalnih javnih emitera finansiraju određeni programi komercijalnih emitera.

Osim toga, osnivači, i pored preuzetih obaveza, sa lokalnim emiterima ne potpisuju Ugovore o finansiranju posebnih programskih sadržaja, što se neminovno odražava na kvalitet i koncipiranje programa. Uprkos zakonskoj normi koja to izričito propisuje u članu 76.¹⁰ Poseban problem, i pored trojno potpisanog ugovora od strane osnivača, lokalnih javnih emitera i Radio-difuznog centra (RDC), predstavlja nepoštovanje, odnosno ne izmirivanje obaveze prema RDC-u, pa lokalni emiteri često dolaze u situaciju da im se isključuju predajnici.

Finansiranje na primjeru RTV Budva

Uprkos činjenici da lokalni javni emiteri zajedno nastoje da prevaziđu aktuelne probleme sa kojima su svi suočeni u svojim opštinama oni se opet moraju izboriti samostalno za poziciju koja im priprada. Tako je situacija često različita u pojedinim gradovima, pri čemu je obično stanje emitera na jugu države neuporedivo bolje nego kod kolega na sjeveru. Ipak, upravo iz razloga ukazivanja na jedinstven problem - finansiranje lokalnih javnih emitera, kao primjer krize novinarstva u Crnoj Gori, za analizu uzimamo jednu od medijskih kuća čije je sjedište u turistički razvijenoj Budvi, kako bi ukazali na stanje u kome se nalaze svi emiteri.

Budžetom Skupštine opštine Budva za 2013. godinu za programske sadržaje, koji su značajni za: ostvarivanje prava manjinskih naroda, ostvarivanje ljudskih

⁸ Unija lokalnih javnih emitera Crne Gore, Zahtjev za pomoć u rješavanju problema lokalnih javnih emitera, 18.12.2012. godine.

⁹ Unija lokalnih javnih emitera Crne Gore, Zahtjev za poštovanje Zakona o elektronskim medijima, 19.11.2013. godine.

¹⁰ Zakon o elektronskim medijima, "Sl. list CG" 46/10, čl. 76, stav 4.

i političkih prava građana, razvoj kulture, nauke, obrazovanja i umjetnosti, zatim očuvanje crnogorskog nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta, podsticanje kulturnog stvaralaštva, informisanje lica oštećenog sluha i vida opredijeljeno je 620.000 evra. Ovaj iznos bio je dovoljan da podmiri svega 67,03% potreba RTV Budva u 2013. godini. Međutim, zbog finansijske krize u kojoj se nalazi Opština Budva od predviđenih sredstava na žiro račun RTV Budva uplaćeno je svega 437.000 eura.¹¹ Neispunjavanje ugovorenih obaveza od strane Osnivača neminovno se odrazilo na kvalitet programa, pogotovo sopstvene produkcije, stanje studijske i emisione tehnike, ali i na motivaciju i standard zaposlenih radnika.

Iako je suština lokalnih javnih emitera proizvodnja i emitovanje programa koji su namjenjeni informisanju i edukaciji javnosti, a ne borba za sticanje finansijske dobiti, lokalni emiter nedostajuća sredstva za nesmetano funkcionisanje, ipak mora potražiti na tržištu. Koliko je situacija različita u pojedinim gradovima već smo istakli, međutim, ostvarivanje prihoda u vremenu ekonomske krize nije jednostavno za bilo koji medij. Poznato je da prihod od markentinških usluga različito učestvuje u strukturi ukupnih prihoda državnih radija i televizija i javnih servisa u evropskim državama. Milić nas na primjer podsjeća da "u Francuskoj učešće marketinga dostiže do 30% svih prihoda televizije, u Engleskoj (BBC) od 10 do 15%, kakav je slučaj i sa njemačkim ZDF-om. Za razliku od većine evropskih država u Japanu nije moguće ubirati sredstva od marketinga, jer je to zabranjeno, da ne bi državna televizija mogla da ostvaruje profit" (2006:87). S obzirom da u Crnoj Gori javnim emiterima zakon dopušta da sredstva obezbjeđuje i iz drugih izvora, osim iz budžeta osnivača, mediji su prepušteni tržištu i procjeni oglašivača. Kako Kotler napominje "Oglašivači prilikom izbora medija koji će prenijeti njegovu poruku posebno vode računa: 1) o dometu, učestalosti i uticaju; 2) izboru unutar vrsta medija; 3) izboru prenosnika medija; 4) o vremenskom tempiranju rada medija (2007:772). Međutim, s obzirom na konkurenciju, često nelojalnu, koja vlada na crnogorskom medijskom tržištu, šanse Radio-televizije Budva da bude potencijalni izbor oglašivača realno nijesu prevelike i to iz više subjektivnih, ali i objektivnih razloga.

Naime, vodeće radio i televizijske stanice iz regiona, ali i domaće televizije sa nacionalnom pokrivenošću i emitovanjem programa putem kablovskih i satelitskih operatera, neuporedivo su markentiški interesantniji potencijalnim klijentima od RTV Budva, čiji se radijski program sluša jedino na teritoriji crnogorskog primorja, a televizijski na teritoriji Crne Gore i to preko dva kablovska operatera "Cablinga" i Crnogorskog telekoma – Extra TV.

Veliki oglašivački sistemi, iz njima znanih razloga koje najčešće nemaju utemeljenje u osnovnim principima markentiške nauke, generalno zaobilaze lokalne medije. Regionalno posmatrano, po tom pitanju, donekle bolje stoje mediji na crnogorskom primorju, ali i kod njih je primjetan sezonski karakter te ponude. S druge strane cijene markentiških usluga na RTV Budva su neuporedivo niže u odnosu na konkurentske komercijalne medije.

¹¹ Završni račun za 2013. godinu, Glavna knjiga Radio Televizije Budva.

U 2013. godini, kao što je to prikazano u tabeli 3. prihodi od marketinških usluga RTV Budva u ukupnim troškovima iznosili su 18,69%, što se uklapa u prosjek državnih radio i televizijskih medijskih institucija iz regiona, koji se kreću u razmaku od 15 do 20%.

MJESEC	UKUPNO PRILIVI	Prilivi iz budžeta	%	Prilivi od prodaje usluga	%
JANUAR	6,421.81	0.00	0.00	6,421.81	100.00 ¹
FEBRUAR	61,403.43	57,000.00	92.83	4,403.43	7.17
MART	4,816.12	0.00	0.00	4,816.12	100.00 ²
APRIL	85,684.44	80,000.00	93.37	5,684.44	6.63
MAJ	57,131.13	50,000.00	87.52	7,131.13	12.48
JUN	59,444.79	50,000.00	84.11	9,444.79	15.89
JUL	23,494.79	9,694.34	41.26	13,800.45	58.74
AVGUST	114,326.45	100,000.00	87.47	14,326.45	12.53
SEPTEMBAR	67,614.46	50,000.00	73.95	17,614.46	26.05
OKTOBAR	65,440.71	50,000.00	76.41	15,440.71	23.59
NOVEMBAR	95,551.14	85,000.00	88.96	10,551.14	11.04
DECEMBAR	43,327.77	25,000.00	57.70	18,327.77	42.30
UKUPNO:	684,657.04	556,694.34	81.31	127,962.70	18.69

Tabela br. 3. Odnos ukupnih priliva i priliva od prodaje usluga u RTV Budva u 2013. godini. Izvor: Godišnji izvještaj službe marketinga RTV Budva

Iz tabele br. 3. jasno se vidi da su prilivi iz budžeta bili neredovni i da su se kretali u rasponu od 0,00 do 100.000, 00 evra. Pri tom treba istaći da je za podmirivanje bruto ličnih dohodaka stalno zaposlenih radnika, honorarnih saradnika i članova Savjeta trebalo obezbijediti 56.500,00 evra. Zahvaljujući prilivu od prodaje marketinških usluga u januaru, martu, julu i decembru mjesecu obezbjeđivala su se neophodna finansijska sredstva za potmirivanje osnovnih materijalnih troškova i na taj način se stvarali uslovi za nesmetano emitovanje programa.

Vidljivo je, kada je u pitanju priliv od prodaje usluga, da se baš kao i u turizmu, RTV Budva suočava sa sezonskim karakterom privređivanja.

U narednim tabelama (Tabela br. 4) analizirani su ostvareni prihodi prema vrstama pruženih marketinških usluga.

<i>Januar 2013</i>						
***	RADIO	%	TELEVIZIJA	%	UKUPNO	%
SPOTOVI	31	28.97	0	0	31	28.97
ČESTITKE	68	63.55	0	0	68	63.55
OGLASI	6	5.61	0	0	6	5.61
SPONZORI	2	1.87	0	0	2	1.87
UKUPNO	107	100	0	0	107	100
<i>Jul 2013.</i>						
***	RADIO	%	TELEVIZIJA	%	UKUPNO	%
SPOTOVI	65	75.58	23	74.19	88	75.21
ČESTITKE	7	8.14	0	0.00	7	5.98
OGLASI	10	11.63	3	9.68	13	11.11
SPONZORI	4	4.65	5	16.13	9	7.69
UKUPNO	86	100	31	100	117	100
<i>Decembar 2013.</i>						
***	RADIO	%	TELEVIZIJA	%	UKUPNO	%
SPOTOVI	50	42.02	30	40.54	80	41.45
ČESTITKE	60	50.42	32	43.24	92	47.67
OGLASI	7	5.88	4	5.41	11	5.70
SPONZORI	2	1.68	8	10.81	10	5.18
UKUPNO	119	100	74	100	193	100

Tabela br. 4. – Struktura ostvarenih prihoda RTV Budva u 2013. god.¹²

Iz tabele br. 4. jasno se vidi da je za markentiške usluge Radio Budve, ppostojalo neuporedivo veće interesovanje u odnosu na Televiziju Budva. Razloge za to treba tražiti u činjenici da je Radio Budva prihvaćeniji na lokalnom nivou od Televizije Budva, da ima niske troškove emitovanja propagandnih poruka, kao i da ima visoku geografsku i demografsku selektivnost. Na drugoj strani na Crnogorskom primorju, baš kao i u Crnoj Gori, postoji visoka zasićenost televizijskim programima, a i troškovi emitovanja i izrade propagandnih poruka (spotova) su neuporedivo veći u odnosu na radio.

Iz priloženih tabela jasno se vidi da je RTV Budva, u nastojanju da obezbijedi finansijska sredstva koja su neophodna za poboljšanje sopstvene produkcije u decembru emitovala 193 različite ekonomske poruke. Pod pretpostavkom da jedna ekonomska poruka traje prosječno oko 15 sekundi doćićemo do podatka da je za

¹² Izvor: Godišnji izvještaj službe marketinga RTV Budva

emitovanje spotova, oglasa, sponzorstava i čestitki jednom dnevno potrebno više od 48 minuta. Ako se tome doda činjenica da se prema unaprijed potpisanim ugovorima pomenute ekonomske poruke emituju pet do sedam puta dnevno, doći ćemo do podatka da je samo za emitovanje ekonomskih poruka Radio televizija Budva morala opredijeliti između 240 i 330 minuta programa, pa nije teško doći do zaključka da se sve to umnogome odrazilo na kvalitet programskih sadržaja. Postojala je realna opasnost da se u decembru mjesecu RTV Budva, pogotovo Radio Budva, pretvori, u što ne pristoji lokalnim javnim emiterima, u jednu vrstu razglasne stanice.

Zaključak

Ukoliko država želi da afirmiše slobodu medija, a to je jedno od poglavlja u procesu evropskih integracija Crne Gore, neophodno je rješavati gorući problem lokalnih emitera, a to je održivo finansiranje, koje će redakcijama lokalnih medija omogućiti nesmetan rad u cilju razvoja slobodnog i nezavisnog novinarstva u Crnoj Gori.

Upkos činjenici da je Zakon o elektronskim medijima usklađen sa evropskim standardima iz ove oblasti njegova loša implementacija utiče na finansiranje, a samim tim i na funkcionisanje lokalnih javnih emitera u Crnoj Gori. Stoga dolazimo do zaključka da je zapravo kroz neispunjavanje preuzetih obaveza i uskraćivanje finansijskih sredstava lokalnim javnim emiterima lokalne uprave kao da žele da neposredno utiču na uređivačku koncepciju ovih emitera. To je upravo ono što je zakonodavac, odnosno stručna javnost u Crnoj Gori i eksperti koji su učestvovali u donošenju aktuelnog zakona nastojali da izbjegnu. Danas dolazimo do situacije kada su zbog neriješenog sistema finansiranja mnogi lokalni javni emiteri, a među njima svakako prednjači Radio-televizija Budva, primorani da nedostatak finansijskih sredstava potraže na markentiškom tržištu. Jer kako smo naveli u radu bez redovnih budžetskih sredstava i minimalnih prihoda od markentiških usluga poslovanje mnogih lokalnih emitera u Crnoj Gori umnogome je otežano, što se svakako odražava i na programske sadržaje. sama ta ekonomska kriza prouzrokuje krizu profesije koja se očitava ili će se kasnije očitati na podbacivanju u zacrtanim standardima. Novinari će biti uskraćeni za realan lični dohodak, građani za brzu, tačnu i provjerenu informaciju. Mediji će posustajati u trci za oglašivačima, dok će građani posustajati u težnji da dođu do objektivnih i istinitih informacija. Ukoliko se tržište bude pitalo o opsanju medija u Crnoj Gori, a svjedoci smo da se oni prepuštaju tržištu, onda će i vlasnička struktura medija, ili bar uređivački odbori naličiti bordu direktora kompanije koja prodaje bilo koji proizvod pa tako i informaciju. Građani će kupovati informacije od nekoliko najjačih privatnih kompanija koje će kroz oprobano formulu "hljeba i igara", današnjih rijaliti šou programa, prodavati svoje proizvode, usluge i ideologije. O nezavisnosti i pluralizmu medija moći će da se govori jedino u smislu podjele na "tabloidne" ili "polutabloidne" medije.

Kako smo pokušali u radu da istaknemo u bespoštednoj konkurenciji, lokalni javni emiteri postali su nezamjenjivi faktor objektivnog informisanja u Crnoj Gori,

pa je zbog toga neophodno uložiti dodatne napore da se pozicija tih emitera osnaži, kako bi funkcija javnih servisa bila još prepoznatljivija. Stoga način finansiranja treba u što kraćem vremenskom roku definisati zakonskim normama koje će se adekvatno primjenjivati i pri tome omogućiti građanima da kontrolišu medije još više, kako bi mediji mogli da budu kontrolori javne sfere.

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PhD Martín Oller Alonso,¹ professor
National Institute of Advanced Studies (IAEN), Quito (Republic of Ecuador)

PhD Rosa Berganza Conde,² full professor
Faculty of Communication, University King Juan Carlos, Madrid (Spain)

Journalistic roles, objectivity, the perception of influences and autonomy within Journalistic Culture in Spain

Abstract: Based on data collected from 100 interviews with journalists in Spain carried out within the project *Worlds of Journalism (WoJ)*, this article analyzes the Spanish journalistic culture. We based our analysis on the idea of objectivity, professional roles and influences received by journalists in their work. Our goal is to determine if some traditional values such as neutrality and objectivity, as well as perceptions of a journalist's professional role, are common in Spain and in Western journalism. One of the conclusions of this study is that the overall trends and related global influences on journalism are found equally in Spanish journalistic culture. With regards to *interventionism*, Spanish journalists maintain a relatively active role, showing a certain market orientation. Moreover, Spanish journalists show little support for objective journalism; there is greater acceptance of the interpretative value of information. Finally, the results highlight that Spanish journalists in their day-to-day work perceive the influences of internal factors closest and most intensively to them. Our analysis of the professional, organization and procedures elements of the Spanish journalistic culture showed greater interference in the routine professional.

Keywords: *Worlds of Journalism Study, Spanish journalistic culture, professional roles, objectivity, influences in journalism*

¹ Proyecto Prometeo (SENESCYT), Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales (IAEN) Quito, Ecuador, E-mail: martin.olleralonso@gmail.es

² Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Madrid, Spain, E-mail: rosa.berganza@urjc.es

dr Martín Oller Alonso, profesor
Nacionalni institut za napredne studije (IAEN), Kito (Republika Ekvador)

dr Rosa Berganza Conde, redovni profesor
Fakultet za komunikacije, Univerzitet Kralj Huan Karlos, Madrid (Španija)

Uloge novinara, objektivnost, percepcija uticaja i autonomija u okviru novinarske kulture u Španiji

Sažetak: Na temelju podataka prikupljenih u 100 intervjua sa novinarima u Španiji izvršenim u okviru projekta *Svjetozi novinarstva (WoJ)*, ovaj članak analizira špansku novinarsku kulturu. Mi smo na zasnovali analizu na pojam objektivnosti, profesionalne uloge i uticaja dobijenih od novinara tokom njihovog radu. Naš cilj je da se utvrdi da li su neke tradicionalne vrijednosti kao što su neutralnost i objektivnost, kao i percepcije profesionalne uloge novinara, uobičajene u Španiji i u zapadnom novinarstvu. Jedan od zaključaka ove studije je da se ukupna kretanja i srodni uticaji na globalnom nivou jednako nalaze u španskoj novinarskoj kulturi.

Što se tiče *intervencionizma*, španski novinari održavaju relativno aktivnu ulogu, pokazujući određenu tržišnu orijentaciju. Štaviše, španski novinari pokazuju malo podrške za objektivno novinarstvo; postoji veće prihvatanje tumačkih vrijednosti informacija. Konačno, rezultati naglašavaju da španski novinari u svom dnevnom radu doživljavaju uticaj unutrašnjih činilaca i najjačih i najbližih njima. Naša analiza novinarskih elemenata profesionalne, organizaciju i procedure španske kulture Pokazao Velike smetnje u profesionalne rutine.

Naša analiza profesionalnih, organizacionih organizacije i proceduralnih elemenata španske novinarske kulture pokazala je veće smetnje u profesionalnoj rutini novinara.

Ključne riječi: *Studija svjetova novinarstva, španska novinarska kultura, profesionalne uloge, objektivnost, uticaji u novinarstvu*

Introduction

This work forms part of the *Worlds of Journalism Study* (WJS). The first phase, called *Worlds of Journalism* (WoJ), was conducted between 2007 and 2011. In this phase, a total of 2100 interviews with journalists from 400 news organizations (radio, television, newspapers, media agencies, etc.) were carried out in 21 countries. For our analysis about the Spanish journalistic culture, we have conducted 100 interviews with journalists in Spain. The questions on which we base this analysis are summarized in the following points: 1) the perception of their professional roles, 2) the idea of objectivity and, 3) the influences and contextual factors that they perceive.

The idea of the role exercised by the journalist's professional role within the journalistic culture directly influences the actions of these, and consequently in the production of news (Weischenberg, 1995:447). Weischenberg, Löffelholz and Scholl (1994:160) defined this concept as "the understanding and journalists' perceptions about their roles in the reporting process". They explain how journalists have a self-professional image, which doesn't need to be identical to the role exercised in the process of information transmission.

The idea of objectivity is still very much present within journalism today, both from a philosophical point of view (ethical convictions) and from a working method (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991:75). Objectivity, despite having detractors and people who deny its existence, is for many professionals a key issue in the media structure when it comes to raising the quality of journalism.

For the contextual analysis we refer to Hallin and Mancini's (2004) work *Comparing media system. Three models of media and politics*. These authors conducted a general analysis of media systems within a set of countries. They structured the countries into three groups of which we have selected two: *Mediterranean or polarized pluralist model* and the *Northern European or Democratic model corporatist*. The purpose of this selection is to perform the second part of our empirical study based on the analysis of the features that characterize Southern European journalism by using Spain as an example as well as Central European journalism using the example of Switzerland. In both cases we regarded the understanding of the professional roles of journalists.

In this article we develop empirical fieldwork using some features that characterize Spanish journalistic culture in which journalists are immersed and develop their work. The aim of this article is to determine to what extent traditional values, such as neutrality and objectivity, as well as perceptions of their professional roles within the common-Western journalism, apply in Spain.

Journalistic culture

The researchers of this project (WJS) intend to analyse and define the journalistic cultures of different countries around the globe. We understand journalis-

tic culture as a specific cognition of journalists about journalism. Within this, they evaluate their cultural ideas and orders, through which they create their reality, thus shaping their professional actions within the collective knowledge (Hanitzsch, 2007: 373). Given that journalists' professional work is rooted in a culture and in common ways and attitudes which, in turn, is included in a set of guidelines and general cultural practices.

The *identity* of journalists has been at the centre of research on journalistic culture and, for this reason, the links between the journalist, journalistic culture and cultural context must be studied. As stated Esser (2004: 155), different cultures cannot be understood as communities of homogeneous values. Rather they are hybrids that involve national traditional elements linked to other international elements, interacting with each other dynamically.

The analysis dimensions of journalistic culture

As Hanitzsch purports (2007:369), it is possible to establish a set of ideas and practices through which journalists consciously, or unconsciously, legitimize their role in society, giving meaning to their work. Then, Hanitzsch (2007) affirms that the theoretical construction of a journalistic culture is extremely complex. Therefore, analysis includes the creation of seven dimensions of analysis that is grouped into three categories: *institutional roles*, *epistemology* and *ethics ideology*.

Firstly, *institutional roles* relate to the specific functions of a journalist in society. This can be considered as the perceptions that journalists have of their professional roles, their functions within the communication process and the role that the media occupies in society. In this category we distinguish three dimensions:

1) *Interventionism*, which describes the role that value judgments of journalists play within their daily word. We can distinguish *passive* and *interventional* journalists. In the interventionist extreme, journalists act as advocates and are involved on an emotional level. At the other extreme, the passive end, are the journalists who keep a distance from their information, they are committed to objectivity and impartiality.

2) *Power distance*, refers to the positioning of journalists with respect to the centres of power. They can assume the role of *adversary* when they oppose the established power, acting as *anti-power* or *fourth power*. Conversely, they can be positioned next to the established authority acting as a *loyal* journalist.

3) *Market orientation*, is present in the culture of journalism when the journalist remains under the logic of the market, abandoning the idea of public interest that the media information might have. Thus, this concept distinguishes between journalists who see their audience as *consumers* or *citizens*.

The second category, concerning *epistemology*, focuses on the analysis of *objectivity* and *empiricism*. Proposing the (im)possibility of representing *reality* as it is through the media and the concept of *truth* as probable or possible value. Trying to achieve these absolute principles, journalists use information based on acceptance,

or otherwise, on absolute objectivity and the ability to separate fact from comments or personal values. They base the concept of objectivity as an ideal on the accuracy of the information and the actual reference to the reality represented (Hackett, 2008). We found at this point two opposing positions that debate if *truth* and *reality* can be represented objectively. Regarding *empiricism*, analysis of the media is based on techniques that journalists use to try to get to the *truth*. So there are two poles represented. At one extreme are journalists who show the reality based on tests, observations, measurements and experiences. At the other extreme are those who resort to the analysis, the values and ideas and personal opinions.

In the third category (which will not be analysed in this article)³ the authors refer to *ethical ideologies* and examines how journalists respond to ethical dilemmas. This section presents four perspectives: 1) the *standard professional approach*, when journalists are committed to universal ethical codes and editorial guidelines; 2) the *liberal professional approach*, which is based on pre-established critical perspectives through exposing a series of arguments; 3) the *cynical approach*, which appears when journalists do not give importance to ethical dilemmas; and 4) *ethical relativists*, journalists who promote *ad hoc*⁴ responses to ethical dilemmas.

Factors of influence

It is assumed that the context influences different journalistic cultures and this has been analysed at various levels. For this reason, the object of analysis in this study are the influences that journalists perceive in their daily work. In fact, the autonomy of the journalist is considered crucial for them to do their job⁵. This study uses theories as perceived by Weischenberg (1992) with his "onion-model"; Esser (1998), with his "multi-level model"; Shoemaker and Reese (1991) which articulated the factors of influence on media content, on five levels; and Hanitzsch (2009:156-157), who speaks about four general levels: supra-level, macro-level, intermediate-level and the micro-level.

The authors propose a number of factors as indicators of the impact of external forces on the personal freedoms of journalists on an intercultural level. More specifically, we discuss six areas of influence proposed by Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011:406-7): 1) political influence (government, politicians, censorship, etc.); 2) economic influences (expectations of profit, market research, public, etc.); 3) influence of the organization (editorial decisions of journalistic routines, the influences of the owners of the media, supervisors or chief editors, etc.); 4) influences of the procedure (common constraints such as lack of resources, space, rules, standards or routines); 5) professional influences (media beliefs, laws, guidelines, editorials, etc.); and 6) influences from peer groups (the other fellow media, competition

³ Paper "The ethical values of journalists in Spain" presented on April 3-4 at II International Conference on Media Ethics (School of Communication, University of Seville).

⁴ A solution developed specifically for order problem or need.

⁵ (Kunelius, 2007; McDevitt, 2003; McQuail, 1992, Singer, 2007; Hanitzsch and Mellado, 2011:407)

among media organizations, audiences, friends, family, etc..).

In this phase of the analysis, it is important to note that it is unusual to find the extreme poles of the concepts mentioned above in actual journalistic practice. So these simple concepts serve as guidance aimed at understanding the perception of journalists in current society.

Besides sharing the conceptual framework, this work has also taken the methodology of WoJ, assuming that research conducted in Spanish journalistic culture will allow us a subsequent comparative study and, thus, expand the range of issues and results. As we operate from various methodological perspectives, the study intends to ascertain the similarities and differences between different journalistic cultures (Mills et al., 2006: 620). Thus, it is seen from the data obtained and the conclusions reached, that it is possible to carry out future research to compare other journalistic cultures in order to reach a greater contextualization of the conclusions of this study.

Result

In this section, the results of quantitative research obtained in Spain for the project *Worlds of Journalism* (WoJ) can be seen. The results were based on the idea of the professional role of journalists, the concept of objectivity and the influencing factors in the journalistic culture of Spain.

Professional roles

With regard to the function and role of journalism in society, the findings show that journalists from Spain have the ideals of separation of information and opinion present within their daily work. Further, they act as watchdogs of the government by providing citizens with political information. The following table shows the descriptive parameters relating to the field of institutional roles and functions:

TABLE 1: Journalism culture in Spain: professional roles.

		N	Spain %
Provide citizens with political information	M SD	100	71.0 4.05 1.13
Be absolutely detached observer	M SD	100	82.0 4.32 1.01
Act as watchdog of government	M SD	100	58.0 3.71 1.16
Provide interesting information	M SD	100	74.0 4.08 1.01
Motivate people to participate in civic activity	M SD	100	60.6 3.60 1.12
Act as watchdog of business elites	M SD	100	44.0 3.21 1.27
Advocate for social change	M SD	100	43.9 3.16 1.21
Concentrate on news that attract the widest audience	M SD	100	30.0 3.12 1.06
Influence public opinion	M SD	100	29.6 2.77 1.23
Set the political agenda	M SD	100	18.0 2.28 1.15
Support official policies to bring about prosperity	M SD	100	29.3 2.77 1.23
Convey positive image of political and business leadership	M SD	100	6.0 1.69 1.00

SOURCE: Dates compiled from the results of *WoJ*.

Centred mean scores: values indicate the importance of the item in relation to the Spain mean all items belonging to the same domain of journalism culture (institutional roles). Original scores ranges between 5=“extremely important”/“strongly agree” and 1=“not important at all”/“strongly disagree”. Are represented the number of the sample, mean, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

M: mean

N: number of the sample

SD: standard deviation

\bar{x} : Arithmetic mean

The priorities most valued by journalists in Spain are to “provide interesting information” and to “provide citizens with political information”. Statistics show a relatively low standard deviation, something that emphasizes a consensus between the journalists interviewed about the importance of a “non” active position in their reporting and political information. These findings suggest that the ideal of separation between information and opinion and the position of the journalists as “watchdogs” of the government are the journalistic standards by “Western” journalistic culture. According to Hanitzsch and colleagues (2011: 280) this is something that is accepted by journalists around the world.

However, in journalism, aspects associated with “interventionism” are less supported. Journalists do not incline towards ideas as “influence public opinion”, “set in the political agenda” or “convey positive image of political and business leadership”, although the standard deviation values indicate some disagreements between the answers of journalists. The “opportunistic” values, such as “coverage favourable to political and business elites” are generally rejected among journalists in Spain.

Among the 12 individual aspects, “influence public opinion”, “Support official policies to bring about prosperity” and “act as watchdog of government and business elites” seem to be the most controversial.

The findings indicate that interventionism (active support for particular values and attitudes or certain groups or social change) usually does not define the journalistic culture in Spain in particular or western journalistic culture in general. Spanish journalistic culture adheres to the ideal of “non-interference” of personal perceptions with professional work. As journalists work within a stable society with a democratic character, they do not promote great social changes.

According to the findings of the *WoJ*, we can define some characteristics of Spanish journalism culture. Although in Spain journalists regard it as very important to keep a distance from their information and sources, they see themselves as active professionals. For this reason, they placed high value on influencing public opinion and advocating some social change (the standard deviation values show the controversy in this point).

Interventionism is not a feature within the journalistic culture of Spain. Although there is a tendency for interventionism caused by the young democracy and

late social development compared with other European democracies. This situation could be a reflection of the economic and political instability within Spanish society.

With respect to the dimension of “power distance”, the results show that journalists in Spain give place high value to “control and monitoring of the political elites and the economics”. Both aspects are interrelated with the concepts of “watchdogs” of government and scepticism about certain aspects of business leaders (58% of the journalists surveyed see their role as controllers of the government as important or very important and 44% think the same with respect to economic leaders). In turn, the findings demonstrate that journalists show a special interest in maintaining conscious distance to centres of power. This situation indicates that journalists are unwilling to “convey a positive image of political and business leadership”.

The study argues that the democratic context being restrictive at the political level in Spain helps to explain these results. In the same way, the findings show that journalists possess a negative attitude towards “supporting official policies to bring about prosperity”. This situation is possible because currently in Spain there does not exist a stable system of government and certain needs in society.

Journalists in Spain consider themselves as critical but not specifically as “watchdogs”. This finding can be explained by the relative small distance between journalists and political elites. For this reason, some opportunistic aspect of Spanish journalists has been noted. This situation has its roots within the political transition of the country.

The findings for the dimension of *market orientation* indicate that journalists in Spain tend to see their public as an “audience”. This tendency demonstrates the economic needs of the media that characterize European journalism. In addition, journalism in Spain tends to play a more educational role, as well as an important political role. There is a general consensus on the aspect of participation and motivation as functions of journalism within society. The aspect “motivating people to participate in civic activity” is supported (60%) by the journalists in Spain.

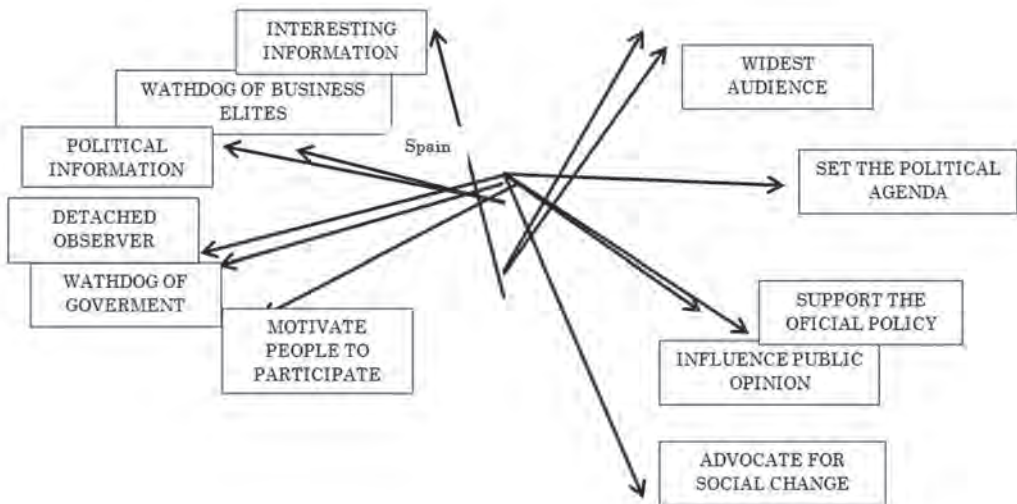
This paradox seems contradictory, but this is due to influences from the media as well as market needs. As journalists within the actor level have a personal opinion, the political and economic influences from the media cause certain situations whereby they see their public as audiences or consumers.

The characteristics of professional roles in journalism (dimensions of interventionism, power distance and market orientation) are represented in two dimensions of space within Figure 1. This is seen through the relative vector positions. The upper left quadrant can be understood in terms of a “territory” in which the journalistic culture is interpreted as Western journalistic culture. This is defined as: “non-participation” journalism, separation of information and opinion, role as government watchdog and trying to provide the relevant political information to the people in order to motivate them to participate in civic and political activities.

Spain is located within this quadrant, although it is positioned at the bottom. It can be seen as an empirical indication of the adaptation of Spanish journalists to Western standards in the last 30 years. Spain has undergone delicate political re-

form since the late 1970s (the transition from dictatorship to democracy). This process has led the media in Spain to rapidly adapt to the Western news production.

Figure 1: Position of Spain regarding institutional roles, *CoPlot*, coefficient of alienation= 0.147, average of correlations= 0.769



SOURCE: Dates compiled from the results of *Woj*.

This situation of the map can be explained through a political stability, absence of military conflicts and freedom of the press in Spain. Journalists do not have a hostile political climate and they can decide their cooperation and support as well as opposition to the government.

Hanitzsch and colleagues (2011:285-286) claim that developing countries would be located on the right side of this figure -Western countries-.

Epistemologies

With respect to the *epistemological orientation* of journalists, the results provide evidence of the importance of impartiality and neutrality as well as the integrity, factuality and reliability of information in Spain (as in the rest of the world) (Table 2). Spanish journalists believe that their ideas and personal beliefs should not affect or influence their work. However, subjectivity is somewhat controversial in the production of news, especially in regard to the analysis of the facts by journalists. At this point there is considerable disagreement. In Spain, 84% of the journalists give great importance to the “analysis of the facts” because they do not think that “facts speak for themselves” (48%). This aspect can lead Spanish journalists

maintaining an active position with respect to the information that they provide to their public. This situation may be due to the tradition of party political journalism, which was very popular in the early 1980s and throughout the transition.

Another point to consider in the work of journalists is to “stay away from information that cannot be verified”. Spanish journalists generally support this view (59%), although not as an obvious professional security. This situation causes journalistic mentality to become closer to the concept of subjectivity as they think normally that the facts cannot speak for themselves (48%). Reason for is difficult to work only with verified facts.

The variable “always make clear which side has better position” received little support with some variations as reflected by the standard deviation. This highlights the need for equitable representation of all parties involved in a conflict within an article or news item.

TABLE 2: Journalism culture in Spain: epistemologies.

		N	Spain %
Make claims only if verified by evidence and reliable sources	M	100	82.0
	SD		4.22
Do not allow beliefs and convictions to influence reporting	M	100	80.0
	SD		4.13
Remain strictly impartial	M	100	74.0
	SD		4.01
Stay away from information that cannot be verified	M	100	59.0
	SD		3.80
Provide analysis of events and issues	M	100	84.0
	SD		4.20
Facts speak for themselves	M	100	48.0
	SD		3.46
Journalists can depict reality as it is	M	100	50.5
	SD		3.47
Always make clear which side has better position	M	100	18.4
	SD		2.24

SOURCE: Dates compiled from the results of *Woj*.

Centered mean scores: values indicate the importance of the item in relation to the Spain mean all items belonging to the same domain of journalism culture (institutional roles). Original scores ranges between 5=“extremely important”/“strongly agree” and 1=“not important at all”/“strongly disagree”. Are represented the number of the sample, mean, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

M: mean

N: number of the sample

SD: standard deviation

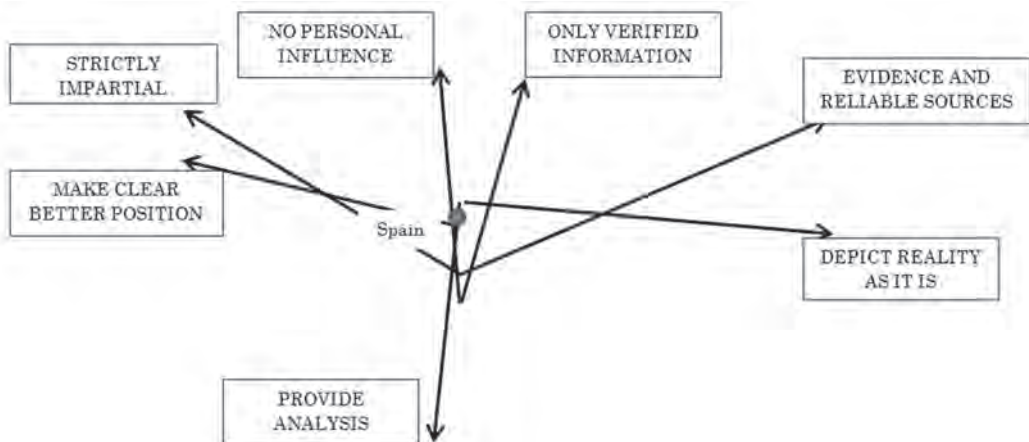
\bar{x} : arithmetic mean

However, the findings do not reveal consistent patterns within the dimension of objectivism. Although Spain can be located within Western journalism culture, there is a peculiar consideration regarding the concept of objectivity. 80% of the journalists surveyed consider it very important that individual beliefs and conviction are not reflected in their work. In addition, 74% believe it to be very important to maintain impartiality in their work. The variable “always makes clear which side has better position” is almost unanimously rejected by Spanish journalists.

Spanish journalists maintain a discordant position when asked whether they can depict reality as it is. About half (50.5%) of the journalists think that this is possible. However, the high standard deviation reflects the divergence that exists at this point among journalists. This situation is caused by the fact that the concept of objectivity is a rather abstract concept – and reality itself is so too.

In Figure 2, Spain appears to be located in the space based on the dimension of objectivity. It shows how the orientation of media professionals depends on the individual position. The framework for Spain in this figure supports our assertions.

Figure 2: Position of Spain regarding epistemologies, *CoPlot*, coefficient of alienation= 0.153, average of correlations= 0.780



Source: Dates compiled from the results of *Woj*.

The top half of Figure 2 is an area characterized by a relatively high importance to objective information, facts and journalism based on credibility. Spain is located at the centre bottom, mainly because among Spanish journalists there is an idea of analysis and interpretation of information as well as the idea of maintaining their commitment with facts.

The position of Spain on the maps shows that journalists do not consider the political orientation of their audience (something that suggests an evolution towards Western journalism concepts). The central convergent point indicates a position based on some analysis of the political, social, economic information as well as at a time they are out of the conflict. At this point could approach the idea of Western journalism culture.

The autonomy and control of journalists: Influences on their daily work

An analysis of the influences that journalists perceive in their daily work helps us to define certain common factors in journalistic culture in Spain. Table 1 reflects the statistical data on the influences on news coverage obtained from surveys of journalists:

TABLE 3: Journalistic culture in Spain: the perception of influences.

		N	Spain %
News deadlines	M	100	52.0
	SD		3.34
Professional conventions	M	100	65.3
	SD		3.70
News sources	M	100	67.7
	SD		3.84
Supervisors and higher editors	M	100	67.3
	SD		3.88
Newsroom conventions	M	100	49.0
	SD		3.36
Shortage of resources	M	100	61.6
	SD		3.67
			1.20

Procedures and standards	M	100	53.1
	SD		3.40
Management	M	100	50.5
	SD		3.36
Readers, listeners or viewers	M	100	35.4
	SD		3.00
New media technologies	M	100	43.4
	SD		3.19
Media laws	M	100	28.6
	SD		2.69
Ownership	M	100	43.2
	SD		4.05
Sensibilities	M	100	38.8
	SD		3.06
Market and audience research	M	100	44.0
	SD		3.09
Competing news organizations	M	100	27.0
	SD		3.72
Profit expectations	M	100	26.8
	SD		2.62
Peers on the staff	M	100	15.6
	SD		2.30
Advertising considerations	M	100	23.7
	SD		2.40
Censorship	M	100	9.1
	SD		1.81
Public relations	M	100	14.0
	SD		2.24
Government officials	M	100	9.1
	SD		1.92

Advertisers	M	100	21.6
	SD		2.22
Colleagues in other media	M	100	29.3
	SD		1.71
Politicians	M	100	12.2
	SD		2.22
Media watch organizations	M	100	5.3
	SD		1.73
Business people	M	100	10.1
	SD		2.02
Journalism unions	M	100	15.2
	SD		2.31
Friends, acquaintances, family	M	100	7.0
	SD		1.68
Religious leaders	M	100	8.2
	SD		1.73

Source: Dates compiled from the results of *WoJ*.

Centered mean scores: values indicate the importance of the item in relation to the Spain mean all items belonging to the same domain of journalism culture (institutional roles). Original scores ranges between 5=“extremely important”/“strongly agree” and 1=“not important at all”/“strongly disagree”. Are represented the number of the sample, mean, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

M: mean

N: number of the sample

SD: standard deviation

\bar{x} : Arithmetic mean

On a general level, the journalists perceive greater influence from media organizations than from external factors. Among the ten influences regarded by journalists as most important (news deadlines; professional conventions; news sources; supervisors and higher editors; newsroom conventions; shortage of resources; procedures and standards; management; readers, listeners or viewers and new media technologies) only three of them come from outside the media (readers, listeners or viewers, news sources and professional conventions). This findings in-

dicate that journalists perceive the influences on the closest contextual levels as being more intensive.

In contrast, the external influences are presented to journalists indirectly in the majority of the cases. This might be why journalists do not recognize disadvantages or advantages in their everyday work.

The answers of journalists in Spain emphasize the influences of supervisors and higher editors as well as a lack of resources. If we consider that both influences are within the media organizations, we can see how in Spain there exists a strong hierarchical structure within the newsrooms and an “editorial line” to follow. This can lead journalists to be “pressured” by the demands or requirements of their superiors. This situation is linked to a constant shortage of economic resources. This results in journalists being forced –in many situations – to act more from the economic point of view and less as professionals responsible to inform the public. This is a phenomenon that has occurred in private media but has also begun to appear in public media.

By and large, the journalists propose the organizational, professional and procedural influences as the most powerful limitations to their work in Spain. These influences are within the immediate context of the journalists. The impact is much clearer to journalists because they see external influences as more abstract. The newsrooms act as a safeguard for journalists. Although they can exercise direct influence on professional autonomy, they also protect them from external influences (political, economic and social). This relatively strong weight on “internal influences” in journalism can be seen as a clear movement toward professionalization.

At the bottom of Table 1 appear the influences of the external contextual levels on the communication media. These are: censorship; public relations; government officials; advertisers; colleagues in other media; politicians; media watch organizations; business people; journalism unions; friends, acquaintances and family; and religious leaders.

Journalists in Spain considered as minor influences: colleagues in the other media and the media watch organizations. One possible explanation for these findings is, on one hand, that there is not much of a relationship between the different Spanish media owing to high competition. On the other hand, the relatively low individual perception that journalists have about the media *watch* organizations is due to the indirect influence exerted by those on the professional daily work.

Journalists in Spain give relatively little importance to political and economic factors. The reason for this low estimate is due to the indirect impact on journalists and the influence is usually partly absorbed by the media organizations. Media organizations act as filters, negotiating and redistributing these influences to journalists. Although we should not forget that media organizations can also act as intermediaries in these interests and external pressures, not only as a filter.

The economic factors in Spain do not exert the greatest influence. Factors such as market and audience research, competing news organizations, profit expectations and advertising considerations occupy intermediate positions in Table

1. These positions denote the relative importance given by journalists to economic requirements imposed by the Spanish media market.

These results show that, in Spain, there are other influences that are perceived as minor, such as censorship, government officials or other influences associated with various branches of power. That is not a surprise because journalists in this democratic country tend to see these influences as less important than their colleagues in less democratic societies where the figure of political and religious leaders still plays a fundamental role (Hanitzsch et al., 2011: 288).

Although influences are obvious, it can be seen in Table 4, that journalists in Spain believe that they have enough freedom and autonomy in their work. This is because they participate in decisions that affect them directly.

TABLE 4: Journalistic culture in Spain: Professional autonomy.

		N	Spain %
			78.5
I have a lot of control over the work that I do	M	100	3.94
	SD		0.86
			81.5
I am allowed to take part in decisions that affect my work	M	100	4.07
	SD		0.99

Source: Dates compiled from the results of *Woj*.

Centered mean scores: values indicate the importance of the item in relation to the Spain mean all items belonging to the same domain of journalism culture (institutional roles). Original scores ranges between 5=“extremely important”/“strongly agree” and 1=“not important at all”/“strongly disagree”. Are represented the number of the sample, mean, arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

M: mean

N: number of the sample

SD: standard deviation

\bar{x} : arithmetic mean

Conclusions

The first part of the conclusion usually summarises what the aim of the project was (e.g. often repeating the introduction).

Firstly, Spanish journalists considered it very important to provide information as unbiased as possible to the public. This leads them to take on the role of *disseminator of information*. However, as we have seen, at times this professional impartiality is accompanied by true activism associated with the role of the interpreter.

The study has found that journalists are in favour of the role to act as *watchdogs* and as a government controller to try to maintain the welfare state and safeguard the rights of the citizens. This leads them to understand the role of *watchdog* as one of the most important in their professions. This aspect demonstrates that, after the role of *broadcaster* and *interpreter*, the role of the *adversary* is in a third place. Although it could be understood as that the *watchdog* function could be in the background due to the close relationship between journalists and politicians according to the results.

Next, the role that subjectivity plays in the daily work of professionals is not seen clearly in the results, and the study has not found any consistent pattern. Although there is a tendency by the Spanish journalists to the interpretation of certain information targeted to their audience.

Regarding the focus on objective methods used by the journalists surveyed, the authors observed that journalists chiefly use the methods developed by Tuchman (1972) in order to try to be objective (although obviously not explicitly referring to them), such as use of quotations, the fidelity to the facts and the use of different sources.

The results indicate that Spain can be included with the countries seen as “Western journalistic culture”.

In Spain there is a wide range of influences related to factors that show the market orientation of journalists and media. These have influenced Spanish journalists to conceive their audience as consumers, as they seek a necessary economic performance.

Despite stating the importance of playing the role of *broadcaster*, Spanish journalists tend to exercise an *interventionist* role (*interpreter*, *advocate* or *adversary*) and can be found at the opposite pole to the centres of power. The preference of the Spanish journalists to exercise the role of *advocate* is explained within the *system level* since they feel the need to act as mediators controlling the social, political and economic stability. After the analysis of the *level of institution* we found that the journalists interviewed in print media tend to exert a more *interventionist* role.

It can be found that Spanish journalists generally reject objectivity as an ideal and do not take it as a reference in their daily work. This makes them lean towards the subjective pole, because there is no consensus on the exact meaning of objectivity.

In Spain, journalists are strongly influenced by senior management (owners and directors). This aspect clearly shows a vertical structure and a formal hierarchy in the media organizations.

This study has attempted to form a new perspective about the study of journalism culture in Spain. It has been seen that, currently, traditional ideas about journalism are coexisting with new ideas of objectivity and independence that the professional roles demand today within the newsrooms.

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Dr Zoran Aracki, docent
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu (Srbija)

Srpsko novinarstvo u bermudskom trouglu moći¹

Apstrakt: Tranziciona inercija kojom se, već duže od nekoliko decenija, gotovo svi domaći standardi života i rada ujednačavaju sa „zapadnim“, pretvorila je srpske medije, od nekadašnjih kontrolora vlasti, čuvara javnog interesa, boraca za društvenu pravdu, slobodu govora i prava manjina u poslušnike. U takozvanom bermudskom trouglu moći koji čine medijska industrija, biznis centri i političke elite gaze se sve etičke norme i obaveze žurnalističke profesije. Lagano, ali sigurno, sa scene nestaje objektivno, kritičko novinarstvo, na kome počiva tzv. „četvrti stub demokratije“ svih razvijenih država, a mediji se pratvaraju u zabavljače i „zaštitnike naroda od loših poruka“.

U ovom tekstu autor analizira stanje u novinarskoj profesiji u Srbiji, ukazuje na uzroke njenog posrnuća, videći ih pre svega u preuzimanju najnegativnijih promena koje je donela globalizacija medijskog prostora i traga za mogućim rešenjima za nastalu situaciju ukazujući na: neophodnost vraćanja opštim etičkim principima, afirmaciju socijaldemokratskog modela upravljanja medijima i na potrebu novinarskog udruživanja, ne samo na prostorima jedne zemlje, već i van nje.

Ključne reči: *novinarstvo, etika, medijska industrija, biznis centri, politička elita*

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PhD Zoran Aracki, docent
Faculty of Philosophy, University in Niš (Serbia)

Serbian Journalism in Bermuda Triangle of Power²

Abstract: Transitional inertia in which, for longer than several decades, almost all domestic standards unify with “western”, have turned Serbian media from once government controllers, keepers of public interest, fighters for social justice, freedom of speech and minority rights into obedient ones. In so called Bermuda triangle of power consisted of media industry, business centers and political elite, all ethic norms and obligations of journalist profession are being ran over. Slowly but surely, objective, critical journalism on which so called “fourth pillar of democracy” of all developed countries is based on has been disappearing, and media turn into entertainers and “protectors of people from bad messages”.

In this paper, the author analyses the state in journalism profession in Serbia, points to causes of its staggering, which he perceives first of all in taking over of the most negative changes brought by globalization of media and searches for possible solutions for this situation pointing to necessity of bringing back the general ethic principles, to affirmation of social democratic media management model, and also to the need of journalists association not only within one country but also outside the boundaries.

Key words: *journalism, ethics, media industry, business centers, political elite*

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Uvod

U godinama tranzicije na medijskoj sceni Srbije formirao se svojevrсни Bermudski trougao moći u kome lagano nestaje jedna od nekada najprestižnijih profesija – novinarstvo. Razapeti između političkih moćnika, novih tkozvanih kontroverznih biznismena i medijske industrije novinari posustaju, pa umesto ozbiljnog informativno-analičkog novinarstva, u stvarnosti sve češće imamo primere narušavanja etičkih i profesionalnih principa rada, a tabloidizirano novinarstvo postaje novi obrazac koji sledi sve veći broj onih koji se uključuju u žurnalistiku. Najveće žrtve ovakve situacije zapravo su sami novinari, ali na gubitku su i javnost i demokratija.

Naravno, nikako se ne sme ispustiti iz vida činjenica da su ovakvi trougli moći gotovo uvek postojali, od kad je sveta i novinarstva, jer prirodna je težnja svih ovih centara da dominiraju onima koji se bave proizvodnjom i prenošenjem informacija, jer se tako najdirektnije može uticati na svest ljudi, kako pojedinaca, tako i čitavih naroda. Pri tome, ne sme se gubiti iz vida na činjenica da je novinarstvo profesija koja se tradicionalno klanjala moćnima, zavaravajući javnost povremenim bitkama za istinu i kulturne vrednosti. Simbolički svet masmedija nudio je privid otvorenosti javnog prostora, dok je u praksi prikriivao sve veću udaljenost građana, komunikaciono nepripremljenih da kritički *čitaju* stvarnost. Politički, kulturni, ekonomski, religijski, bezbednosni i drugi centri moći pod plaštom *demokratizacije* činili su sve kako bi promovisali sopstvene poglede, mišljenja i ideje, isključujući i pomisao o diskursu koji nudi drugačije perspektive.³

Nejednakost u ekonomskom i geopolitičkom statusu proizvodi i nejednakost u informacionom okruženju, što znači da diskurs i interpretacija vesti sve više zavise od centara moći. Samoobmanjivanje urednika da su samostalni u odabiru informacija, pored očuvanja mita o novinarskoj objektivnosti i nezavisnosti, vodi neuvažavanju nevidljivih filtera koji sadržaj čiste od nanosa koji bi štetili interesima elita. Bajke o medijskom obilju kao brani bilo kom obliku monopola služe zavaravanju neupućenih, jer tržišna spajanja i integrisanja stvaraju ograđeni prostor koji kontroliše sve manji broj porodica i pojedinaca.⁴

Međutim, nije ovo specifikum samo aktuelne svetske medijske scene. Ekonomski pritisci na medije poznati su u razvijenim zemljama zapadne demokratije. Tako je još sredinom 80-tih godina čuveni američki medijski teoretičar Ben Bagdikian u svojoj knjizi „*The Media Monopoly*” upozorio: „Svetom vlada moćna *trojka*: globalna medijska korporacija, multinacionalna industrija i svetski bankarski establišment” (Bagdikian, 2002:85). Kako je za postojanje ove *trojke* preduslov novac, sasvim je jasno da bez njegovog prisustva nema funkcionisanja ničega, pa ni medija. Političari

³ O tome više u Jevtović, Z., Aracki, Z. (2011). *Medijski uticaji, političke elite i društvena moć u Srbiji na početku XXI veka*, *Kultura polisa*, god. VIII, br. 15, Novi Sad: Kultura-polis, str. 207-226.

⁴ Ben Bagdikian navodi da 29 najvećih medijskih kuća drži više od polovine novinskih izdanja i većinu prodaje i publike časopisa, elektronskih medija, knjiga i filmova. Samo u SAD postoji oko 25.000 medijskih kompanija, ali grešite ako mislite da je isto toliko vlasnika. Kada se podaci ozbiljnije analiziraju, vidi se da je ova količina medijskih tvrđava u rukama svega dvadesetak porodica. On tvrdi da one „*čine novo privatno ministarstvo informacija i kulture*” (2002).

postaju drugorazredni igrači koji tek služe svemoćnoj trojci. A ni političari ne mogu bez snažne finansijske podrške, pa tako spremno prihvataju da služe *trojci*. Mediji dobijaju svoju specifičnu propagandnu ulogu, koja nije tako vidljiva i uočljiva, ali je upravo zbog toga efikasnija i razornija.

Dve i po decenije nakon pada Berlinskog zida medijska scena u Srbiji je anahrona, haotična, normativno neuređena i politički kontrolisana. Upravo zbog toga u ovom radu analiziraćemo odnose koji su uspostavljeni u srpskom novinarstvu i pokušati da ukažemo na uzroke njegovog posrnuća. Naša polazna hipoteza jeste da su do takvog stanja doveli nekritičko preuzimanje najnegativnijih globalizacijskih promena medijskog prostora, upliv kapitala čije je poreklo nepoznato, i još uvek prisutno nekontrolisano državno vlasništvo u jednom broju medija, koje predstavlja osnov za nastavak najrazličitijih pritisaka na novinare. Posle svega, pokušaćemo i da ponudimo određena rešenja za reafirmaciju novinarske profesije.

Dobošari političkih elita

U proteklih dvadeset i pet godina, od kad se širom istočne i posebno jugoistočne Evrope odvijaju tranzicijski procesi, u drastičnoj meri je izmenjen politički, ekonomski i društveni ambijent zemalja realno postojećeg socijalizma. Kolaps sistema „realnog socijalizma“ i okončanje bipolarne podele sveta vodio je promenama društava nekadašnjeg Istočnog bloka, zbog čega se u političkoj sferi, medijima, ali i u naučnim krugovima pojam „tranzicija“ po pravilu koristio za opisivanje transformacije društava iz sistema „državnog socijalizma“ u „liberalnu demokratiju“ ili u ekonomskom smislu, za prelazak sa dirigovane ili planske privrede na tržišno orijentisanu ekonomiju.

U političkoj areni, jednopartijski sistem je zamenjivan višepartijskim sistemom, a istovremeno je počeo dugotrajan proces ekonomske liberalizacije, koji je podrazumevao otvaranje nacionalnih tržišta za inostrani i domaći krupni kapital. I dok su se ovi „tranzicioni“ procesi vodili pod vrednosno nabijenim parolama „modernizacije“, „stabilizacije“, „normalizacije“ i „liberalizacije“, svedoci smo faktičke ekonomske periferizacije, socijalne fragmentacije, pauperizacije, porasta etnonacionalizma, klerikalizacije i retradicionalizacije.

Bilans tranzicionih promena, posebno u sferi srpske ekonomije je katastrofalan. Mnogi gradovi su ekonomski opustošeni, fabrike uništene. Raslojavanje je sve prisutnije, a vidljivo je po najskupljim automobilima i velelepim zgradama, dok na drugoj strani raste broj korisnika javnih kuhinja, posebno na jugu i jugoistoku zemlje. Teška ekonomska kriza pojačana je „defektnom privatizacijom koja je nametnuta, pre svega od strane MMF i uz maksimalno angažovanje stranih konsultanata. Izvesni problematični političari, vrlo uskih vidika, a često isforsirani preko međunarodnih finansijskih institucija ili moćnih država, a neki u suštini zastupnici interesa stranog kapitala, nametnuli su ovim zemljama model tzv. tvrdog kapitalizma ili kako bi čuveni Soroš rekao „tržišni fundamentalizam“ ili neoliberalizam koji je sadržan u odredbama Vašingtonskog konsenzusa“ (Kovačević, 2011). U našoj javnosti taj mo-

del se nazivao i divljim kapitalizmom u kome je sve bilo dozvoljeno.

Nesumnjivo je da su mediji širom sveta snažan faktor socijalizacije, čuvari javnih interesa, ali i izvori političke moći, pa je pitanje medijskog vlasništva i kontrole nad njihovim sadržajima, u takvim uslovima, postajalo sve značajnije. Slabljenje uloge javnih medijskih servisa⁵ u trenucima rekonstrukcije informativnih tržišta prilagođenih kapitalističkoj ekonomiji, dovelo je do raskida sa tradicionalnim poimanjem medija kao čuvara javnih interesa. Međutim, transformacija državnih televizija u javne servise širom Balkana nije dovođena do kraja, političari na vlasti se nisu odriicali uticaja na program, odnosno uređivačku politiku, pa je visok rejting takvih medija bivao najviše posledica, srpski rečeno "pinkovizacije"⁶ nego izgradnje prepoznatljivog vrednosnog identiteta zasnovanog na kvalitetu i domaćoj produkciji. Događale su se personalne umesto institucionalnih promena, dok se o kulturnim, verskim i ideološkim različitostima u programima više moglo govoriti samo prilikom obeležavanja prigodnih datuma. To potvrđuje da su režimi više brinuli o kontroli programskog sadržaja nego o stvarnoj reformi javnih sistema od interesa za sve građane. Dramatične promene nastale kovergencijom⁷ uslovile su i forsiranje komercijalizovanih programskih formata zasnovanih na tabloidnom, senzacionalističkom konceptu, ali i zanemarivanje umetničkog, obrazovnog, naučnog i dečjeg programa. Reality emisije, sapunske serije, jeftini kvizovi, lascivni tok šou i slični formati zasnovani na populizmu, kiču i jeftinoj zabavi zauzimali su dominantnu poziciju, svodeći ozbiljno novinarstvo na društvene margine. Instant predstave kao proizvodi komunikacionih tehnika nudile su privid stvarnosti, *svet iz druge ruke*,⁸ dok su jezik i dramaturgija medijskih slika značajno doprinose konstruisanju političkog simulakruma⁹. Da ne bude zabune, i u razvijenim društvima postoje savremeni oblici kulturološke i privredne dominacije, pomoću kojih politička, privredna i društvena elita pokušavaju da ovladaju sferama civilnog društva. Funkcija koju mediji u takvim sistemima imaju jeste *nadzor nad svim aktivnostima u društvu*. Teo-

⁵ Istraživački izveštaj: *Televizija u Evropi: regulativa, politika, nezavisnost* (Open Society Institute and EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, Budapest, 2005), ukazuje na alarmantnu krizu identiteta javne televizije u Evropi gde još od 1995. konstantno opada udeo u gledanosti (za oko 1% godišnje), što se nastavilo do danas.

⁶ Termin se povezuje sa postojanjem i karakterom programa beogradske RTV Pink, čiji se kanali mogu videti širom Balkana.

⁷ U medijskoj praksi sve je uočljivije nestajanje nekada jasnih granica između štampe, filma, radija i televizije, pošto je elektronska transmisija u stanju da integriše sve komunikacione oblike. Digitalizacija nije samo tehnološki proces, već i arhiv ključnih vrednosti nacionalne riznice.

⁸ Pojam Mirosljuba Radojkovića, kojim upozorava da sve instant forme sprečavaju modernog čoveka da preispita svoju egzistenciju i svoje određenje, ukus. *Tako se postepeno poravnavaju kulturne i osećajne razlike i samobitnosti po meri pojedinaca i to ne u ime grupe, društva ili epohe, već po sili i inerciji prevladajućeg i povlađujućeg stila života* (Radojković, 2007:58).

⁹ *Radi se o zamenjivanju stvarnog njegovim znacima, to jest o jednoj operaciji odvratanja od svakog stvarnog procesa njegovim operatornim dvojnikom, metastabilnom, programatskom, nepogrešivom označavajućom mašinom, koja nudi sve oznake stvarnog* (Bodrijar, 1991:6).

retičari medija¹⁰ nazivaju je i funkcijom nadgledanja (eng. monitoring role), podrazumevajući da obuhvata *ukazivanje na događaje i postavljanje dnevnog reda javne debate*. Ona je zbog toga usmerena na kritičko preispitivanje vlasti, vladajućih i opozicionih grupa, političkih stranaka, sindikata, preduzetnika i duha preduzetništva, te ukupne političke, privredne i društvene elite i svih javnih radnika.

Šta su zapravo ciljevi onih koji žele da gospodare medijima? U svakom društvu postoje manje ili više prefinjeni mehanizmi uticaja na javno mnjenje, a kroz to - i pokušaji manipulacije. Što je društvo, poput balkanskog, više obeleženo etničkim, religijskim, jezičkim, ideološkim ili kulturološkim razlikama, veća je šansa za dezintegrisanjem političkog sistema, a u tu svrhu najčešće se (zlo)upotrebljavaju mediji. Oni, uz političke stranke, interesne grupe, nevladine organizacije i škole postaju istureni štitovi u borbi za dominaciju, a nestabilnost i konflikti deo svakodnevice. Godinama unazad upravo ovakva situacija karakteriše stanje na prostorima Balkana. Otuda ne čudi grčevita bitka za medije, jer se njima društvena stvarnost najlakše može ispolitizovati. Svet interesa ušao je u nasilnu preraspodelu svega, pa i postojećih odnosa između država. U svakom društvu bremenitom segmentiranim grupama inteziviraju se raskoli, a njihov stepen i intezitet u direktnoj su meri zavisni od moći medija nad masama.

Bez velikog straha od moguće greške može se reći da su sva društva na Balkanu duboko prožeta željom političkih stranaka i njihovih vođa da život u njima stave pod svoju kontrolu. Daleko je to od ideala demokratije i građanske nade da će o sopstvenom životu odlučivati slobodno u institucijama sistema. U partokratskim društvima mediji su zapravo postali dobošari političkih elita. Stoga su informacije često pojednostavljene, iskrivljene, a lični politički, profitni, bezbednosni, bankarski i drugi interesi proglašeni za opštedruštvene. Novim gospodarima, uglavnom, ni na kraj pameti nije formiranje samosvesne javnosti, njene kritičke funkcije, kvaliteta i nezavisnosti. Stalnim podgrevanjem straha o povratku prokomunističkog, arhaičnog ili socijalističkog interpretiranja novinarstva, veliki broj urednika opredeljuje se za neoliberalizam kao preovladavajuću paradigmu, smatrajući da on ne podrazumeva oštricu prema onima koji su ih doveli na upravljačka mesta. Otuda nedovoljno sadržaja koji govore o rastućoj zaduženosti države i sve uočljivijoj nejednakosti i siromaštvu, nezaposlenosti i dramama pojedinaca i čitavih porodica na ivici egzistencije. Državni protekcionizam, stranačka naklonost i finansijska pomoć stranih mentora onemogućavaju razvoj medijskog tržišta, pa tako kvalitet informisanja nije uslov opstanka.

Sunovrat kroz privatizaciju

U prvim godinama tranzicije u svim državama jugoistočne Evrope rešavana su pitanja državnih i političkih monopola, a danas su na red došli ekonomski monopoli, kojima se treba suprotstavljati. U Srbiji, međutim, još nije rešeno ni jedno od ova tri pitanja – država je i dalje vlasnik velikih delova vodećih domaćih listova

¹⁰ Više o tome: Mek Kvejl, D.M. (2007). *Uloge medija u društvu*, CM, broj 3, Protokol, Novi Sad i FPN Beograd

«Politike» i «Novosti», a preko različitih upravnih i nadzornih odbora, čiji su članovi uglavnom pripadnici vladajuće stranke, i strogi kontrolor uređivačke politike RTS, koja se, inače, javno predstavlja kao servis građana. Zbog takve prakse u javnosti se vrlo često za govor srpskog javnog servisa kaže da predstavlja govor vlasti.¹¹ Situaciju posebno otežava činjenica da ne postoje precizni podaci o tome ko su vlasnici srpskih medija. Ovakvo stanje u neskladu je i sa preporukama koje stižu iz Evropske unije, čiji član Srbija želi da postane. Naime, Komitet ministara EU je još 2007. godine u svojoj preporuci Rec (2007)2 koja se tiče medijske koncentracije i pluralizma medija zatražio da zemlje-članice obezbede javnosti pristup sledećim tipovima informacija o postojećim medijima: «informacijama u vezi sa licima ili organima koji učestvuju u strukturi medija i o prirodi i razmerama učešća tih lica ili organa u strukturi o kojoj je reč i, gde je to moguće, informacije o krajnjim korisnicima tog učešća; informacijama o prirodi i razmerama interesa koje gore navedena lica i organi imaju u drugim medijima ili medijskim preduzećima, čak i u drugim ekonomskim sektorima; informacijama o drugim licima ili organima za koje postoji verovatnoća da će značajno uticati na programsku politiku ili uređivačku politiku; informacijama u vezi sa merama podrške koje su medijima odobrene; informacijama o postupku koji se primenjuje u vezi sa pravom na odgovor i na žalbu». Međutim, do današnjih dana takve informacije nisu dostupne srpskoj javnosti. Ne pomažu, naravno ni različite poruke koje stižu iz ostalih evropskih institucija – u medijskoj sferi stvari se presporo menjaju.

Istraživači medijske scene ocenjuju da je osnovni problem medijskog sistema Srbije to što na njemu ne postoje uslovi za ekonomsku samoodrživost medija. Oglasno tržište vredno je tek 170 miliona evra i ne može da obezbedi opstanak za preko hiljadu medija, koliko Srbija danas ima i po čemu je lider u regionu. Uprkos tome broj medija se ne smanjuje pre svega zato što tržište nije glavni faktor koji određuje njihovu sudbinu. Činjenice govore da od 2000.godine, koja se zbog smene vlasti Slobodana Miloševića, smatra prelomnom u demokratskom razvoju zemlje do danas nije pokrnut ni jedan ozbiljan dnevni list, a bilo je i ima mnogo tabloida koji su nastajali i nestajali iz javno nepriznatih razloga.

Namera redefinisanja masmedijske sfere, nakon petooktobarskih promena 2000. godine, bila je da se dođe do slobodnog novinarstva rasterećenog političkog paternalizma, da se oblast medijskog zakonodavstva, a i prakse, uskladi sa potrebama javnosti, društva, države, medija, kao i sa međunarodnim standardima. Četrnaest godina kasnije, postoji niz izmenjenih zakonskih rešenja, ali je činjenica da su stvari u medijskoj sferi još daleko od uređenih, da još postoje značajni politički uticaji, da ima i zloupotreba, pa i manipulacija. Mediji uglavnom posluju sa gubicima. Stopa profitabilnosti daleko je ispod uobičajene na svetskom tržištu.

¹¹ Začuđujuće deluje, međutim, podatak da je na dan izbora Aleksandra Vučića za premijera Srbije, SNS, stranka kojoj je on na čelu, izdala zvanično saopštenje u kome se između ostalog, bez i jednog primera kaže da RTS “služi kao svakodnevni poligon za prljave napade na predsednika SNS-a Aleksandra Vučića” (Blic, 27. aprila 2014.). Otuda se s pravom može postaviti pitanje koliko će najmoćnija politička stranka u Srbiji tokom mandata biti tolerantna prema kritikama, ako ovako reaguje na vrhuncu popularnosti.

Na srpskom tržištu premalo je kapitala koji bi mogao uloženi u reklamu, odnosno marketing. Da bi opstali na svemoćnom tržištu mediji primenjuju dvostruku taktiku: jedna je udvaranje najnižim strastima publike, a drugi udvaranje drugim finansijskim izvorima, pre svega državnim, koje pod svojom kontrolom drže vladajuće partije i veliki oglašivači oličeni pre svega u najvećim državnim kompanijama. O tome posebno govori Izveštaj o pritiscima i kontroli medija u Srbiji koji je 2011. godine sačinio Savet za borbu protiv korupcije Vlade Srbije, a o kome sve do nedavno uglavnom ćutalo. Prema ovom izveštaju tri glavna problema srpskih medija predstavljaju netransparentnost medijskog vlasništva, ekonomski uticaj državnih institucija na rad medija kroz različite tipove budžetskih davanja i problem RTS-a koji umesto javnog servisa ima ulogu servis političkih stranaka i vladajućih elita, što sve ima za posledicu zatvorenost medija za borjne probleme sa kojima je Srbija suočena, pa i za problem korupcije.

Jačanjem globalizacijskih tokova došlo je do značajnih promena u srpskoj medijskoj sferi. Na ovaj prostor stupilo je više inostranih multinacionalnih korporacija, ali je jedna od najznačajnijih promena, svakako, činjenica da su mediji postali industrija *per se* (a njihov najvažniji „proizvod“: informacija dobio je tržišnu vrednost kao i svaka druga roba), čime se delimično izgubila (ili je stavljena u drugi plan) uloga medija kao monitora i kontrolora vlasti, a značajno je porasla uloga medijskih vlasnika (pojedinaца, interesnih grupa ili kompanija) u savremenoj ekonomiji, politici i društvu uopšte.

Strani mediji, doduše, napuštaju Srbiju, kao uostalom i čitavu istočnu Evropu. Razlog nisu politički pritisci, kako je to svojevremeno tvrdio nemački VAC, već pre svega pad tiraža i prihoda od reklama.¹² A kad su na taj korak primorani veliki medijski koncerni, onda je lako razumljivo u kakvoj se poziciji nalaze medijske industrije u pojedinim državama regiona, pa samim tim i u Srbiji. Za razliku od osamdesetih godina prošlog veka kad su mediji bili vrlo uspešna preduzeća, koja su zarađivala novac i ulagala u razvoj novinarstva, danas oni za prevashodni cilj ima izvlačenje profita. Osnovna svrha medija više nije istina, već profit. Problemi su izraženiji, jer su mediji ili u vlasništvu stranih drugorazrednih kompanija, ili su sekundarni biznis moćnih tajkuna. Takvi mediji prate poslovno-političke interese određenih centara moći. Novinar nema nikakav autoritet, a odsustvo autoriteta novinara u novinarskoj profesiji onemogućava objektivizaciju problema.

Poslednjih godina svetska ekonomska kriza pogodila je i još nedovoljno razvijenu srpsku medijsku industriju. Novine, televizije, radio stanice i novinske agencije uprkos svom, uglavnom sluganskom odnosu prema centrima moći u vlasti i biznisu, dovedeni su do borbe za preživljavanje. Mnogi su se odrekli osnovnih etičkih postulata žurnalističke profesije i zaplovili u vode senzacionalizma, čime se na lakši način opstaje na tržištu.¹³ Kao i u ostalom delu ekonomije i u medijskoj industriji propa-

¹² Ovo je ocena internet časopisa Tranzisns onlajn (Transitions Online Magazine) od 25. avgusta 2010. godine. Vidljivo na adresi www.tol.org.

¹³ Aracki, Z, (2013): *Upotreba medija u doba ekonomske krize*, Balkan u procesu evrointegracije, Univerzitet u Nišu, Filozofski fakultet, Centar za sociološka istraživanja Niš, str. 267.

giran je neoliberalni režim koji je zahtevao da se sve prepusti tržištu. Rezultat je, naravno, isti kao i u ostalom delu privatizovane privrede. Mediji su postajali privatni, da bi se veoma brzo gasili. Nema preciznih podataka o tome koliko je novinara u godinama krize ostalo bez posla, ali sindikati operišu sa cifrom od oko 4.000 ljudi. Što se tiče uticaja centara moći na medije oni uprkos privatizaciji nisu nestajali, već su bivali oslobođeni svake kontrole.

Ako se sve ovo ima u vidu onda uopšte ne čudi podatak do koga se dolazi u gotovo svim istraživanjima koja se bave stanjem u medijima prema kome pritisak oglašivača neprekidno raste, kao i da njihova sredstva postaju izuzetno moćna u kreiranju uređivačke politike medija. Ne tako davno, osamdesetih godina prošlog veka reklame, odnosno oglasi predstavljali su sasvim sekundaran izvor prihoda medija. Međutim, prilagođavajući se krajnje komercijalizovanom konceptu, koji nam je nametnut globalizacijskim promenama i željom da po svaku cenu, na brzu ruku, u neadekvatnim uslovima, kopiramo rešenja Evropske unije novinarstvo se transformisalo u srpsku medijsku industriju u kojoj su prihodi od oglasa umnogostručeni, a oglašivači postali važniji od čitalaca i gledalaca. Istovremeno, oglasne agencije zauzele su poziciju kontrole medijske moći.

Novinari kao najamnici

Pored javnog interesa i demokratije, koja u Srbiji nikako da uhvati dublje korene, najveće žrtve pogubnog stanja u medijima jesu – novinari. Oni se danas pored brojnih političkih pritisaka suočavaju i sa egzistencijalnim pitanjima: rade za male, a veoma često i nikakve plate, u privatnim medijima - uglavnom na crno, bez uplate radnog staža i zdravstvenog osiguranja. Nije redak slučaj da u isto vreme rade za dva ili više medija, pa otuda ne može da čudi ni to što u takvim okolnostima zaboravljaju na jedno od svetih pravila profesije – čuti sve zainteresovane strane, proveriti i interpretirati, a ne samo prenositi. „Opšta tendencija je stvaranje univerzalnog novinara, osposobljenog da podjednako informiše i o ekonomiji, i o politici, o kriminalu, da se služi sajtovima, agencijama, da fotografiše, snima, izveštava, piše za blogove, da radi poslove tehničkog urednika i sam grafički prelama za štampu tekst koji je napisao”.¹⁴ Mnogi od njih ostaju na poslu, jer nemaju gde da odu, niti za takav korak imaju dovoljno hrabrosti.

Rečju, novinari su postali najmanja radna snaga. Dva njihova udruženja UNS i NUNS tvrde da ne raspolažu zvaničnim statističkim podacima o redovnosti i visini zarada novinara u srpskim medijima, ali se slažu sa stavom prema kome je novinarstvo među najlošije plaćenim zanimanjima. Posebno su u teškom položaju novinari koji rade u unutrašnjosti Srbije, jer su njihove zarade često manje od zagarantovanih minimalaca.¹⁵ U takvoj situaciji ne čudi što su standardi novinarske profesije ozbiljno ugroženi, što mnogi novinari zaboravljaju na etičke norme zapisane u profesio-

¹⁴ Branka Đukić, direktorka novinske agencije TANJUG na Medija Samitu u Moskvi, jula 2012.

¹⁵ Više o tome u tekstu „Novinarstvo među najmanje plaćenim profesijama u Srbiji”, Novi magazin, Beograd, 20.01.2014.g

nalnim kodeksima i što im je senzacionalizam postao način razmišljanja. Oskar Vajld je još daleke 1891. godine u svom eseju "Duša čoveka u socijalizmu" s pravom zapazio da je "moguće da ima novinara koji zaista uživaju u objavljivanju užasnih stvari, ili koji, zarad svog siromaštva, vide skandale kao osnovu za stalan izvor prihoda." Uveren sam, pisao je Vajld, „da postoje i drugi novinari, obrazovani i vaspitani, koji zaista ne vole da objavljuju takve stvari, koji znaju da je to pogrešno činiti. Rade to samo zbog nezdravih uslova u kojima se bave svojim pozivom, što ih primorava da javnosti dobavljaju ono što javnost hoće, i da se takmiče sa drugim novinarima u što potpunijem zadovoljenju prostačkog apetita svetine. Ovaj položaj je unižavajući za svakog obrazovanog čoveka i ne sumnjam da ga većina njih doživljava vrlo bolnim”.¹⁶ Sasvim smo sigurni da su Vajldove reči i danas izuzetno aktuelne.

Istovremeno, u javnosti se sve češće, i s pravom, postavlja pitanje doprinosa novinara sopstvenom položaju. Iznenađujući je podatak da su novinarstvo kao takvo i, njegova elita posebno, snishodljivi prema specifičnim skandalima, prema postupcima kojima se krše pravila profesije. Iz nedovoljno razumljivih razloga novinari odbijaju uzajamnu kritiku, koja je inače prisutna karakteristika u drugim oblastima kulture. Veoma retko ima polemika u novinarstvu, koje su značajne za razvoj njegove autonomije. Teško je izazvati polemiku za utvrđivanje unutrašnjih odnosa u novinarskom staležu i između novinara i poslodavaca. To je i razlog zbog čega nije bilo polemike o standardima profesije u medijima. Pjer Burdije je tvrdio da se „ne može očekivati trajno utemeljenje u polju novinarskog morala osim preko jačanja unutrašnje kritike, a takođe i preko spoljašne posebno preko objektivnih socioloških analiza” (Burdije, 2000:46). Takve kritike i analize danas izostaju.

Na osnovu ovakvog stanja mogu se postaviti čak i, na izgled, paradoksalna pitanja - *da li novinari stvarno žele slobodu, i koliko su im „dragi” principi profesionalizma*. Činjenica je da danas neki novinari tumače shvatanje o slobodi kao lobiranje za specifične interese i pokazuju političku servilnost prema rukovodiocima. Nedostatak profesionalizma sve je očigledniji, ali je očigledna i činjenica da se u novinarskim krugovima malo ko na to osvrće.

Važnu ulogu pri stvaranju jedinstvenih standarda profesije ima i obrazovanje novinara. Profesionalna samosvest pretpostavka je za samoregulaciju u društvu. Međutim, danas se obrazovanjem novinara često bave oni koji nemaju nikakva iskustva i znanja iz ove oblasti. Širom Srbije imamo bezbroj kurseva i brzih škola u kojima se navodno obučavaju budući novinari, a "predavači" su ljudi bez obrazovanja i značajnijeg novinarskog iskustva. Mnogo je i fakulteta na kojima se studira novinarstvo, a nema ni prave verifikacije stručnosti fakultetskih kadrova, pa sve to dovodi do opravdanog straha za budućnost srpskog novinarstva.

Ono što nedostaje budućim novinarima je obuka o utvrđenim normama ponašanja i delovanja novinara. Mladima su potrebna znanja o antipodima u profesiji da bi mogli da shvate modele profesionalnog ponašanja i vrednosnog sistema, koji su se u poslednje vreme stihijski uvukli među njih. Problem je u tome što je obrazovanje novinara malo otvoreno prema praktičnim pitanjima profesije.

¹⁶ Oskar Vajld, Duša čovekova u socijalizmu, prev. D. Maljković, Karpos 2009, str. 40-42.

Zaključna razmatranja

Tranzicija je zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope, a samim tim i Srbiji, kao dominantu doktrinu, donela tržišni liberalizam. U medijskoj sferi to je dovelo do stvaranja “medijskog izobilja” i do ekstremne slobode izbora medijskih sadržaja. Istovremeno redukovani su direktni uticaji države. Mediji su postali veoma vredna roba koja je na globalnom tržištu informacija i zabave regulisana uglavnom principima “slobodne tržišne konkurencije”.

U medijsku sferu zakoračile su velike multinacionalne kompanije, ali i mnogi kojima tu zbog prošlosti i nedostatka veza sa žurnalističkom profesijom uopšte nije mesto. Međutim, pod okriljem moći novca, stečenog na najrazličitije načine, oni svakodnevno postaju sve značajniji “igrači”.

Posledice su da su u većini tranzicijskih država mediji daleko od slobodnih. Imamo problem da se jedan monopol zamenjuje drugim, da je monopol države zamenjen privatnim monopolom, da je u tom monopolskom okruženju vrlo teško ustanoviti nezavisne medije, zato što koncentracija nije samo na medijskom prostoru, već i na području izdavaštva, distribucije, frekvencija.

Sve prisutnija logika korporativnog novinarstva je pogubna za pluralizam i direktno ugrožava slobodu medija, baš kao i bilo koji drugi vid manipulacije medijima. Korporativno novinarstvo zanemaruje osnovne principe žurnalizma i njegovu ulogu u društvu, brinući jedino o tome kako da, za gazdu, izvuče najveći profit. Novinari su danas uglavnom najamna radna snaga u medijskim kućama i ne razlikuju se mnogo od bilo kojeg drugog najamnog radnika koji radi za neku korporaciju.

Mali, nezavisni mediji ne mogu preživeti. Ono što oni objavljuju ne vidi se i na čuje dovoljno dobro i glasno. Jaki postaju još jači. Novinari beže iz malih medija, jer nemaju dobre plate i nemaju profesionalne uslove za rad. Veliki ih kupuju, daju visoke plate, ali otupljuju njihovu oštricu, jer finansijski moćne gazde propisuju šta se može i o kome se može pisati, a o ko ostaje zaštićen.

Zadatak koji stoji pred svim pripadnicima medijskih profesija jeste osiguravanje transparentnog delovanja vlasnika medija i uspostava odgovornosti medija prema javnosti. Da bi se to ostvarilo potrebno je izboriti se za istinski pluralizam medija, za njihovu nezavisnost od političkih interesa i pritisaka. Oni moraju nadzirati delovanje privatnih i javnih korporacija. Mediji moraju biti otvoreni za sve društvene grupe.

Zbog toga smatramo da je neophodno nastaviti i dovršiti reformu medijskog sistema Srbije, bez obzira na to što još nema pune saglasnosti i društvenog konsenzusa o poželjnim pravcima reformi. Zakonskim rešenjima se mora omogućiti potpuni raskid tesnih veza politike i medija. Da bi se do toga stiglo, neophodno je dovršiti procese privatizacije medija, ali uz primenu novog socijaldemokratskog modela u kome će i novinari moći da participiraju.

Za funkcionisanje medijskog sistema izuzetno je važna i transformacija vlasništva u lokalnim medijima čiji su osnivač opštine i gradovi. Međutim, teško je razumljivo da danas, uprkos narasloj svesti o pogubnim efektima privatizacije imamo

orkestriranu akciju na privatizaciji preostalog malog broja medija u čijoj vlasničkoj strukturi učestvuje država. I u ovom slučaju oglašavaju su predstavnici različitih međunarodnih organizacija od EU, OEBS-a i NVO koji traže da se mediji na fundamentalni način prepuste tržištu. Još jednom na delu je idolopoklonstvo prema Zapadu, a ne svesno promišljanje i odmeravanje odluke na osnovu vlastitog iskustva. Umesto slepe primene modela koji se nameće otuda odakle je stigao tržišni fundamentalizam bilo bi daleko bolje pronaći sopstveni model kontrolisanog uticaja države u finansiranju medija.

Naše je mišljenje da svi ti mediji moraju dobiti nove vlasnike, ali da među njima značajnu ulogu moraju imati novinari. Bitno je da državni kapital nestane iz vlasničke strukture medija, kako bi se oslobodila inicijativa i prostor za slobodni i nesmetani rad novinara. Smatramo, takođe, da neki od tih lokalnih, elektronskih medija, koji se nalaze u sedištim budućih regionalnih centara decentralizovane Srbije treba da postanu delovi jedinstvenog javnog RTV servisa. Njima bi trebalo omogućiti da u okviru programske šeme RTS- a dobiju prostor za emitovanje lokalnih programa. Ovde mislimo i na programe na jezicima manjina. Tako bi ti mediji postali delovi javnog medijskog servisa i finansirali bi se iz zajedničke kase, kroz pretplatu ili na neki drugi način.

Prema našem mišljenju novinarstvo se može spasiti „Bermudskog trougla moći” ukoliko u društvu bude izgrađen model funkcionisanja medija koji će imati sledeće odrednice, odlike:

- a) dominantan *akcionarski oblik svojine*, koji novinare čini suvlasnicima i kouvpravljačima, odgovornim za profesionalni lik i konkurentnost medija;
- b) *autonomiju uređivanja* – u odnosu na političku i vlasničku sferu;
- v) *visok profesionalizam novinara* (afirmacija etike poziva i profesije);
- g) *participaciju*, kao oblik saodlučivanja svih zaposlenih u medijskom sistemu
- d) *tržišnu kompetenciju* i verifikaciju konkurentne sposobnosti i socijalne profitabilnosti.

Svi ovi elementi u svom jedinstvu u modelu medijskog sistema u društvenoj praksi mogu ga učiniti kvalitetnijim i efikasnijim u odnosu na dosadašnje modele i promovisati medije kao odgovorne aktere u društvu u funkciji objektivne informisanosti i formiranja kritičke građanske javnosti, bez koje nema odgovornog i demokratskog društva.

Da bi medijski sistem Srbije funkcionisao na način kakav zahtevaju promene koje su se dogodile u društvu, potrebno je i da medijska udruženja i zaposleni u medijima pronađu prave puteve većoj profesionalizaciji i doslednijoj primeni etičkih standarda. Smatramo da je to moguće jedino ukoliko glavni akteri medijske scene, novinari, postanu svesni potrebe udruživanja i jedinstvenog nastupa u odbrani osnovnih principa profesije kojoj pripadaju. Razjedinjeni, kakvi su danas, i puni želje da se dopadnu političarima ili vlasnicima, novinari ne doprinose poboljšanju sopstvenog položaja koji je ozbiljno ugrožen.

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dr Daniela Blaževska, docent¹

Institut za novinarstvo, medije i komunikacije, Pravni fakultet "Justinijan Prvi", Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju (Republika Makedonija)

Motivisanje i nagrađivanje novinara u Republici Makedoniji

Apstrakt: Cilj ovog rada je da istraži krizu novinarske profesije u Republici Makedoniji kroz prizmu menadžmenta medija. Fokus rada je motivisanje, nagrađivanje i kažnjavanje urednika i novinara u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji.

Tokom istraživanja primenićemo anketni upitnik kao metod sakupljanja podataka. Ovo će biti primarni izvor podataka. U saglasnosti sa predmetom našeg interesovanja, u istraživanju ćemo koristiti ciljni uzorak. Osnovna masa istraživanja sastoji se od glavnih i odgovornih urednika, urednika i novinara nacionalnih televizija i štampanih medija.

U ovom radu će biti predstavljeni rezultati istraživanja na sledećim pitanjima: koje potrebe treba da zadovolje novinari i urednici na svom radnom mestu, da li njihova plata odgovara njihovom radu, da li bi napustili posao ukoliko bi dobili ponudu, koji načini motivisanja, nagrađivanja i kažnjavanja se primenjuju u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji.

Iz ovog istraživanja treba da proizađe zaključak o uticaju menadžmenta medija na krizu novinarske profesije.

Ključne reči: *mediji, novinari, urednici, motiviranje, nagrađivanje, kažnjavanje, Republika Makedonija*

¹ E-mail: danielablazevska@gmail.com

PhD Daniela Blaževska, docent

Institute of Journalism, Media and Communication, Faculty of Law “Justinian I”,
“Ss. Cyril and Methodius” University in Skopje (Republic of Macedonia)

Motivating and rewarding the journalists in the Republic of Macedonia

Abstract: The aim of this paper was to investigate the crisis of the journalistic profession in the Republic of Macedonia through the prism of media management. The focus of this paper is motivation, rewarding and punishing editors and journalists in the mass media in the Republic of Macedonia.

During the research, the questionnaire as a method of data collection was applied. This will be the primary source of data. In accordance with the object of our interest, the study will use the target sample. The main mass of research consists of editors in chief, editors and journalists of national television and print media.

In this paper we will present the results of research on the following issues: what needs must be met by journalists and editors in their workplace, do their salaries correspond to their work, would they leave the job if they get a job offer, which ways of motivation, reward and punishment are applied in the mass media in the Republic of Macedonia.

This research should make the conclusion about the impact of media on crisis management of the journalistic profession.

Key words: *media, journalists, editors, motivate, reward, punishment, Republic of Macedonia*

Uvod

Motiv kod čoveka je „ono što ga podstiče na aktivnost, ono što je prvobitna pobuda, prvi razlog svakog akta ponašanja” (Александрович Лајша, 2008:61) ili „složena i dinamična psihološka (duševna) tvorevina, koja se javlja kao rezultat uzajamnog dejstva između svesti i sfere osećanja (srca) i savesti” (Александрович Лајша, 2008:71).

Motivacija, pak, predstavlja „proces više ili manje osvešćenog formiranja motiva kao prva faza namernog voljnog akta” (Александрович Лајша, 2008:71).

Autor „Emocionalne inteligencije” Daniel Goleman motivisanost definiše kao „emocionalnu sklonost koja vodi postizanju ciljeva i olakšava ga” (2008:33). Sastavljena je od sledećih elemenata:

- težnja za postizanjem ili nadgradnjom uzora uspešnosti;
- predanost - poistovećivanje sa ciljevima grupe ili organizacije;
- inicijativa - spremnost za delovanja pri pojavi novih mogućnosti;
- optimizam - upornost u postizanju ciljeva bez obzira na teškoće (Goleman, 2008:33).

Motivacija se definiše i kao „stepen do kojeg je jedna individua lično posvećena da uloži veći napor za postizanje specifične aktivnosti ili cilja” (Kreps, 1990:155).

Motivisani zaposleni su zadovoljni, uživaju u svom poslu i bolje izvršavaju radne zadatke, a time je i organizacija uspešnija.

Da li su novinari dovoljno motivisani u masovnim medijima u kojima rade? Šta je to što ih pokreće za novu istraživačku priču? Šta je to što ih demotiviše?

Predmet istraživanja ovog rada su načini motivisanja, nagrađivanja i kažnjavanja urednika i novinara u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji. Cilj rada je da istraži krizu novinarske profesije kroz prizmu menadžmenta medija.

1. Metodološki pristup

Ovaj rad spada u kvantitativna istraživanja. Tokom istraživanja primenili smo anketni upitnik kao metod sakupljanja podataka. Ovo je primarni izvor podataka. U saglasnosti sa predmetom našeg interesovanja, u istraživanju smo koristili ciljani uzorak. Kao kriterijum za izbor medija korišćen je rejting gledanosti ili čitanosti medija (nizak/visok). Jedinica istraživanja su glavni i odgovorni urednici, urednici i novinari nacionalnih televizija i štampanih medija.

Glavni i odgovorni urednici su popunili dva anketna upitnika: ocena načina na koji direktor motiviše, nagrađuje i kažnjava, i samoocena. Urednici su, isto tako, popunili dva anketna upitnika: ocena načina na koji glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše, nagrađuje i kažnjava, i samoocena. Novinari su popunili i jedan upitnik u kome su odgovarali na posebna pitanja o načinima na koji ih glavni i odgovorni urednici i urednici motivišu, nagrađuju i kažnjavaju.

Tabela 1. Ukupno ispitanika iz pet medija²

Pozicija	Ukupno ispitanika	Elektronski mediji	Štampani mediji
Glavni i odgovorni urednik	3		
Urednik	24	8	16
Novinar	60	31	29

U tabelama 2, 3 i 4 navedena su obeležja ispitanika: starost, staž u mediju u kome sada rade i ukupni staž u novinarstvu.

Tabela 2. Starost

Pozicija	20-29 godina	30-39	40-49	50+	BO (bez odgovora)
Urednik	0	9	5	7	3
Novinar	21	14	11	10	4

Tabela 3. Staž u mediju

Pozicija	1-4 godine	5-14	15+	BO
Urednik	3	13	8	0
Novinar	13	27	18	2

Tabela 4. Staž u novinarstvu

Pozicija	1-4 godine	5-14	15+	BO
Urednik	0	8	14	2
Novinar	10	27	20	0

Anketni upitnik bio je sastavljen od sledećih pitanja: koje potrebe treba da zadovolje novinari i urednici na svom radnom mestu; da li njihova plata odgovara njihovom radu; da li bi napustili posao ukoliko bi dobili ponudu; koji načini motivisanja, nagrađivanja i kažnjavanja se primenjuju u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji.

² Istraživanje o liderskim stilovima u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji je samo deo istraživanja koje je sprovedeno 2011. godine za doktorsku tezu „Poslovna komunikacija menadžmenta medija u Republici Makedoniji”, odbranjeno na Pravnom fakultetu „Justinijan Prvi”, Univerzitet „Sv. Kirila i Metodij” u Skopju, 8.11.2012. godine.

U literaturi postoji više teorija motivacija: Mekgregorova (McGregor) teorija x i teorija y (Herrick 2003:89), menadžiranje prema ciljevima Pitera Drakera (Herrick 2003:93), teorija samoaktualizovane ličnosti Abrahama Maslova (Abraham Maslow), teorija postignuća, teorija dva faktora Freda Herberga (Fred Herzberg), teorija očekivanja, teorija pojačavanja, teorija pravednosti Adamsa (Adams), teorija društvenog učenja (Vecchio, 2006:72-83).

U teoriji motivacije značajno mesto zauzima hijerarhija potreba, koju je uspostavio psiholog Abraham Maslov (Abraham Maslow) sredinom 20. veka. Njegovo učenje je nazvano humanistička teorija samoaktualizovane ličnosti, ili psihologija zdrave ličnosti (1998:7).

U ovom istraživanju ispitaćemo koje potrebe moraju da zadovolje glavni i odgovorni urednici, urednici i novinari u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji, koristeći Maslovu piramidu potreba.

Piramida je sastavljena od sledećih pet nivoa:

1. Fiziološke potrebe (hrana, voda, zdravlje...);
2. Bezbednosne (sigurni posao, mir, komfor);
3. Društvene potrebe (prihvatanje, pripadanje, članstvo u grupi);
4. Samopoštovanje i statusne potrebe (priznanje, prestiž, mogućnosti za liderstvo, unapređenje);
5. Samoaktualizacija (Maslov, 1998:27).

Kako nas podsjeća Vekio (Vecchio) Maslov je jedan od prvih teoretičara koji uvode humanistički pristup u tretmanu zaposlenih i njegova teorija je od ogromne važnosti za uspostavljanje organizacione politike (Vecchio, 2006:76-77).

Motivatori mogu da budu unutrašnji i spoljašnji. Unutrašnji motivatori zasnovani su na ispunjavanju individualnih uverenja i vrednosti, dok su spoljašni motivatori očigledniji i oslanjaju se na obezbeđivanje individualaca vrednim ekonomskim nagradama - roba i usluge (Kreps, 1990:155).

U pogledu nagradama, istraživaćemo da li direktor, glavni i odgovorni urednik i urednik nagrađuju podređene nekim od sledećih načina:

1. materijalnom nagradom (povećanom platom, bonusom);
2. simboličnom nagradom (trofejom, plaketom, priznanjem, usmenim pohvalama);
3. fleksibilnim radnim vremenom;
4. većim izazovima i odgovornostima;
5. mogućnošću za unapređenjem;
6. poboljšanjem radnih angažmana.

U pogledu kažnjavanja, istraživaćemo da li direktor, glavni i odgovorni urednik i urednik kažnjavaju podređene nekim od sledećih načina:

1. kritikom;
2. novčanom kaznom;
3. teraju ih da rade prekovremeno/više;
4. degradiraju ih;
5. vređaju ih;
6. stavljaju ih na niži položaj za jedan nivo.

2. Rezultati istraživanja

U tabeli 5 navedeni su odgovori glavnih i odgovornih urednika, urednika i novinara, koje potrebe moraju da zadovolje na radnom mestu.

Tabela 5. Piramida potreba Abrahama Maslova

Hijerarhija potreba Abrahama Maslova:	Pozicija	Da	Ne
1. Fiziološke potrebe (hrana, voda, zdravlje...)	GU	0	3
	U	7	17
	N	24	36
2. Bezbednosne potrebe (sigurnost, siguran posao, mir, komfor)	GU	2	
	U	10	14
	N	33	27
3. Društvene potrebe (prihvatanje, pripadanje, članstvo u grupi)	GU	0	0
	U	3	20
	N	11	49
4. Samopoštovanje i statusne potrebe (priznanje, prestiž, mogućnost za liderstvo, unapređenje)	GU	2	
	U	7	17
	N	18	42
5. Samoostvarenje	GU	2	
	U	16	8
	N	36	24

Od Maslove piramide potreba, glavni i odgovorni urednici trebalo je da izaberu najviše tri potrebe koje moraju da zadovolje na svom poslu.

Po dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da moraju da zadovolje sledeće potrebe:

- siguran posao, mir, komfor;
- priznanje, prestiž, mogućnost za liderstvo, unapređenje;
- samoostvarenje.

Rezultati pokazuju da od troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika, samo urednik medija sa niskim rejtingom nije izabralo da mora da zadovolji potrebu za priznanjem, prestižom, mogućnosti za liderstvom i unapređenjem.

Prema istraživanju, urednicima je najvažnije da zadovolje sledeće potrebe iz Maslove piramide:

- samorealizacija - 16 urednika;
- siguran posao, mir - 10 urednika;
- fiziološke potrebe i potrebu za priznanjem, prestižom, mogućnosti za liderstvo, unapređenje - 7 urednika.

Najmanji značaj za urednike ima zadovoljavanje društvene potrebe - prihvatanje i pripadnost u grupi - 3 urednika.

Najvećem broju novinara najvažnije je zadovoljavanje potreba sledećim redosledom:

- samorealizacija - 36 novinara;
- siguran posao, mir - 33 novinara;
- fiziološke potrebe - 24 novinara.

Novinari manju važnost pridaju potrebama za:

- prihvatanjem, pripadanjem, članstvom u grupi - 11 novinara;
- priznanjem, prestižom, mogućnostima za liderstvo, unapređenjem - 18 novinara.

Najvećem procentu ispitanih glavnih i odgovornih urednika, urednika i novinara najvažnije je zadovoljavanje potrebe za samoostvarenjem. Njima je najmanje važno da na radnom mestu zadovolje potrebu za prihvatanjem, pripadanjem i članstvom u grupi.

Tabela 6. Odgovori glavnog i odgovornog urednika na pitanja o plati i da li bi napustili posao

Pitanje	Da	Ne
1. Da li vaša plata odgovara vašem radu?	2	1
2. Da li plata urednika i novinara odgovara njihovom radu?	0	3
3. Da li biste otišli sa vašeg radnog mesta ukoliko bi dobili ponudu?	1	1

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da njihova plata odgovara poslu koji obavljaju, a jedan je odgovorio negativno. Iz aspekta rejtinga, potvrdno su odgovorili glavni i odgovorni urednici medija sa visokim rejtingom.

Jedan glavni i odgovorni urednik bi otišao sa svog radnog mesta i radio bi kao novinar u drugom mediju ukoliko bi mu bila ponuđena veća plata.

Tabela 7. Odgovori urednika i novinara na pitanja o plati i da li bi napustili radno mesto

Pitanje	Pozicija	Da	Ne
1. Da li vaša plata odgovara vašem radu?	U	9	14
	N	5	50
2. Da li biste otišli sa vašeg radnog mesta ukoliko bi dobili ponudu?	U	12	11
	N	36	24

Od ispitanika, 50 novinara (83,3%) i 14 urednika (58,3%) smatraju da njihova plata ne odgovara radnim zadacima koje obavljaju. Svi glavni i odgovorni urednici misle da su plate urednika i novinara neodgovarajuće njihovom radu.

Podaci govore da bi više od pola ispitanih novinara (60%) i pola ispitanih urednika napustili svoje radno mesto ukoliko bi dobili ponudu. To otkriva da nisu zadovoljni, što je, verovatno, rezultat lošeg menadžiranja ljudi. Pritom, čak 75,7% ispitanih novinara koji rade u medijima sa visokim rejtingom i 40,7% koji rade u medijima sa nižim rejtingom, spremni su da napuste svoje radno mesto.

Na pitanje, pod kojim uslovima bi napustili posao, dobili smo sledeće odgovore:

- Kao novinari, ukoliko im ponude veću platu, otišlo bi u drugi medij 8 urednika i 19 novinara;
- Kao novinari u drugi medij za istu platu otišlo bi 13 novinara;
- U neku drugu profesiju otišla bi 4 urednika i 13 novinara;
- „Bilo gde, ovde se više ne može izdržati”, odgovorila su 3 novinara.

2.1. Direktor motiviše, nagrađuje i kažnjava

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika medija sa visokim rejtingom odgovorili su da su motivisani na radnom mestu, a urednik medija sa niskim rejtingom odgovorio je da nije motivisan.

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da ih direktor ne motiviše. Samo jedan glavni i odgovorni urednik medija sa visokim rejtingom je odgovorio da ga direktor motiviše.

Na pitanje da li ih direktor nagrađuje za uspešno obavljen posao, samo jedan glavni i odgovorni urednik je odgovorio „da”. Njegova nagrada sastoji se u poboljšanju radnih angažmana.

Isti glavni i odgovorni urednik je odgovorio da ga direktor kažnjava novčanom kaznom kada pogreši.

2.2. Glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše, nagrađuje i kažnjava

Troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da motivišu svoje podređene. Kažu da ih najčešće motivišu novčanom nagradom. Sve troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika izabrali su ovu opciju.

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da ih motivišu unapređenjem i većim radnim izazovima, a jedan time što ih šalje da izveštavaju o događajima u inostranstvu.

Tabela 8. Odgovori urednika i novinara na pitanja da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše

Tvrđnja	Pozicija	Da	Ne
1. Da li ste motivisani na vašem radnom mestu?	U	15	9
	N	22	35
2. Da li vas glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše za rad?	U	14	8
	N	21	35

Istraživanje pokazuje razlike u odgovorima urednika i novinara na pitanja da li su motivisani na njihovom radnom mestu, kao i da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše.

Veći broj ispitanih urednika (15) kaže da su motivisani na radnom mestu, dok većina novinara (35) smatra da nisu motivisani.

Takođe, veći broj urednika je odgovorio da ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše (14), a većina novinara kaže da ih ne motiviše (35).

Tabela 9. Odgovori urednika i novinara na pitanja da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik nagrađuje

Nagrađuje	Pozicija	Da	Ne
Glavni i odgovorni urednik nagrađuje urednike i novinare za uspešno obavljen posao:	GU	3	0
	U	14	10
	N	14	39
1. Materijalna nagrada (povećana plata, bonus)	GU	3	0
	U	8	16
	N	12	48
2. Simbolična nagrada (trofej, plaketa, priznanje, usmene pohvale)	GU	0	3
	U	3	21
	N	7	53

3. Fleksibilno radno vreme	GU	1	2
	U	2	22
	N	7	53
4. Veći izazovi i odgovornosti	GU	2	1
	U	2	22
	N	2	58
5. Mogućnost za unapređenje	GU	1	2
	U	2	22
	N	4	56
6. Poboljšanje radnih angažmana	GU	0	3
	U	3	21
	N	4	56

Sve troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da nagrađuju urednike i novinare za uspešno obavljen posao. Pri čemu je s njima saglasno samo 14 novinara i 14 urednika.

Sve troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da za uspešno obavljen posao nagrađuju urednike i novinare materijalnom nagradom (povećana plata, bonus), dok se s njima saglasilo samo osam urednika i 12 novinara. Većina urednika (16) i novinara (48) kaže da ne dobija materijalne nagrade od glavnih i odgovornih urednika.

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika kažu da nagrađuju podređene mogućnošću za većim novinarskim izazovima i odgovornostima, ali s njima nisu saglasni 22 urednika i 58 novinara.

Zanimljivo je to što nijedan od glavnih i odgovornih urednika nije odgovorio da simbolično nagrađuje novinare usmenim pohvalama, plaketom, priznanjem, trofejom. Ipak, troje urednika i sedam novinara zaokružili su opciju „da” na ovom pitanju.

Tabela 10. Odgovori urednika i novinara na pitanja da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik kažnjava

Kažnjava	Pozicija	Da	Ne
Da li vas glavni i odgovorni urednik kažnjava kada pogrešite nešto?	GU	3	0
	U	4	19
	N	18	35
1. Kažnjava vas novčanom kaznom?	GU	3	0
	U	2	0
	N	12	48
2. Tera vas da radite prekovremeno/više?	GU	0	3
	U	0	0
	N	0	0
3. Degradira vas?	GU	0	3
	U	0	0
	N	2	58
4. Vređa vas?	GU	0	3
	U	0	0
	N	1	59
5. Stavlja vas na položaj koji je za jedan nivo niži?	GU	0	3
	U	0	0
	N	2	58

Prema istraživanju postoji veliki nesklad u načinu na kojem glavni i odgovorni urednici, urednici i novinari doživljavaju kaznu. Sve troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da kažnjavaju podređene kada nešto pogreše. Ali, najveći broj urednika (19) i novinara (35) nije saglasan s njima.

Takođe, troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da novčano kažnjavaju podređene. Sa ovom tvrdnjom saglasno je samo dvoje urednika i 12 novinara.

Istraživanje pokazuje da glavni i odgovorni urednici ne degradiraju i ne vređaju podređene.

Tabela 11. Hvali – kritikuje

Hvali – kritikuje	Pozicija	Javno	Nasamo	Bez odgovora
1. Kada urednici i novinari urade nešto dobro, glavni i odgovorni urednik ih hvali.	GU	2	1	0
	U	12	0	12
	N	19	8	33
2. Kada urednici i novinari pogreše, glavni i odgovorni urednik ih kritikuje.	GU	2	1	0
	U	9	3	12
	N	15	8	37

Dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika odgovorili su da kada novinari i urednici urade nešto dobro, hvale ih javno, kao i da ih javno kritikuju kada nešto pogreše. Jedan je odgovorio da nasamo hvali i kritikuje podređene.

Od ispitanika, 12 urednika i 19 novinara odgovorili su da ih glavni i odgovorni urednik hvali javno, a 9 urednika i 15 novinara odgovorili su da ih nasamo kritikuje.

2.3. Urednik motiviše, nagrađuje i kažnjava

Tabela 12. Odgovori urednika i novinara na pitanje da li urednik motiviše novinare

Tvrdnja	Pozicija	Da	Ne
Da li urednik motiviše novinare za rad?	U	21	1
	N	27	29

Istraživanje pokazuje protivrečnost u odgovorima urednika i novinara na pitanje da li urednik motiviše novinare za rad. Od ispitanika, 21 urednik odgovorio je da motiviše svoje podređene, ali s njima saglasni su samo 27 novinara. Većina novinara (29) odgovorila je da ih urednik ne motiviše za rad.

Kada uporedimo odgovore novinara na pitanje - da li i kako ih glavni i odgovorni urednik i urednik motivišu – možemo da zaključimo da su novinari dali prednost uredniku. Da ih urednik motiviše, izjasnilo se 27 novinara. Da ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše, izjasnilo se 21 novinar.

Tabela 13. Odgovori urednika i novinara u odnosu na to da li ih urednik nagrađuje

Nagrađuje	Pozicija	Da	Ne
Urednik nagrađuje urednike i novinare za uspešno obavljen posao:	U	14	6
	N	17	35
1. Materijalna nagrada (povećana plata, bonus)	U	9	13
	N	9	51
2. Simbolična nagrada (trofej, plaketa, priznanje, usmene pohvale)	U	1	21
	N	9	51
3. Fleksibilno radno vreme	U	3	19
	N	8	52
4. Veći izazovi i odgovornosti	U	3	19
	N	2	58
5. Mogućnost za unapređenjem	U	1	21
	N	3	57
6. Poboljšanje radnih angažmana	U	0	22
	N	3	57

Prema istraživanju, većina urednika misli da nagrađuje novinare kada dobro obave svoj posao (14 urednika). Nažalost, većina novinara ne deli isto mišljenje. Od ispitanih novinara, samo 17 su odgovorili da ih urednik nagrađuje, dok 35 novinara otkrivaju da ih ne nagrađuje.

Najveći broj urednika odgovorili su da nagrađuju novinare materijalnim nagradama (povećana plata, bonus). Devet urednika izabrali su ovu opciju. Isto mišljenje deli samo 9 od ispitanih 60 novinara.

Tabela 14. Odgovori urednika i novinara u odnosu na to da li ih urednik kažnjava

Kažnjava	Pozicija	Da	Ne
Da li vas urednik kažnjava kada pogrešite nešto?	U	5	16
	N	14	41
1. Kažnjava vas novčanom kaznom?	U	5	17
	N	4	56
2. Tera vas da radite prekovremeno/više?	U	0	22
	N	1	59
3. Degradira vas?	U	0	22
	N	0	60
4. Vređa vas?	U	0	22
	N	1	59
5. Stavlja vas na položaj koji je za jedan nivo niži?	U	1	21
	N	2	58

Za razliku od rezultata u vezi sa nagrađivanjem, kada je reč o kažnjavanju, urednici i novinari imaju skoro isti pogled. Šesnaest urednika i 41 novinar smatraju da urednici ne kažnjavaju novinare kada pogreše. Urednici kažnjavaju novčanom kaznom, smatra pet urednika i četiri novinara.

Tabela 15. Hvali - kritikuje

Hvali – kritikuje	Pozicija	Javno	Nasamo	Bez odgovora
1. Kada novinari urade nešto dobro, urednik ih hvali:	U	11	3	8
	N	22	6	32
2. Kada novinari pogreše, urednik ih kritikuje:	U	4	12	6
	N	12	8	40

Kada novinari urade nešto dobro, urednik ih hvali javno, izjasnilo se 11 urednika i 22 novinara. Kada novinari pogreše, urednik ih kritikuje nasamo, odgovorilo je 12 urednika. To mišljenje deli samo osam novinara. Četvoro urednika i 12 novinara otkrivaju da ih urednik kritikuje javno. Najveći deo novinara nije odgovorio na ova pitanja.

3. Analiza rezultata istraživanja

Analiza rezultata istraživanja otkriva sledeće tendencije:

- Najvećem broju ispitanih glavnih i odgovornih urednika, urednika i novinara najvažnije je zadovoljavanje potrebe za samoostvarenjem. Najmanje im je važno da na radnom mestu zadovolje društvene potrebe - potrebu za prihvatanjem, pripadanjem i članstvom u grupi.
- Rezultati pokazuju da od troje glavnih i odgovornih urednika samo glavni i odgovorni urednik medija sa niskim rejtingom nije izabrao da mora da zadovolji potrebu za priznanjem, prestižom, mogućnošću za liderstvo, unapređenjem.
- Glavni i odgovorni urednik medija sa visokim rejtingom je motivisan na radnom mestu, a glavni i odgovorni urednik medija sa niskim rejtingom nije motivisan.
- Istraživanje pokazuje razlike u odgovorima urednika i novinara na pitanja da li su motivisani na njihovom radnom mestu, kao i da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše. Veći broj ispitanih urednika motivisan je na radnom mestu, a veći procenat novinara nije motivisan. Većina ispitanih urednika je motivisana na radnom mestu, a većina novinara nije. Takođe, većina urednika odgovorila je da ih glavni i odgovorni urednik motiviše, a veći broj novinara kaže da ih ne motiviše.
- Svi glavni i odgovorni urednici smatraju da nagrađuju urednike i novinare za uspešno obavljen posao. Nažalost, sa njima saglasan je samo mali broj novinara i malo više od pola urednika.
- Glavni i odgovorni urednici ne nagrađuju urednike i novinare simboličnim nagradama, kao što su: usmene pohvale, plakete, priznanja, trofeji.

- Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju problem u komunikaciji između glavnih i odgovornih urednika i njihovih podređenih, zato što različito doživljavaju nagrade i kazne. Svi ispitani glavni i odgovorni urednici misle da nagrađuju podređene kada dobro obave neki posao, kao i da ih kažnjavaju kada pogreše; ali od odgovora urednika i novinara proizlazi da oni nemaju isti utisak. Problem može da se pojavi ako urednici i novinari misle da nisu nagrađeni za svoj posao, jer neće biti zadovoljni. Isto tako, ako urednik misli da ih je kaznio, a oni nisu shvatili da ih je kaznio, kazna je besciljna i nepoučna. To znači da poruka ili nije dobro kodirana, ili nije dobro dekodirana, i da su nastale smetnje u komunikaciji.

- Većina novinara odgovorila je da ih urednik ne motiviše za rad.
- Kada uporedimo odgovore novinara da li ih glavni i odgovorni urednik i urednik motivišu, možemo da zaključimo da su novinari dali prednost uredniku.
- Urednici ne nagrađuju novinare simboličnom nagradom (pohvalama, priznanjima).
- Većina urednika misli da nagrađuje novinare kada dobro obave svoj posao, a većina novinara ne deli isto mišljenje.
- Za razliku od rezultata u vezi sa nagrađivanjem, kada je reč o kažnjavanju, urednici i novinari imaju skoro isti pogled. Urednici ne kažnjavaju novinare kada nešto pogreše.

Zaposleni u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji su nezadovoljni. Veći je broj novinara i urednika koji bi napustili radno mesto ukoliko bi dobili ponudu, od onih koji bi ostali lojalni mediju u kojem rade. Zabrinjavajući je veliki broj novinara koji misle da njihova plata ne odgovara njihovim radnim obavezama. To otkriva nezadovoljne ljude. Pritom, rejting medija ne doprinosi da se zaposleni osećaju bolje. Sasvim suprotno, veći je procenat nezadovoljnih novinara i urednika sa platom u medijima sa većom gledanosti, odnosno čitanosti.

Svi ispitani glavni i odgovorni urednici misle da plata urednika i novinara ne odgovara njihovim radnim obavezama. Ne sme da se zaboravi da se i platom šalje poruka koliko je vrednovan nečiji rad.

Prema istraživanju novinarima i urednicima je najvažnije da zadovolje potrebe za samorealizaciju, siguran posao i fiziološke potrebe. Podatak da su pola ispitanih urednika i više od pola ispitanih novinara spremni da napuste radno mesto ukoliko dobiju ponudu, otkriva da oni u mediju ne mogu da zadovolje ove potrebe.

S obzirom na to da u medijima ne postoji sistem nagrađivanja za dobro obavljeni posao i sistem kažnjavanja za loše obavljene zadatke, možda su zaposleni koji žele da napuste medij upravo najbolji. Mada dvoje glavnih i odgovornih urednika kažu da nagrađuju podređene mogućnostima za većim novinarskim izazovima i odgovornostima, s njima nisu saglasni urednici i novinari. Interesantno je to što nijedan od glavnih i odgovornih urednika nije odgovorio da simbolično nagrađuje novinare usmenim pohvalama, plaketom, priznanjem, ili trofejom. Pohvale su „ključ za razvoj ljudi” (Бланчард, Зигарми и Зигарми, 2008:78).

Analiza razloga zbog kojih bi urednici i novinari napustili posao pokazuje da bi neki urednici otišli da rade u drugom mediju na nižem nivou, kao novinari, za veću platu. Neki novinari bi napustili radno mesto i kad bi im bila ponuđena ista plata. Deo njih bi pokušao da promeni profesiju.

Sve ovo ukazuje na to da loše menadžiranje medija utiče na krizu novinarske profesije. Primenjivanje različitih teorija motivacija i nagrađivanje uspešnih radnika, poboljšalo bi osećaj ljudi i unapredilo bi njihovo stvaralaštvo.

Plima najbolje motiviše (Goleman, 2008:104). Plima je posebno stanje uma koje se pojavljuje kada ljudi rade posao koji vole (Goleman, 2008:104). Temeljno svojstvo plime je prisutnost, koja, pak, počinje sa samosvešću. Suprotnost plime i prisutnosti su apatija i tegoba (Goleman, 2008:107).

4. Zaključak

Istraživanje je potvrdilo da oblici motivisanja, nagrađivanja i kažnjavanja koji se (ne) primenjuju u masovnim medijima utiču na krizu novinarske profesije.

Zaposleni u masovnim medijima u Republici Makedoniji su nezadovoljni. Veći je broj novinara i urednika koji bi napustili radno mesto ukoliko bi dobili drugu ponudu od onih koji bi ostali lojalni mediju u kojem rade. Veliki broj novinara misli da njihova plata ne odgovara njihovim radnim obavezama. Medijski radnici nisu dovoljno motivisani na svom radnom mestu. Za dobre medijske proizvode nisu nagrađivani, a za greške nisu ni kažnjavani.

Sintija Taker (Cynthia Tucker) urednica lista Atlanta Journal-Constitution, postavlja pravo pitanje: "Kako možemo mi koji smo menadžeri u medijima dobro da radimo naš posao ako imamo toliko malo znanja o osnovima biznisa koji se odnosi na medije?" (Tucker, 2001, u Herrick, 2003:xviii).

Direktori, glavni i odgovorni urednici i urednici trebalo bi da nauče različite načine motivisanja i nagrađivanja. Obuke u ovoj oblasti u velikoj meri mogle bi da poboljšaju njihove menadžerske sposobnosti.

Direktori medija, glavni i odgovorni urednici i urednici, trebalo bi da imaju pozitivan mentalni stav o životu i poslu, i da taj stav prenose podređenima. Oni imaju izvanredno važnu ulogu u stvaranju pozitivne organizacione klime.

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dr Aleksandar Pavlović, docent

Odsek za novinarstvo, Fakultet za sport, Univerzitet "Union – Nikola Tesla",
Beograd (Republika Srbija)

Šta fali (u) krizi: Krisis, kritika i poreklo demokratije

Apstrakt: U ovom radu kritički se preispituje specifično etimološko značenja pojma krize i ukazuje na njegov afirmativni potencijal u kontekstu novinarstva.

Upotreba pojma krize u značenju problema, odnosno nečega što predstavlja neregularno stanje koje treba rešiti kako bi se nastavilo sa "normalnim" tokom stvari, postala je opšte mesto u savremenim raspravama. U tom smislu se često sreću i naučni skupovi i publikacije koji, kao i ovaj, *krizu* sadrže već u naslovu: kriza filozofije, kriza morala, ekonomska kriza, kriza novinarstva...

U ovom radu, pojam krize se osvetljava u njegovom etimološkom smislu koje ima u starogrčkom jeziku, gde se odnosi na sud, suđenje, odlučivanje i, u nešto širem i kasnijem značenju, na razdvajanje, izbor. Recimo: *crisis* je, na primer, naslov Sofoklove drame o Parisovom sudu, a od *crisis* dolazi i naziv kritičari koji su prvobitno nosile sudije koje su, na drevnim svečanostima poput dionisijskih igara, odlučivale o najboljem pesniku. Iznosi se stav da ovakvo značenje krize ima afirmativan potencijal u kontekstu novinarstva. Novinarstvo nije jednostavno prenošenje informacija, koje se, u današnjem elektronskom dobu, šire brzinom svetlosti putem društvenih mreža. Novinarstvo toj brzini ne može, niti treba da parira, jer se od novina(rstva) očekuje stav, kritički odnos, sud o nečemu – ocene i vrednosti, i zbog toga tradicionalni pojam *crisis* zapravo može ukazati na one pozitivne vrednosti koje novinarstvo čine nezamenljivim.

Ključne reči: *kriza, crisis, novinarstvo, demokratija*

PhD Aleksandar Pavlović, docent

Department of Journalism, Faculty of Sport, University "Union – Nikola Tesla",
Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

What is wrong with the/in the crisis: Crisis, criticism and origins of democracy

Abstract: This paper critically examines the specific etymological meaning of the crisis and points to its affirmative potential in the context of journalism.

The use of the term crisis in the sense of problem, or something that represents an irregular situation to be addressed to in order to continue with "normal" state of affairs, has become common place in contemporary debates. In this sense, one can often face, scientific conferences and publications, or papers like this one, which already include *crisis* in the title: the crisis of philosophy, moral crisis, economic crisis, a crisis of journalism...

In this paper, the term crisis is illuminated in its etymological sense, which is the ancient Greek language, which refers to the court, trial, decision-making and, in a somewhat broader sense, and later, the separation, the choice. For example: *crisis* is, the title of Sophocles drama of Paris' trial, and from the term *crisis* comes the term *the critics* originally bore by judges in ancient ceremonies as Dionysian games, when they decided on the best poet. There is the stance that such a meaning of crisis has an affirmative meaning potential in the context of journalism. Journalism is not simple conveying of information, which, in today's electronic age, spread with the speed of light through social networks. Journalism cannot and should not compete with that speed, because one expects stance, critical attitude from the journalist(ism) about some topic - reviews and values, and therefore the traditional concept of *crisis* may actually point to the positive values which make journalism indispensable.

Key words: *crisis, journalism, democracy*

Uvod: pojam krisis i kriza novinarstva

U ovom radu iznosi se filološko-istorijska analiza pojma krize i prati njegovo značenje u različitim diskursima i epohama. Namera mi je da ukažem na arhaično, izvorno značenje pojma krize u starogrčkom jeziku i da afirmišem ovo manje poznato značenje tog termina u smislu suđenja, odluke i značaja koji je imao u atinskoj demokratiji, kako bih ukazao na potencijalne pozitivne pravce u kojima se može razmišljati kada govorimo o aktuelnoj krizi novinarstva.

Pojam krize postao je takoreći opšte mesto na naučnim konferencijama i u publikacijama, pa tako često nailazimo na teme kao što su kriza filozofije, kriza morala, ekonomska kriza ili, kao u ovom slučaju, kriza novinarstva. Šta se, pre svega, podrazumeva pod pojmom krize u ovim slučajevima? Kriza je u ovim sintagmama shvaćena u uobičajenom smislu kao nešto što predstavlja problem, kao nešto što je neregularno, što remeti uobičajenu situaciju, jednom rečju kao nešto što je negativno i što treba prevazići kako bi se uspostavilo "normalno" stanje ili tok stvari.

Pre nego što pređem na istorijsku analizu pojma krize kako bih istakao njegovo izvorno značenje i funkciju, treba reći da moja analiza, naravno, ne pretpostavlja da je ovo uobičajeno značenje pojma krize nešto pogrešno ili netačno. Novinarstvo je nesumnjivo u krizi, shvaćenoj u ovom svakodnevnom smislu, i to kako u globalnom, tako i u regionalnom kontekstu. Na globalnom nivou, razvoj interneta i društvenih mreža predstavlja veliki izazov za tradicionalne medije, pogotovo za novine i druge štampane medijske forme. Novine su (otuda i njihovo ime) tradicionalno služile kao izvor novih informacija. Takvo mesto one više ne zauzimaju, jer je do skoro nezamisliva dostupnost informacija danas opšte pristupačna i one se šire takoreći trenutno. U toj trci najviše su ugroženi savremeni štampani mediji pošto sve više ljudi do informacija stiže na druge načine.

Drugi veliki izazov medijima dolazi iz sfere bezbednosti, i nekoliko velikih skandala poslednjih godina kao što su slučaj Snouden ili Vikiliks doveli u pitanje moć savremenih medija. Vinovnici ovih afera sada su veoma prisutni u javnosti sa svojim apokaliptičnim porukama unekoliko srodnim onoj mekluanovskoj o elektronskoj revoluciji kao kraju pismenosti (Mekluan, 2012). Primera radi, Džulijan Asanž, protagonista Vikiliks afere, poručuje iz svog zabrana u bolivijskoj ambasadi u Londonu da je svet totalne kontrole koji opisuje Orvel u romanu *1984* (Orvel 2010) šala u poređenju sa kontrolom informacija i podataka koju putem interneta i društvenih mreža sprovode vlade Zapadnih zemalja (Asanž, 2013), a jednako su uznemirujuće i poruke Edvarda Snoudena o prisluškivanju koje nad milionima ljudi sprovodi vlada SAD-a (Harding, 2014). Nema, dakle, slobodnog novinarstva, kako zbog elektronske revolucije tako i zbog novih načina kontrole i upravljanja informacijama koje praktikuju svetski moćnici. Drugim rečima, po mišljenju ovih apokaliptičnih mislilaca, mi se već nalazimo u dobu koje obeležava praktična nepismenost običnog sveta, nepostojanje slobodnog novinarstva i potpuna kontrola vladajućih struktura nad izvorom i protokom informacija.

Na regionalnom planu, novinarstvo je ništa manje u krizi, doduše iz nekih specifičnih razloga. Tokom Miloševićeve vladavine, recimo, postojala je znatna podrška nezavisnim medijima u Srbiji, kao i u regionu, koja je omogućavala ne samo opstanak nego i znatnu uređivačku slobodu jednom broju medija. Nakon demokratskih promena, ubrzo je procenjeno da takva podrška medijskom sektoru više nije neophodna i težište stranih fondova pomeren je na druga područja. Tako smo došli u situaciju da nezavisni mediji moraju sami sebe da izdržavaju, što je praktično značilo komercijalizaciju radio, TV i izdavačkog programa, za šta je najbolji primer medijska kuća B92. Štaviše, kada je reč o štampanim medijima, pošto oni ne mogu da opstanu samo zahvaljujući broju prodatih primeraka novina, njihov ključni izvor finansiranja je oglasni prostor, koji po pravilu zakupljuju državne i privatne firme pod kontrolom određenih stranaka i tajkuna, pa je jasno da je prostor za uređivačku slobodnu veoma sužen. I tako smo, pod pritiskom ova dva činioca – komercijalizacije i političko-tajkunskih pritisaka, došli u krizu, pa često čujemo ili čitamo iskaze poput – “Ovde novinarstvo više ne postoji”, kako je nedavno konstatovala perjanica slobodnog novinarstva u Srbiji Brankica Stanković u jednom intervjuu (Stanković, 2014).

Ako pogledamo pojam krize malo detaljnije, dolazimo do zaključka da se kriza ne odnosi samo na problem, na nešto negativno, nego da u svom osnovnom značenju podrazumeva donošenje odluke ili pravljenje izbora u nekoj odlučujućoj situaciji. Dalje, da je pojam krize u etimološkoj i uopšte u bliskoj vezi sa kritikom i kritičarima, a u svom samom početku, sa ritualima i poezijom i sa samim počecima atinske demokratije (te, dakle, i demokratije uopšte). Da vidimo, dakle, odakle kriza dolazi, na šta se odnosila i kako je i kada počela da se upotrebljava u smislu u kom je mi danas koristimo.

Krisis kao pesničko takmičenje

Priča o krizi, kao i mnoge druge priče, počinje u staroj Grčkoj. Pojam krize srodan je pojmu kritičara (u smislu književnog kritičara), koji dolazi od aleksandrijskih filologa, dakle iz helenističkog doba, ali ideja o kritičaru kao posebno kvalifikovanom “sudiji” (*kritēs*, mn. *kritai*) ima daleko poreklo koje seže do drevnih starogrčkih pesničkih takmičenja. Naime, mnogo pre nego što su pesnička dela počela da bivaju zapisana, a zatim čuvana i ocenjivana u aleksandrijskoj biblioteci, pesnici su izvodili svoja dela pred sudijama na takmičenjima, i te sudije su u Atini nazivani *kritai*. Dakle, još od arhajskih vremena, mnogo pre Platona i Aristotela, pre Patroklovog zlatnog doba, pa čak i pre zapisivanja Homerovih epova, ova pesnička takmičenja su bila prilike za “izbor” i “suđenje” (oba obuhvaćena pojmom *krisis*) (Ford 2009: 273). Naglašavam ovu izvornu vezu *krisis* sa demokratijom pošto je ovde reč o običajima ustanovljenim vekovima pre uspostavljanja atinske skupštine i demokratije, pre organizacije u deme, pre izbora i svega onoga što čini osnov demokratije i što svi mi baštinimo od starih Grka, a pre svega od Atinjana.

U to drevno doba, dakle, za stare Grke ova pesnička takmičenja nisu bila ono što su danas, marginalni događaji o kojima odlučuje žiri sastavljen od profesiona-

laca u nekoj kancelariji, već prvorazredne društvene pojave, odnosno ritualne svečanosti. Pesnici su izvodili dela javno, pred horom, a proglašenje pobjednika imalo je za cilj da javno obznani da je izvođenje bio zadovoljavajuće, prijatno, i da je određeni pesnik na najbolji način izrazio vrednosti određene grupe. Pesnici bi, prema tome, izvodili svoja dela pred publikom i sudijama, i ocenjivani su u skladu sa tim u kojoj meri odgovaraju ukusu i interesima zajednice.

Iz onoga što možemo da rekonstruišemo, iako to nije sasvim pouzdano, vidimo da je u demokratskoj Atini postojao niz procedura za izbor ovih sudija kako bi se osiguralo da odluka zaista pripada narodnim predstavnicima na dramskim festivalima. Dakle, najstarija upotreba reči kriza se sreće upravo u ovom kontekstu – *krisis* je ime za ovo takmičenje, a oni koji su zvanično odabrani da izaberu pobjednike su *kritai*, „sudije“ (v. Nagy, 1989:39). Takođe znamo i to da su ove pesničke svečanosti, pored svog javnog i takmičarskog karaktera, u Atini sadržale nukleus demokratskih procedura, i da su te demokratske tendencije u kasnijem, klasičnom periodu, postale osnov demokratskog uređenja koje je danas apsolutno dominantan oblik političke organizacije u svetu (Nagy, 1989: 39).

Navodim ukratko nekoliko izvora koji nam omogućavaju izvestan uvid u ovo izvorno značenje *krisis*-a. Platon nam u *Zakonima*, na primer, saopštava kako je drevni običaj u Grčkoj, koji, dodaje ovaj filozof, još uvek vlada u Italiji i na Siciliji u njegovo doba, bio da se izbor/sud (*krisis*) ostavi množini gledalaca, koji su određivali pobjednika dizanjem ruku (*Zakoni*, knj. II 659b).

Nepun vek pre Platona, pojam *krisis*-a kao suđenja pesnicima nalazimo u opisu poetskog takmičenja u komediji starogrčkog komediografa Aristofana pod naslovom *Žabe*. Aristofan piše *Žabe* 405. godine pre nove ere, tokom razarajućeg višedecenijskog Peloponeskog rata, a tema komedije je povratak iz Hada, dakle iz mrtvih, najvećeg pesnika kako bi spasio atinsko društvo koje je u krizi. Sudija je sam Dionis, a borba se vodi između Eshila, starog tragičara, i Evripida, koji je mlađi i okrenut sofistima, dakle onome što za nas simbolizuje demagogiju, vešto besedeње, političku manipulaciju. I, naravno, Aristofan afirmiše starijeg pesnika, Eshila, koji pobeđuje i biva vraćen među Atinjane da im ulije hrabrost i mudrost i tako ih izbavi iz krize (Nagy, 1989: 68). Navodim samo jedan karakterističan stih, u kom bog Dionis lično nalaže: “Takmičenje i to smesta, da pokrene i sud jedan da odredi pred kojim će obojice vrednost da se sad proceni” (Aristofan 1987: 179). Iz ovoga se jasno vidi koliko je za stare Grke pojam *krisis* u smislu odluke o najboljem pesniku bio blizak pojmu sudije u pravnom smislu. Ova dihotomija i danas postoji u srpskom jeziku, jer se i naš pojam sud i suđenje odnosi kako na iznošenje nekog mišljenja u opštem smislu, tako i na pravni poredak u kom sudija ima istaknuto mesto. Stoga nije nimalo iznenađujuće da pojmove *krisis* i *kritai* srećemo kod starih Grka i u pravnom smislu, kao sudije koje sude ne samo o pesnicima, nego i o pravnim poslovima i sporovima uopšte. Za Grke, dakle zaključuje jedan komentator, “kriza” je bila centralni koncept putem kojeg pravednost i politički poredak može biti harmonizovan putem pravnih odluka. (Koselleck 2006: 359). A osnov tog poretka, kako sam naveo, činile su demokratske procedure čiji je cilj bio da omogućе izražavanje opšte volje.

Kritičari kao izabrani, istaknuti pojedinci kod Platona i aleksandrijskih filologa

Tek nekoliko vekova kasnije, krajem petog i u četvrtom veku pre nove ere, Platon i Aristotel će nastojati da u svojim delima objasne suštinu pesničke umetnosti, da nađu njene zakonitosti i pravila. I, uz to, takođe i da uspostave kriterijume po kojima ona treba da bude vrednovana. Za njih, *kritēs* će sve više biti neki posebno obrazovani pojedinac upućen u pesničke veštine i pravila. Primera radi, u pomenu-tom odlomku iz *Zakona* u kom Platon govori o *krisis*-u kao suđenju, on takođe ističe kako se odluka ne može prepustiti mnoštvu, jer je to krah za pesnike koji su onda nagnani da se umile puku, nego o tome treba da odlučuju oni učeni i nadareni (Platon, *Zakoni*, knj. II:659a-b). Na njihovom tragu, aleksandrijski filolozi, a konkretno pre svih Krates, upravnik pergamske biblioteke (najvećeg takmaca aleksandrijskoj) uvode pojam *kritikoi* za one koje je obrazovanje opremilo ovim specifičnim kompetencijama (Ford, 2009:273-274). Prema tome, u Aleksandriji, tokom helenističkog perioda, javlja se pojam kritičara blizak današnjem smislu književnog kritičara—aleksandrijski koncept *krisis* podrazumevao je izbor, suđenje u jednom specifičnom smislu; *kritikoi*, iliti kritičari, bili su oni koji su odlučivali, birali, presuđivali, razdvajali, dela i pesnike koji zaslužuju da budu sačuvani a koji ne. Ti su kritičari, dakle, bili posebno obrazovani i kvalifikovani da izaberu one najvrednije pesnike, što odgovara Platonovoj i Aristotelovoj koncepciji koja, doduše, ne isključuje demokratski sud, ali je takođe i pomalo elitistička u poređenju sa drevnim procedurama *krisis*-a (Nagy 1989:1).

Krisis kao crisis od latinskog srednjeg veka do modernog doba

Hrišćanstvo pojmu *krisis*-a daje teološku dimenziju, i on se sada odnosi se na spasenje, tačnije na strašni sud. Već u septuaginti, prvom prevodu Svetog pisma na starogrčki jezik (*Biblios* na starogrčkom jednostavno znači knjiga), taj pojam suda iz sintagme strašni sud dat je kao *krisis*, i prevodi se latinskom rečju *judicium*, dakle kao suđenje. Ipak, latinski oblik *crisis* ne dolazi iz verskog, nego iz medicinskog diskursa. Tek u petnaestom veku nalazimo *krisis* u obliku *crisis*, u značenju prelomna, odlučujuća tačka kod bolesti, i iz tog latinizovanog oblika pojam se širi po današnjim evropskim jezicima. Ovo medicinsko značenje latinski autori preuzimaju iz najuticajnijeg antičkog medicinskog priručnika koji je napisao Galen u drugom veku nove ere, gde pojam označava odluku donetu u kritičnom trenutku bolesti o tome da li će pacijent ostati u životu ili ne. I danas je pojam krize zadržao, između ostalih, i ovo medicinsko značenje, pa tako recimo u psihologiji i psihijatriji često govorimo o tome da je pacijent u krizi.

Iako zrno političkog značenja pojma krize možemo naći već kod starogrčkog istoričara Tukidida, koji ga koristi u smislu prelomna tačka kada, na primer, govori o četiri bitke koje su donele kraj Peloponeskog rata, politička upotreba ovog pojma takođe je relativno poznata i potiče iz sedamnaestog veka. "Evropa je sada u stanju

promene i u krizi koja nije viđena još od vremena Karla Velikog”, glasi, primera radi, jedna rečenica koja zvuči kao da je napisana juče, a zapravo je napisao nemački filozof Lajbnic 1713. godine (Koselleck, 2006:363). U drugom pravcu pojam *crisis* se razvija u pravu, gde postaje oznaka za pravnu odluku i suđenje, a zatim i za svaku vrstu odluka, o ratu i miru, krivici itd. Ne-medicinska značenja pojma krize, prema tome, nastaju prevashodno u sedamnaestom veku, najpre u smislu odlučujuće, prelomne tačke: “pravna, teološka i medicinska upotreba pojma ‘crisis’ stoga sadrži specifična značenja vezana za određenu disciplinu. Uzeta zajedno, međutim, ona se – na različite načine – mogu uklopiti u moderan društveni i politički jezik. Kroz sve periode, koncept je primenjivan na odluke od životnog značaja čija je svrha da odgovore na pitanja o tome šta je pravedno i nepravedno, šta doprinosi spasenju ili prokletstvu, šta podstiče zdravlje ili donosi smrt” (Koselleck 2006:361).

Pojam krize u ekonomskom diskursu i marksizmu

Iz ovoga kasnijom disperzijom dolazimo i do značenja katastrofe, nesreće, problema, perioda intenzivnih nedaća ili opasnosti, kao u danas čestom obliku “sadašnja ekonomska kriza”. Upotreba pojma u ekonomskom smislu, izgleda, takođe je relativno pozna i dolazi nakon francuske revolucije. Naravno, ekonomskoj upotrebi pojma je najviše doprineo Marks, koji je pokazao da su krize konstitutivni element kapitalističkog sistema. Kapitalizam “prirodno” prolazi kroz krize, smatra Marks, i kao da time biva i ojačan – tržište se konsoliduje i kapitalizam iz njih izlazi još jači nego što je bio. Krize su, uz to, periodične i globalne, a nastaju usled inherentnih protivrečnosti kapitalističkog sistema – hiperprodukcije, zasićenja tržišta, viška vrednosti i tako dalje. Evo jednog od najpoznatijih citata o krizi iz *Komunističkog manifesta*:

“Decenijama je istorija industrije i trgovine samo istorija pobune modernih proizvodnih snaga protiv modernih odnosa proizvodnje, protiv odnosa svojine koji su životni uslovi buržoazije i njene vladavine... U krizama izbija društvena epidemija koja bi svima ranijim epohama izgledala kao besmislica - epidemija hiperprodukcije... Čime buržoazija savlađuje krize? S jedne strane, prisilnim uništavanjem mase proizvodnih snaga; s druge, osvajanjem novih tržišta i temeljitijom eksploatacijom starih tržišta. Dakle, čime? Time što priprema svestranije i silnije krize, a smanjuje sredstva za sprečavanje kriza (Marks, Engels, 2009).

I sama komunistička revolucija, smatra Marks, dolazi kao rezultat jedne takve krize koja će neumitno doći i doneti krah kapitalizma. Upravo na osnovu ovih kriza, dakle, Marks i Engels su mogli da predvide neizbežni slom kapitalizma, mada je, doduše, ovaj slom u njihovoj teoriji zahtevao i simultano revolucionarno delovanje proletarijata, klase koju je buržoazija stvorila. Stoga nije neočekivano što u Marksovom *Kapitalu* kriza postaje jedna od centralnih, ako ne i centralna kategorija, jer upravo krize ukazuju na strukturne granice kapitalizma i pokazuju njegovu unutrašnju protivrečnost zbog kojih je njegov krah neizbežan (Marks, 1973).

Doba krize: disperzija pojma u kulturološkom i medijskom diskursu XX i XXI veka

U dvadesetom i dvadesetprvom veku, pojam krize se proširio na kulturološki i medijski diskurs. U historiografiji, on se koristi kako bi se okarakterisale epohe ili strukture – jedna epoha dospeva u krizu, i biva zamenjena nekom drugom. Političke nauke koriste ovaj pojam u značenju bliskom "konfliktu", ali, pre svih, mediji su ti koji su najzaslužniji za ovakvu disperziju pojma krize. Jedno malo istraživanje sprovedeno na osnovu naslova koji su nalaženi u medijima, pokazalo je nekih 200 različitih konteksta u kojima se upotrebljava pojam krize. Komentatori kažu: "ako uzmemo frekventnost upotrebe kao indikator aktuelnosti krize, onda se moderni period od početka devetnaestog veka do danas može nazvati dobom krize" (Koselleck, 2006:381). Primera radi, "kriza" se često koristi kao sinonim sa "nemirima", "konfliktom", "revolucijom", "ratom", a bogatu građu u ovom smislu dalo je izveštavanje tokom devedesetih godina prošlog veka, kada je opšte mesto bila sintagma "kriza u bivšoj Jugoslaviji". Pojam krize se, tako, sve više koristi u jednom nepreciznom i neodređenom smislu – kada nismo sigurni kakav je konflikt ili problem u pitanju, pribegavamo pojmu krize. Tako bismo mogli da zaključimo da je u savremenom diskursu, uprkos proliferaciji, pojam "krize" zapravo u krizi, jer je izgubio ono nekadašnje značenje vezano za odlučujući momenat, za odluku od životnog značaja, a naročito je izgubljena njegova etimološka i izvorna vezi sa demokratijom.

Zaključak: povratak krisis-u

U ovom radu razmotrena je najranija upotreba pojma krize kod starih Grka i ispraćeno semantičko širenje ovog pojma kroz istoriju. U starogrčkom jeziku, kako je navedeno, *krisis* se odnosi na sud, suđenje, odlučivanje i, u nešto širem i kasnijem značenju, na razdvajanje, izbor, da bi se kasnije njegovo značenje proširilo najpre na medicinski, a zatim i na pravni, politički, ekonomski diskurs, kako bi u dvadesetom i dvadesetprvom veku pojam krize doživeo pravu proliferaciju. Istaknuto je da je starogrčka reč *krisis* bila naziv koji su prvobitno nosile sudije koje su, na drevnim svečanostima, odlučivale o najboljem pesniku, a tek kasnije, u helenističkom dobu, postaje ime za kritičare koji vrednuju pesnička dela, a kasnije i za kritičare i kritiku uopšte.

Posebno je naglašena ova izvorna veza *krisis* sa demokratijom, pošto je ovde reč o običajima i svečanostima ustanovljenim vekovima pre uspostavljanja atinske skupštine i demokratije, pre organizacije u deme, pre izbora i svega onoga što čini osnov atinske demokratije. Ovi *krisis*-i bili su prvorazredne društvene pojave, odnosno ritualne svečanosti, jer su pesnici izvodili svoja dela pred publikom i sudijama, i ocenjivani su u skladu sa tim u kojoj meri odgovaraju ukusu i interesima zajednice. Pored toga, raspoloživi izvori pokazuju da je u Atini postojao niz demokratskih procedura za izbor ovih sudija kako bi se osiguralo da odluka zaista pripada narodnim predstavnicima na dramskim festivalima, i te demokratske tendencije u kasnijem,

klasičnom periodu, postaju osnov demokratskog uređenja koje je danas apsolutno dominantan oblik političke organizacije u svetu.

Jasno je, dakle, zašto mislim da razmatranje izvornog značenja krize može biti podsticajno i imati afirmativan potencijal u kontekstu novinarstva. Novinarstvo nije jednostavno prenošenje informacija, koje se ionako, u današnjem elektronskom dobu, šire brzinom svetlosti putem društvenih mreža. Novinarstvo toj brzini ne može, niti treba da parira, jer se od novina(rstva) očekuje stav, kritički odnos, sud o nečemu – ocene i vrednosti, i zbog toga tradicionalni pojam *krisis* zapravo može ukazati na one pozitivne vrednosti koje novinarstvo čine nezamenljivim u demokratskom društvu.

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PhD Biljana Petrevska,¹ docent
Faculty of Law "Justinian I", "Ss. Cyril and Methodius"
University in Skopje (Republic of Macedonia)

The television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia

Abstract: The objective of this paper is to analyze the situation in the advertising industry, in order to conclude which are the limiting factors affecting the development of the advertising industry and therefore the media industry in the Republic of Macedonia. We will take quantitative analysis of several legal acts and strategic documents in the field of broadcasting, qualitative analysis of data provided from documents and publications of relevant institutions in the field, and as well as in-depth interviews with media professionals, so we can explore several problems faced by the entities in the market and which pose serious obstacles of the modern journalism. The paper is going to analyze the basic features of television advertising, its specifics that make advertising industry different from other industries, the characteristics of the product or service that is the subject of trade in this market, the characteristics and structure of the Macedonian television advertising market, and audience measuring data that will be represented.

Key words: *media, market, television industry, advertising, media market*

¹ E-mail: petrevskabiljana@yahoo.com

dr Biljana Petrevska, docent

Pravni fakultet "Justinijan I", Univerzitet "Sveti Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju
(Republika Makedonija)

Tržište televizijskog oglašavanja u Republici Makedoniji

Apstrakt: Cilj ovog rada je analiza situacije u industriji oglašavanja, kako bi se zaključilo koji su ograničavajući činioci koji utiču na razvoj industrije oglašavanja, a time i industriju medija u Republici Makedoniji. Preduzećemo kvantitativnu analizu nekoliko zakonskih akata i strateških dokumenata u području radio-difuzije, kvalitativne analize podataka dobijenih iz dokumenata i publikacija bitnih institucija u području radio-difuzije, kao i opširnije intervjuje s medijskim profesionalcima, tako da možemo istražiti nekoliko problema s kojima se suočavaju subjekti na tržištu koji predstavljaju ozbiljne prepreke modernog novinarstva. U radu će se analizirati osnovne karakteristike televizijskog oglašavanja, njegove specifičnosti koje čine da se reklamna industrija razlikuje od drugih industrija, osobine proizvoda ili usluge koja je predmet trgovine na ovom tržištu, osobine i struktura makedonskog televizijskog tržišnog oglašavanja, i mjerenje podataka gledanosti koji će biti zastupljeni.

Ključne riječi: *mediji, tržište, televizijska industrija, oglašavanje, tržište medija*

1. Introduction

The role of the media is undoubtedly huge in creating the public opinion, the views of the audience, and in the provision of responsible government in any society. The media must provide independent, accurate and above all professional information, which will be abstracted from the effects of certain interest groups in the society.

Given the fact that the television advertising market in any country is actually the most important source for providing funds in the media industry, we came up with the idea to analyze its meaning in this paper. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to consider the situation of the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia, to identify the underlying trends, the constraints and barriers to the development of the media industry, to find different ways to overcome them, and also to find mechanisms for future development.

We could say that the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia is very specific, especially because our country is small and underdeveloped economy in which there are problems from the past, and also we have a market where the market rules are not fully functioning, while there are a large number of television stations for which that market potential is very small.

The television advertising market is actually such a market in which television stations are competing to attract viewers, from one hand the citizens in the Republic of Macedonia as their consumers, and on the other hand this television advertising market can also be successful in attracting advertisers. These advertisers are having the highest efficiency ratings of the television in the Republic of Macedonia, because their advertising increases the demand for products and services. (Bagwell, 2005:140). Therefore, in the theory the television advertising market is called "market of two sides" (Doyle, 2009:12). At the same time, the essence of television is to "produce audience" (Alexander et al, 2004:155).

2. The analysis of several legal acts and strategic documents in the field of broadcasting in the European Union and in the Republic of Macedonia

The most important document within the European Union that regulates the television advertising is the Directive 2007/65/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2007 amending Council Directive 89/552/EC on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the pursuit of television broadcasting activities, OJ L 332 of 18.12.2007.

This Directive on audiovisual media services was adopted by the European Parliament on 29 November 2007 and came into force on 19 December 2007. The Council of Europe adopted a codified version of the Directive on 15 February 2010, in which its text was consolidated and the legal framework for audiovisual services was modernized.

An audiovisual media services are as much cultural services as they are economic services. Their growing importance for societies, democracy – in particular by ensuring freedom of information, diversity of opinion and media pluralism – education and culture justifies the application of specific rules to these services (Directive 2007/65/EC : Article 3). For the purposes of this Directive, the definition of an audiovisual media service should cover mass media in their function to inform, entertain and educate the general public, and should include audiovisual commercial communication but should exclude any form of private correspondence, such as e-mails sent to a limited number of recipients (Directive 2007/65/EC: Article 18). The term audiovisual should refer to moving images with or without sound, thus including silent films but not covering audio transmission or radio services (Directive 2007/65/EC: Article 22).

The articles 43 to 48 of the Treaty lay down the fundamental right to freedom of establishment. These audiovisual commercial communications must respect the human dignity, and prevent discrimination on any ground, and both must be exploited minors.

The audiovisual commercial communication means images with or without sound which are designed to promote, directly or indirectly, the goods, services or image of a natural or legal entity pursuing an economic activity. Such images accompany or are included in a program in return for payment or for similar consideration or for self-promotional purposes. The forms of audiovisual commercial communication include, inter alia, television advertising, sponsorship, teleshopping and product placement (Directive 2007/65/EC: Article 1).

According to these Directive, the proportion of television advertising spots and teleshopping spots within a given hour shall not exceeded 20% (Directive 2007/65/EC : Article 18.) The Directive also simplifies and relaxes the rules on the insertion of advertising, while encouraging self- and co-regulation.

On 3 February 2014, the European Commission adopted a formal Decision establishing a group of national regulators in the broadcasting area: “The European Regulators Group for Audiovisual Media Services”. The main objectives for the Group are: (EPRA, 2014)

- to advise and assist the Commission in the work, to ensure a consistent implementation of the AVMSD (Directive for audiovisual media services), as well as in any other matters related to audiovisual media services within the Commission’s competence;
- to facilitate cooperation between the regulatory bodies in the European Union, as provided for in the Directive regulating audiovisual media services; and also
- to allow for an exchange of experience and good practices.

The legal framework of the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia constitutes the Law for audio and audiovisual media services which became operational in the beginning of this year (2014). According to the institutions that have prepared these Law, the audio or audio visual communications that are defined within the law are defined at the same way as they are in the Directive of

the European Union. But there are also many critics of this Law in the Republic of Macedonia, critics that are targeted to its implementation in practice. The Law should remove the influence of any political party and should be depoliticized. The Agency for audio and audiovisual media services, which is the legal successor of the Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia should provide the majority to come as a proposal of an independent associations, their choice should be made by two-thirds, and there should not be any control of the print and electronic media, also it should delete the provisions for program oversight of the media, should reduce the penalties, and thus avoid the danger self-regulation to turn into self-censorship and should provide protection of the media from subscribed government campaigns.

We will see in the future period how the implementation of the Law for audio and audiovisual media services in the Republic of Macedonia will look like in practice.

3. The limiting factors affecting the development of the advertising industry and therefore the media industry in the Republic of Macedonia

The next question that we're going to analyze in this paper is to explore several problems faced by the entities in the market and which pose serious obstacles of the modern journalism in the Republic of Macedonia. Namely, after the qualitative analyze of data provided from documents and publications of relevant institutions in the field, and as well as in-depth interviews with media professionals in the Republic of Macedonia, we can indicate several limiting factors affecting the development of the advertising industry and therefore the media industry in the Republic of Macedonia.

First, the insufficient level of development of the Macedonian economy or low GDP per capita (Gross Domestic Product per capita), which in the Republic of Macedonia was EUR 3630 in the year 2012. (State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2013:9), and this GDP per capita is only higher than that of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo.

Second, the size of the Macedonian market is also a limiting factor. Namely, it is a small market with a total of 2.062.294 population.²

Third, the internal linguistic divisions, i.e. the different ethnical groups that are living in the Republic of Macedonia want more to see those televisions that broadcast program in their native language, and

Fourth, foreign markets without language barriers. This is the question of the availability of too many channels of Macedonian audience from neighboring countries through cable operators.

Taking into account these limiting factors, the Republic of Macedonia in the year 2013 is estimated with an index 1.54 which means that there is an unsustainable mixed system, namely "country minimally meets the objectives, with segments of the legal system and authorities against free media system. Obvious progress in

² State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, 2013:9.

efforts to free press, increased professionalism, and sustainability of the new media businesses is too early to evaluate”.³

4. The characteristics and structure of the Macedonian television advertising market

The media market in the Republic of Macedonia is indeed characterized by a number of television stations, which is a serious barrier to the development of the broadcasting industry of the Republic of Macedonia. In the year 2013 that number was 68 televisions.⁴ (Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia, 2013:5). Given the fact that it is a small market on the one hand, and there are a number of televisions on the other hand, advertising is really dispersed, and this affects the cutting quality of program content that are broadcasting by the Macedonian television stations. So, we think that by allowing the market to function in this way, all citizens of the Republic of Macedonia suffer direct harm, i.e. consumers of the programs of the Macedonian television stations, or the audience.

The best way that we can see the state of the television industry in the Republic of Macedonia is in the following table from the survey of the Broadcasting Council,⁵ as follows:

Table 1. The state of the television industry in the Republic of Macedonia (2012)

In million MKD denars						
	Total audience share	Total Income	Income from advertising	Total costs	The result from operations	The Number of employees
MTV (MTV 1, MTV 2 and Parliamentary Channel)	8.37	1069.08	54.29	923.92	118.35	597
Sitel	28.98	587.16	586.61	449.42	137.74	130
Channel 5	16.71	361.42	276.78	332.67	25.81	97
Thelma	3.19	113.17	77.1	112.72	0.18	80
Alsats M	5.97	148.4	144.87	146.81	1.29	95
Satellite TV		184.99	181,2	222.34	-37,76	241
Regional TV	14.3	57.54	31.88	87.37	-29.98	49
Local TV		145.7	125.29	126.41	18.98	212
TOTAL	77.52	2667.46	1478.02	2401.66	234.61	1501

³ IREX, Macedonia Media Sustainability Index, 2013.

⁴ Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia, 2013:5

⁵ Ibidem, p. 11

Source: Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia, (2013), Analysis of Broadcasting Market in 2012, Republic of Macedonia, page 11.

If we analyze this table, we can conclude the following:

- ✓ In the year 2012, the most watched television was Sitel with the total audience share of 28.98%.
- ✓ The total income that all stakeholders of the television industry realized were amounted to 2667.46 million MKD denars. 40 % of this amount was income of the Macedonian National Television - MTV.
- ✓ All television stations jointly exercised 1478.02 million MKD denars from the sale of advertising time. Most of these funds have showed that television broadcast on national level (89.37 %), regional television achieved 2.16 % and 8.48 % of the local total revenue were from advertising on the television industry.
- ✓ In the year 2012, the total expenditures were amounted to 2401.66 million MKD denars. Most of these funds were cost of the Macedonian National Television – MTV (923.92 million MKD denars).
- ✓ The realized result from the operation of all stakeholders of the television industry, including the public service was a profit of 234.61 million MKD denars.
- ✓ The average number of employees in full time employment in all televisions is 1501 persons, of which 597 are employed in the Macedonian National Television – MTV.

The data on major advertisers in commercial television stations in the Republic of Macedonia are provided by the agency “Nielsen Audience Measurement” from Skopje. For calculating the values, the agency uses the prices for advertising that are listed in the official price lists of television stations, multiplied by the duration of advertisements. Below are presented data on the share of the value calculated in this way, on the advertisements of certain advertisers in calculated value of broadcast videos of all advertisers during the year that is analyzed.

Table 2. The major advertisers for commercial television stations in the Republic of Macedonia (2012)

No.	Participation advertiser	Share	No.	Participation advertiser	Share
1	The Government of the Republic of Macedonia	4.03%	26	Unilever	0.96%
2	Procter & Gamble	3.73%	27	Makedonski Telekom	0.95%
3	One	3.16%	28	Neptun shop (Euro media)	0.94%
4	Coca-Cola	2.95%	29	Droga Kolinska	0.93%
5	Alternativa Medika	2.44%	30	Kozuvcanka	0.93%
6	Pivara Skopje	2.40%	31	Zdravje Radovo	0.82%
7	Magroni	2.35%	32	Vivaks	0.78%
8	VIP	2.28%	33	Paskalin	0.75%
9	T-Mobile	2.02%	34	Wrigley	0.75%
10	S.C.Johnson&Wax	1.80%	35	Euroimpeks	0.74%
11	VMRO-DPMNE	1.75%	36	Nestle	0.72%
12	Tineks	1.71%	37	TCC Plaza	0.71%
13	Montenegro	1.52%	38	EVN	0.70%
14	BS	1.51%	39	Prilepska Pivara	0.69%
15	Mlekara Maestro	1.49%	40	Studio Moderna	0.68%
16	Herbal +	1.38%	41	Kia Motors	0.64%
17	Henkel	1.36%	42	Makpetrol	0.63%
18	La danza	1.32%	43	Ministry of Finance	0.62%
19	Fikosota	1.31%	44	Sileks	0.62%
20	Beohemija	1.28%	45	Ofis plus	0.61%
21	Alkaloid	1.23%	46	Nikob	0.59%
22	Beiesdorf	1.22%	47	Stopanska banka	0.57%
23	Automotiv Grup	1.21%	48	General Motors	0.57%
24	Chipita	1.05%	49	Total TV	0.57%
25	Dalia	1.02%	50	Vitaminka	0.56%

Source: Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia, (2013), Analysis of Broadcasting Market in 2012, Republic of Macedonia, page 29.

If we analyze the Table No.2. we can notice that the major advertiser for commercial television stations in the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia is the Government of the Republic of Macedonia. We think that in this way the media in the country can be directly exposed to political pressures by the state. Also we consider that the selective and non-transparent allocation of the funds for government campaigns is encouraging unfair competition and violates

well-known market regularities. If the Government of the Republic of Macedonia in this way trying to put the media under its control, the question that arise here: Is journalism in the country experiencing a crisis?

In the year 2012, the most of the broadcast advertising spots (19.27%) were commissioned by the food industry and the soft drinks, on the second place were the political advertisements, on the third place was telecommunication industry, on the fourth place was the cosmetics industry, and on the fifth place was medical industry and medical articles. All of this can be seen in the Table No.3.

Table 3. – The largest advertising industries in the Republic of Macedonia (2012)

Advertising industries	Participation
food industry and soft drinks	19,27%
political advertising	8,47%
telecommunications industry	8,43%
cosmetics industry	7,63%
medical industry and medical articles	7,52%

Source: Broadcasting Council of the Republic of Macedonia, (2013), Analysis of Broadcasting Market in 2012, Republic of Macedonia, page 30.

In the year 2012 the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, i.e. the Macedonian audience daily average crossed after 274 minutes (4 hours and 34 minutes) to watch television, and this takes the Republic of Macedonia on the fifth place among 36 European countries. Before our country were: Romania, Serbia, Hungary and Portugal. On the other hand, the Republic of Macedonia with EUR 366.11 million costs of television broadcasting in the gross amount is on 19th place. The gross costs of television advertising per capita in the Republic of Macedonia is amounted to EUR 177.74, and thus it is on the sixth place.⁶

5. Conclusion

After analyzing the situation in the advertising industry and therefore the media industry in the Republic of Macedonia we can conclude that:

1. The television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia is very specific, especially because our country is small and underdeveloped economy in which there are problems from the past, and also we have a market where the market rules are not fully functioning.

2. The legal framework of the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia constitutes the Law for audio and audiovisual media services which

⁶ IP International Marketing Committee (CMI), Television 2013 International Key Facts

became operational in the beginning of this year (2014). Although this was an important step for the harmonization with the Directive 2007/65/EC of the European Parliament, there are many critics of this Law in the Republic of Macedonia, critics that are targeted especially to the influence of any political party on the media market. We will see in the future period how the implementation of this Law will look like in practice.

3. The limiting factors affecting the development of the advertising industry and therefore the media industry in the Republic of Macedonia are: the insufficient level of development of the Macedonian economy or low GDP per capita; the small size of the Macedonian market; the internal linguistic divisions, i.e. the different ethnical groups that are living in the Republic of Macedonia want more to see those televisions that broadcast program in their native language; and the question of the availability of too many channels of Macedonian audience from neighboring countries through cable operators.

4. After analyzing the major advertisers for commercial television stations in the television advertising market in the Republic of Macedonia we can conclude that the largest advertiser is the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, and in this way the media in the country can be directly exposed to political pressures by the state.

5. The role of the media is undoubtedly huge in creating the public opinion, the views of the audience, and in the provision of responsible government in any society. The media must provide independent, accurate and above all professional information, which will be abstracted from the effects of certain interest groups in the society. To achieve this, we think that there must be the cooperation of all stakeholders in the advertising industry in the Republic of Macedonia, namely: the television stations, the regulatory bodies, an advertising agencies and other institutions that indirectly affect the market for television advertising in the Republic of Macedonia.

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dr Slobodan Reljić, stručni saradnik
Učiteljski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Novinar – profesija amputirane savesti

Apstrakt: Posle Drugog svetskog rata otvarale su se perspektive za puno ostvarenje četiri veka stare ideje o slobodnoj štampi i nezavisnosti novinara. I danas u većini ustava savremenih država usvojen je liberterijanski model o slobodi medija, ozloglašena cenzura je ukinuta u gotovo svim delovima sveta, ali je informisanje građana, dosad nepoznatim tehnikama manipulacije i sistematski razvijenom autocenzurom, pretvoreno u ogoljenu socijalnu propagandu. Uspostavljena je "nevidljiva ruka" kontrole, na delu je "industrija svesti" i mediji su se od "majke svih revolucija" (kako je govorio Viktor Igo) pretvorili u najpouzdanijeg branitelja *status quo-a* društva koje je u dubokoj strukturalnoj krizi.

U društvenoj atmosferi - "za" profit a "protiv" demokratije - nezavisni novinar ima status najamnika koji se za sve mizerniju platu mora odricati onog najvrednijeg u profesiji - prava na delovanje u skladu sa svojom savešću. Odbrana istine, pravde i demokratije sasvim su izvučeni iz realnosti i obitavaju tek u novinarskim etičkim kodeksima i politikantskim govorima. Ovaj rad radikalizuje pitanje: da li je u dobu poznog kapitalizma, manipulativne demokratije, a pri diktatu novih tehnologija, moguće zaustaviti odumiranje slobodnog novinarstva bez koga je liberalna demokratija nemoguća i kao forma?

Ključne reči: *sloboda štampe, liberalna demokratija, nezavisni novinar*

PhD Slobodan Reljić, expert associate
Teacher Training Faculty, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Journalist - a profession of amputated conscience

Abstract: After the Second World War the prospects opened up for the full realization of the four-century old idea of a free press and independence of journalists. Even today in most existing constitutions of countries libertarian model of media freedom was adopted, notorious censorship was abolished in almost all parts of the world, but informing citizens, hitherto unknown techniques of manipulation and censorship systematically developed auto censorship, turned into a bare-bones social propaganda. The “invisible hand” of control was established, “the industry of consciousness” is taking place and the media turned from the “mother of all revolutions” (as once said by Victor Hugo) into the most reliable defenders of the status quo of the society that is in deep structural crisis.

In the social atmosphere – “for profit” and “against” democracy – an independent journalist has the status of a mercenary who must relinquish one of the most valuable things in the profession for increasingly miserable salary - the right to act in accordance with the conscience. The defence of truth, justice and democracy are entirely drawn from reality and live only in the journalistic code of ethics and petty political speeches. This paper radicalizes the question: Is the era of late capitalism, the manipulative democracy, the with the dictate of a new technology, it possible to stop the extinction of free press, without which liberal democracy is impossible even as a form?

Keywords: *freedom of the press, liberal democracy, an independent journalist*

1.

„Glad za novcem i ravnodušnost prema plemenitim stvarima učinili su da je Francuska imala štampu kojoj je, uz retke izuzetke, jedini cilj bio da ojača moć nekolicine i jedina namera da obesceni odvažnost ostalih“, pisao je Alber Kami (Albert Camus) u leto 1944. konstatujući da „toj štampi, dakle, nije bilo teško da postane ono što je bila između 1940. i 1944. godine, to jest sramota ove zemlje“ (Kami, 2004:45).

Kami, intelektualac najvećeg formata, plivao je između pesmističnog pogleda na realnost i nužnosti održavanja nade. „Naša je, često nema ali time dublja, želja bila da novine oslobodimo novca i da im damo takvo obeležje i istinitost koji bi publiku *uzdigli do onoga što je u njoj najvrednije*. Mislili smo tada da neka zemlja vredi onoliko koliko i njena štampa“ (Kami, 2004:46, kurziv S.R.). Da u „novom vremenu“ novine ne bi bile „kopija okupatorske štampe“ (Kami, 2004:47), i pored toga što „nastojanja idu ka tome da se informiše brzo, umesto dobro“, intelektualac mora da zna da je „zadatak svakog od nas da dobro promisli... da postepeno oblikuje duh novina za koje piše, da pažljivo piše i da nikada ne izgubi iz vida ogromnu potrebu da se zemlji vrati njen dubok glas. Ako uspemo da taj glas ostane glas odlučnosti a ne mržnje, hrabre objektivnosti a ne retorike, humanosti a ne osrednjosti, u tom će slučaju mnogo stvari biti spaseno i mi nećemo pogrešiti“ (Kami, 2004:48).

Tog poratnog leta uzvišeno se verovalo da život treba da bude „*slobodan* za svakog i *pravedan* za sve“ (Kami, 2004:57), a veliki pisac je govorio „da je to jedini napor zbog kojeg u današnjem svetu vredi živeti i boriti se“. I: „Promašimo li, ljudi će se vartiti noći. Ali, barem će sve biti pokušano“ (Kami, 2004:58).

Sedam decenija kasnije trag kamijevskog krika, u ime čiste nade miliona iz posleratnog očaja, može se naći tek u novinarskim etičkim kodeksima, knjižicama koje novinarska udruženja dele novim članovima uz prve novinarske legitimacije. Stari članovi se tih sadržaja sećaju kao prvih ljubavi, a „novi klinци“ u njih ulaze kao Alisa u Zemlju čuda, u svetove „s onu stranu dobra i zla“, kojih izvesno nema tu oko nas a verovalo da postoje tamo iza plavih brda, na Zapadnoj strani i da će izvesno stići do nas. Danas ni reporteri školskih zidnih novina nemaju tu vrstu iluzija.

2.

Kodeksi su kao prašnjave knjige skinute s tavana gde je poslednji put bio deda kad se upisao u prvi razred gimnazije. Čitamo: „Obaveza je novinara da tačno, objektivno, potpuno i blagovremeno izvesti o događajima od interesa za javnost... Ekonomski i politički interesi izdavača ne smeju da utiču na uređivačku politiku... Novinar treba da se suprostavi svakom pritisku na slobodno obavljanje profesije...“ I vrhunac ove logike iluzije je da se „novinar ne može prisiliti na izražavanje mišljenja protivno njegovoj savesti“.

Iz kojeg sveta dolaze pisci ovih priručnika? Jer ovde se ne radi o prezentaciji velike ideje nego o – „obavezama“ u svetu u kome onom koga upućuju na ovakve radikalne zahvate, ne mogu pružiti nikakvu realnu pomoć, a još manje zaštitu. U

hrišćanskom trebniku ne obavezuje se sveštenik da mrtvaca vaskrsne treći dan, kako je to bilo dato Bogočoveku, nego mu se daju instrumenti, u obliku molitvi, da ohrabri hrišćanski duh u čoveku čije vere nema ako se ne poveruje u vaskrsnuće.

Šta je to novinaru zaposlenom u preduzeću za proizvodnju vesti, a po važećem radnom zakonu (po kome su zaposleni i obućar i pekar), dato kao pravo da ne dela po potrebi izdavača koji je uložio kapital i ima svoje „političke i ekonomske interese“, koji se po prirodi položaja u društvu razlikuju od interesa najamnika? Pošto nigde nije obvezatno definisano šta znači „tačno, objektivno, potpuno i blagovremeno“, čije će tumačenje da prevlada kad dođe do nepomirljivog sukoba? Šta može da uradi novinar koji ustane u odbranu svoje savesti? Da ode da traži drugog izdavača i čeka sledeći sukob u kome će ponovo da se brani od samoponištenja? Koji će to izdavač da prima novinara koji iza sebe ima nepreglednu seriju časnih ali „neprijatnih“ odbrana savesti?

Nije li sve ovo nemoguća misija u društvu u kome je menadžmentu dato zakonsko pravo da upravlja proizvodnjom i u kom se *ekonomska demokratija* smatra ludošću koja je izvan svake produktivne diskusije, a svakog ko tako šta zatraži pežorativno i diskriminatorno nazvaće „samoupravljac“? Uostalom, zar proizvodnja u medijima nije deo „industrije svesti“?

3.

Noam Čomski (Noam Chomsky), najpoznatiji i najangažovaiji poznavalac savremenih medija, „najveći živi intelektualac današnjice“ po „Njujork tajmsu“, komunikaciju sagledava kroz istoriju demokartije i – što je važno – dolazi iz američke realnosti gde je savremeni medijski model, koji Čomski naziva *propagandni*, najrazvijeniji. Čomskog, neistomišljenici povezuju sa marksizmom, što je, posebno u Americi, prigušen vid diskvalifikacije, a on sam veruje u demokratiju kako su je shvatali Tomas Džeferson (Thomas Jefferson) i Džon Djuj (John Dewey).

Ukratko: Džeferson, koji je umro na pedesetogodišnjicu Deklaracije o nezavisnosti (4.jul 1826), na budućnost demokratije gledao je s „mešavinom brige i nade“. Opasnost je dolazila od „aristokrata“, kako je on nazivao one koji „podstiču strah i nepoverenje kod ljudi, jer žele da svu moć prebace u ruke više klase“, za razliku od pravih demokrata koji se „identifikuju s narodom, imaju poverenja u njega“ i podržavaju narodnu volju kao suverenu (Chomsky, 1994: 14). Džeferson je upozoravao da su po demokratiju najopasnije – banke i korporacije! Vek kasnije Džon Djuji je „osećao senku velikog biznisa nad društvom ‘koja reforme čini veoma teškim, iako ne i nemogućim‘“, ali dok „ne bude *demokratske kontrole na radnim mestima*, reforma neće doseći demokratiju i slobodu“ (Chomsky, 1994: 16). Jer, kao što će pokazati Karl Polanji (Karl Polanyi) „satanska fabrika“ je donela ‘idealni sistem’ nove ekonomije (koji je) nemilosrdno zahtevao poricanje društvenog statusa ljudskog bića“, a banke i korporacije „bezobzirno... melju društvo do samih njegovih atoma“ (Polanji, 2003:12). I zapadno društvo je potpuno izopštilo ideju ekonomske demokratije, pa Džeferson i Djuji „kad ih danas čitate zvuče kao ljudi marksistički lunatici“ (Chomsky, 1994: 16).

Ali društvu je potrebno „pomeranje ka stvarnoj jednakosti“ pa da se, kao posledica „ima (i) pristup informaciji, da se donose odluke na osnovu njih“ da bi demokratski komunikacijski sistem „odražavao i javni interes i vrednosti kao što su istina, integritet i usmerenost na otkrića“ (Chomsky, 1994: 45). Međutim, pošto se vladanje sve manje ostvaruje silom a sve više manipulacijom (Rajt Mils, 1964), procesi teku u drugom pravcu. Na primer, kad su se u prošlom veku pojavili radio pa televizija, oni su uglavnom bivali u državnom vlasništvu (jer država – kakva god – krajnji je i najobavezniji čuvar društvenog interesa) sem u Americi, jer je to „društvo vođeno od biznisa“. Nadmoć privatnog interesa nad društvenom potrebom pravdana je cinično da je „izručivanje radija privatnoj kontroli demokratsko, jer to ljudima daje mogućnost biranja na tržištu“ (Chomsky, 1994: 46). I šezdesetih, kad je počela, pod američkom dominacijom, komercijalizacija radija i televizije, pa gotovo potpuna privatizacija, koristio se isti „argument“.

Iako ni poslednjem (neo)liberalu rezultati neupitne privatizacije i neograničene komercijalizacije ne daje argument da je to pravi put – samoubilačka inercija se nastavlja. U Srbiji je oglašeno da je spas za državnu novinsku agenciju – privatizacija. I iako je nemoguće naći bilo koga ko može javnosti da predoči iole smislen plan koji garantuje i minimalno povoljan rezultat u toj operaciji, neće se čuti jak glas protiv. Mediji krize nemaju sposobnost kritičkog sagledavanja konteksta propadanja. Društva, posebno mala nesamostalna društva, su se predala toku Druge velike depresije. Antropolozi znaju za stanja kad takva društva „izumiru pored potoka još punog ribe“ i, kako je pisala Margaret Mid (Margaret Mead), „upravo će se to desiti narodu usred silom spolja nametnute ili bar spolja prouzrokovane promene“ (Polanji, 2003: 157).

Da bi se bilo šta pokrenulo važno je razumeti mehanizam kontrole. Jer, danas, vlasnici ne moraju da „idu u televizijski studio da bi bili sigurni da voditelj lokalnog tok-šoua ili reporter rade šta oni žele... Na delu je proces koji određuje kako ljudi sigurno napreduju ka mestima menadžera, urednika, itd... tako što sami usvoje vrednosti vlasnika“. I zato bez prevelikog zazora „uspešan čovek“ može „opisati sebe kao sasvim slobodnog. I gorljivi samostalni-liberali kao (kolumnista „Njujork tajmsa“) Tom Viker (Tom Wicker) mogu da kažu: Vidite, niko mi ne govori šta da kažem. Govorim ono što želim. Ovo je apsolutno slobodan sistem. I, za *njega*, to je istina. Pošto je pokazao, na zadovoljstvo svojih gazda, da je usvojio njihove vrednosti, on je zaista slobodan da piše što god želi“ (Chomsky, 1994: 48-49).

Ali, problem je s onima koji veruju da bi mediji morali da pokažu društvu da postoje i druge vrednosti i interesi. Oni su surovo disciplinovani u dugom procesu.

4.

Ima šest decenija kako je Irvin Šo (Irwin Shaw) uverljivo pokazao kako politički interesi i zahtevi sponzora od medija prave bljutavu kašu, a neposlušne pretvaraju u prognanike iz društva, beskućnike i likvidatore prijatelja. Povod toj pripovesti (*The Troubled Air*, objavljen 1951) o tada moćnoj radio industriji, jeste makartizam

u Americi, ali ta brutalnost nije slučajni incident, nego epizoda procesa koji ima svoju tehnologiju: „čovjek koji ima posla sa stvaranjem javnog mišljenja“ poziva se da „primi izvesne predloge“ (i da iznese svoje ako podupiru obračun sa nedisciplinovanim), jer „demokratija... nije potpuno jednostrano uređenje“ (Šo, 1958: 65-66). I tu od velikih načela ne ostaje mnogo, a od slobodnih profesija ništa. Jer, „na ovom polju, pravila se uvek stvaraju iza zatvorenih vrata i bez razmišljanja. I vi ćete stvarno otkriti da su ona stvarno postojala, skrivena, već deset godina, i da su vaša prava odavno prestala, iako vam nije bilo dozvoljeno da se stalno žalite“ (Šo, 1958:72). Savesni ljudi, kao Šoov junak Klemente Arčer, su u „procesima“ najveće žrtve. Što ste savesniji, osveta mehanizma biće surovija. Verovati u pobedu savesti u takvom društvu, samo zato što se ono zove demokratsko, neuputno je.

Kad glavni junak pokušava supruzi da objasni da je „u pitanju izvestan *princip*“ i on „nelagodno oseća da govori kao profesor“, a na njene reči odgovora nema: „Zar ne postoji i princip po kome bi trebalo da štitiš svoju ženu i decu? ... Zar ne znaš da ćemo se naći na ulici kroz šest meseci ako održiš ovaj govor? Čime ćeš plaćati kiriju – svojim principima? Čime ćeš hraniti bebu“ (Šo, 1958: 349).

Pola veka kasnije će ovakve operacije Noam Čomski i Edvard Herman (Edward S. Herman) u spisu *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (objavljen 1988.) opisati kao „četvrti filter“ kontrole medija. Javni progon onih koji ne poštuju ponudu „koja se ne može odbiti“, oni su nazvali „flak“ ili „rafalna paljba“. Kao kad je „čovjek sa Huperom od deset koma pet“ (najviša ocena slušanosti na radiju) dobio otkaz bez obrazloženja. Njegov agnet je „dobio obaveštenje od nekog u agenciji... da su dobijali proteste, dvadeset do trideset poziva dnevno. Proveravali su jednom preko telefonske kompanije i uhvatili da su svi pozivi jednog određenog dana dolazili iz iste telefonske govornice u Long Ajlend Sitiju... Čovjek iz agencije, koji mi je rekao sve to, kazao mi je takođe da će on, ako ovo kome ponovim, reći da lažem“ (Šo, 1958: 363-364). Ilustracija koja pokazuje da realnost Kafkinog sveta nije fantasmagorija iz dvadesetih godina prošlog veka već „proces“ - u kome „neko mora da je oklevetao Jozefa K., jer je, iako nije učinio nikakvo zlo, jednog jutra bio uhapšen“ (Kafka, 2004:5). Kleveta je, dakle, u „slobodnom svetu“ stanje duha. A postala je i - dokaz.

Operacija se izvodi na neizlečivoj slabosti ljudskoj: neće baš mene. „Pa ipak su bili sledeći, i ti ćeš biti sledeći, jer to je taktika, vojniče, uništi kopilad pojedinačno, učini da se rasture, nikad im ne dozvoli da se bore u masi“ (Šo, 1958:304). „Flak“ je „organizovani negativistički udar, ‘ciljani napor da se diskredituje organizacija ili pojedinac koji se ne slažu ili imaju sumnju u *pretežno raspoloženje*, koji oni označavaju kao ‘moć establišmenta’“ (Reljić, 2013:223).

Šta profesija može protiv koncentrisane moći? Gotovo ništa, pošto je i ona deo establišmenta, ali ne deo koji određuje ciljeve, nego ih samo pakuje i, spušta u narod“. Profesionalcima ostaje da amputiraju savest i služe establišmentu, i to kao vojnici u maskirnoj uniformi „nezavisnog novinara“ koji misiju „psa čuvara“ (*Watch Dog*) najvažnijih demokratskih vrednosti i zaštitnika prava slabih u javnosti – koja ih je činila izuzetnim u društvu – nose okolo kao lovački trofej. Sva opravdanja za

„protivprirodnu blud“ su u logici biznisa. Trka za novcem će uništiti Zemlju, vode, vazduh, zagaditi hranu, oskrnaviti lek a informaciju pretvoriti u manipulaciju, ali to ne može promeniti profesionalca. Jer, za razliku od nezavisnog novinara, manipulator ne učestvuju u humanističkim misijama koja zaslužuje društveno poštovanje, već iznajmljuju svoje veštine „za šaku dolara“ onom ko ih pretvara u svoju korist a protiv građanskih sloboda. To je mašina koja proizvodi „naručenu stvarnost“. Mašinu ništa ljudsko ne može ganuti. *The Show Must Go On*, i ništa ga ne može zaustaviti, a „kad bi danas postojao neki živi svetac, dva privatna detektiva i jedan dopisnik novina mogli bi da ga oteraju u pakao, ako bi samo hteli, i to za mesec dana“ (Šo, 1958:76).

5.

Oklevetana, oglašena krivom i pre bilo kakvog pravnog procesa, progonjena kao zver i uništena kao ličnost Katarina Blum se našla u situaciji da sama uzme pravdu u svoje ruke. Junakinja Belove (Heinrich Theodor Böll) pripovesti (*Die verlorene Ehre der Katharina Blum*, objavljena 1974.) presudila je tom progonitelju bez savesti i otišla sama u policiju „te izjavljuje zaprepaštenom Moedingu (kriminalnom inspektor, prim. S.R) da je u podne, oko 12,15 ustrijelila u svom stanu novinara Vernera Tetgesa“, pa „ona sama... između 12,15 i 19 sati tumarala gradom ne bi li osjetila kajanje, ali da nije osjetila nikakvo kajanje“ (Bel, 1989: 181). Tome je prethodio banalan događaj: slučajni susret zrele devojkice Katarine sa nepoznatim muškarcem na jednoj građanskoj žurci, pa izražena obostrana privlačnost, a ona nikako nije mogla da zna da je Ludviga policija sumnjčila za „opasno delovanje“. Ali upravo na tome što ona nije mogla znati, i bez obzira na ponašanje potpuno u skladu sa građanskim običajima i zakonima, „Cajtung“ i Tetges su isfabrikovali njen višednevni javni progon. I njima je motiv bio tiraž! Novac.

A na vest o smrti novinara „Cajtunga“ Vernera Tetgesa - čija je bezosećajnost za sudbine građana koji su predmet njegove javne obrade, neupitna i poslovična - javnost, za koju je Ruso govorio da je „kraljica sveta“ koja ne sluša ni kraljeve, u trenu se ujedinila. „Luda uzrujanost! Udarni naslovi. Naslovne stranice. Posebna izdanja. Predimenzionirane osmrtnice. Kao da je – kad se na svijetu već puca – umorstvo novinara nešto osobito, važnije nego, recimo, umorstvo nekog bankovnog direktora, bankovnog činovnika ili pljačkaša banaka“ (Bel, 1989: 183). Taj javni ritual i lažna solidarnost su nešto što se zakonito ponavlja svuda i u svako vreme i što sistem bezrezervno podržava. Ima tu neke neosvetljene moći a čime se hoće reći da je jedna profesija iznad prava građana.

Po takvoj reakciji, uočiće nemački Nobelovac, ispada da „Tetges ne bi bio ustrijeljen da nije postao novinar (nego, recimo, postolar ili pekar)“ te da je reč o grehu profesije, i da bi „trebalo ipak pokušati ustanoviti ne bi li bolje bilo govoriti o smrti uvjetovanoj pozivom, jer će se još objasniti zašto je tako pametna i gotovo hladna osoba kao Blumova ubojstvo ne samo planirala nego i izvela, te u odlučnom trenutku što ga je sama inscenirala, ne samo segnula za pištoljem, već ga i aktivirala“ (Bel,

1989:184, kurziv S.R.).

Ali da li je ta sila iznad svih građana ili neki „jednakiji od drugih“ upravljaju njome i zato je štite? U tom „procesu“, koji opisuje Bel, kao poseban problem se pojavilo ustanovljavanje činjenice ko je uputio novinara („ko je izvor“) na anonimnu građanku Katarinu Blum. Na neke jasne stvari se u „demokratskoj državi“ mora zažmuriti na oba oka, te je „tu mladi državni tužilac održao jedan gotovo bi se moglo reći strastveni pledoaje za slobodu štampe i tajnost informacija“, jer pobogu gospodo, neodgovorni građani, „u slobodu štampe ne smije se lakomisleno dirati“ (Bel, 1989:223), pa na kraju, ne mogu ni svi „izvori“ biti dostupni javnosti. Krug je zatvoren, a sloboda javnog mnjenja ograničena „višim interesima“. To, svakako, nije fikcija.

Hajnrh Bel je ispred ove pripovesti o „slobodi medija“, koji upotrebljavaju građane po svojoj potrebi i potrebi skrivenih čuvara slobode štampe, stavio belešku: „Osobe kao i radnja ove pripovjetke izmišljeni su. Ako su se u opisima izvjesnih novinskih postupaka nadale sličnosti s postupcima novina 'Bild', to ne znači da su te sličnosti hotimične ili slučajne, one su prosto neizbježne“ (Bel, 1989:178). Ali ni sugestivna Belova pripovest, ni čuveni bestseller iz sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka „Operacija 'Bild'“ Belovog prijatelja Gintera Valrafa (Günter Wallraff), jednog od najvećih istraživačkih novinara Evrope, nisu zaustavili „bildizaciju“ nemačkih i evropskih medija (Reljić, 2011). Dete tog braka *države*, koja građane tretira kao nedonoščad i *štampe/medija*, koji industrijski proizvode emotivnu otupelost i moralnu dezorjentisanost je - *tabluodizacija*. Ako smo nekad verovali da Bel preteruje, danas i mi „istočno od raja“ znamo šta je pakao.

6.

Posle pada Berlinskog zida na Istoku će se usvojiti zakoni i organizovati proizvodnja po „zapadnim standardima“: „sveto“ privatno vlasništvo, „efikasno“ menadžersko upravljanje, ekstremna komercijalizacija, premeštanje prioriteta prihoda sa čitaoca na oglašivača, prilagođavanje novinarskog kriterijuma tabloidnim i zabavljачkim sadržajima. Novinari i društvo su suočeni s činjenicom da najsigurniji profit ne nastaje iz proizvodnje vesti čiji je vrhunski kriterijum istinitost, već iz sadržaja po meri potreba marketinških organizacija koje distribuiraju budžete za oglašavanje, ili političkih moćnika i struktura koje kontrolišu tokove novca iz državne kase a mogu posredovati u dobijanju povoljnih kredita, ili drugim biznismenima koji su vlasnikova klasa. Došlo je vreme da i mi razumemo frazu „*Follow the Money*“ (sledite put novca) koju izgovara Duboko Grlo, ključni informant u „aferi Votergejt“, u nezaboravnom filmu „Svi predsednikovi ljudi“. A izgledalo je to 1976. tek kao simpatična dosetka šarmantnih Amera.

E, sad, uzmite da život nije film, i pokušajte da zamislite koliko se u tako jednosmernom mehanizmu može dati prostora za novinarsko uverenje koja bi bilo na suprotnoj strani od „uverenja“ vlasnika, vlasnikovih zaštitnika, direktnih i posrednih partnera, pa i prijatelja i rođaka. Da u nekoj razmeni mišljenja novinar i ubedi

„drugu stranu“ da ona, uprkos realnoj nadmoći, učini nešto što ne mora i u šta ne veruje, novinarski posao nije jednokratn – to je svakodnevno širenje činjenica i uverenja. Novinar od toga živi. A ako najamnik ne ispunjava naloge upravljača on, po svim pravima kapitalističkog poslovanja, ugrožava proces proizvodnje. Ekonomska demokratija je zaboravljena kategorija. Ukoliko se, dakle, slobodoumni novinar tvrdoglavo drži neprihvaćenih uverenja ko će da objavljuje njegove radove? Savet Evrope? Novinarska udruženja?

Taj strašni raskorak između (pre)visokih načela i (pre)prizemne stvarnosti, u kojoj se i najviši ideal istopi pred iščekivanjem najamnine u visini proste reprodukcije, velika je opomena da s tim mehanizmom nešto suštinski nije u redu. Hana Arent (Hannah Arendt) je posle suočavanja sa ulogom medija i vlade „najveće demokratske zemlje“, oko afere „Pentagonski papiri“ - kad je utvrđeno koliko je namerne lažnosti bilo u izveštavanju i obaveštavanju o Vijetnamskom ratu – konstatovala da demokratska društva, ipak, ne mogu stvoriti zamenu za slobodne medije u kojima dominiraju „neopredeljenost i nepristrasnost, sloboda od koristoljublja u mišljenju i rasuđivanju“, jer je to supstrat naše civilizacije u kojoj „traganje za istinom... ima dugu istoriju... doseže unazad do onog trenutka kada se Homer opredelio da dela Trojanaca prikaže ništa manje nego dela Ahejaca i da uzdiže slavu Hektora, neprijatelja i poraženog čoveka, ništa manje od slave Ahileja“ (Arent, 1994:64).

Moć društvenih zakonitosti uvek probije kroz interesno i sitnosopstveničko nastojanje, ali one bi morale da bude i institucionalizovane na način koji garantuje, izvesnu, praktičnu primenjivost, i „ako bi štampa ikad stvarno trebalo da postane ‘četvrti ogranak državne vlasti’, ona bi onda trebalo da bude zaštićena od državne vlasti i društvenog pritiska, i to *čak pažljivije nego što je to učinjeno u slučaju sudstva*“ (Arent, 1994:63, kurziv S.R.). Tako šta će ili biti ili će se novinari istopiti u lepljivoj masi PR-operativca, marketing-menadžera i lobista među kojima se do objektivizacije istine drži koliko navijači „Zvezde“ mogu da hladne glave gledaju pobedu „Partizana“ nad njihovim timom. Preokret se naravno ne može napraviti u sistemu koji se utemeljio na „gladi za novcem i ravnodušnosti prema plemenitim stvarima“. Idealista Kami tu nije imao dilema: „Čitav život usmeren prema novcu - označava smrt“(Kami, 2004:29). Ali nas žive uvek drži nada, da se može pokušati „još jednom“. Jer, vreme Velike krize je, kao što je to pre deceniju primetio američki intelektualac Fared Zakarija (Fareed Zakaria) – istorijsko vreme. U istorijskom vremenu jedino je izvesno da je *status quo* neodrživ. A oni koji se organizuju i razumeju pravce promena mogu mnogo toga učiniti za sebe i svoju zajednicu.

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mr Momčilo Cebalović, doktorand
Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Nišu (Republika Srbija)

Ekonomski položaj medija i cenzura i autocenzura

Apstrakt: U Srbiji su najveći, najuticajniji i finansijski najbolje stojeći mediji postali industrija koja ostvaruje prihode ne samo u jednim novinama ili jednoj TV stanici već u većem broju izdanja ili TV kanala. Sve to je pod direktnom kontrolom vlasnika medija, stranca ili domaćeg poslovnog čoveka koji je stvorio značajan kapital u poslednjih 10-15 godina.

Među medijima koji imaju veliki uticaj na javno mnjenje i ostvaruju velike tiraže i profite nalazi se i nekoliko tabloida. Vlasnike medija interesuje pre svega profit, a do njega se najlakše dolazi prodajom oglasnog prostora i sekundi na TV stanicama. Kao posrednici između vlasnika oglasnog prostora i sekundi, s jedne, i političkih centara moći koji vladaju najvećim oglašivačima, s druge strane, pojavljuju se marketinške agencije. Te agencije su, po pravilu, bliske političkim moćnicima. Kako bi došli do dela marketinškog "kolača", mediji su prinuđeni da svoje uređivačke politike prilagode interesima vlasnika medija, agencija i političara. Tako su dovedeni u direktnu ekonomsku zavisnost od oglašivača. Pritiske i uslovljavanja od onih koji kupuju sekunde i oglasni prostor, urednici i novinari doživljavaju kao pokušaje cenzure. Ukoliko se suprotstavljaju tome, ugrožavaju prihod ne samo medija u kome rade već i ličnu egzistenciju. Kao posledica shvatanja te činjenice, kod urednika i novinara se razvija autocenzura. Politički centri moći se direktno ne eksponiraju u domenu uređivanja medija, ali urednici i novinari, kao dobro obavješteni, moraju da znaju ko je kome blizak i šta može da izazove obrada određene teme.

Životna egzistencija ljudi u medijima je povezana sa kućom u kojoj rade, nemaju mogućnost izbora radnog mesta ili odlaska u neki drugi, 'slobodniji' medij, plaši ih povezanost političkih i finansijskih centara moći i smatraju da privatizacija i izlazak države iz vlasništva u medijima neće dovesti do oslobađanja medija. Naprotiv, smatraju da će doneti još veća ograničenja.

Sve ove teze su potvrđene u istraživanju koje je na temu cenzure i autocenzure sprovedeno u Beogradu, u aprilu 2014. godine u kome su učestvovali urednici i novinari najvažnijih medija u Srbiji, kao i predstavnici UNS-a i NUNS-a.

Ključne reči: *mediji, cenzura, autocenzura, egzistencija, privatizacija*

MSc Momčilo Cebalović, PhD candidate
Faculty of Philosophy University in Niš (Republic of Serbia)

Economic Position of the Media and Censorship as well as Auto-Censorship

Abstract: In Serbia, the greatest, the most influential and financially most prosperous media have become an industry that realizes incomes not only in one newspaper or at one TV station, but in higher number of issues or TV channels. All the mentioned is under direct control of the media owner, a foreigner or domestic businessman who made a significant capital over the last 10 to 15 years. There are several tabloids among media having great influence to public opinion and realizing high circulations and profits. The media owners are, first of all, interested in profit and that can be most easily achieved through selling the advertising space and time on TV stations. As intermediaries between advertising space and time owners on one hand, and political centres of power that rule over the greatest advertisers on the other hand, marketing agencies appear. Such agencies, as a rule, are close to the high ranking and powerful politicians. So in order to come into possession of a piece of the marketing “cake”, the media are forced to adjust their editorial policies to the interests of the owners of media, agencies and politicians. Thus they are brought to a direct economic dependence upon advertisers. Editors and journalists feel pressure and conditions by those who purchase TV seconds and advertising space, as attempts of censorship. If they oppose that, they jeopardize not only the income of the media they work in, but also their personal existence. As a consequence of perceiving such fact, an auto-censorship gets developed within editors and journalists. Political centres of power are not directly exposed in the domain of the media editing, but editors and journalists, as being well informed ones, should know who is close to whom and what can be caused by elaboration of certain topic.

The very existence of the people in the media is related to the media house they work for; they have no possibility of choosing a working position or going to some other “more free” media, they are afraid of the link of political and financial centres of power and they consider that privatization and the state leaving the ownership in the media is not going to lead to media liberation. On the contrary, they consider that it is going to bring even greater limitations.

All these theses are confirmed in the research carried out in Belgrade in April 2014, on censorship and auto-censorship where editors and journalists of the most important media in Serbia took part as did representatives of the UNS (Association of Journalists of Serbia) and NUNS (Independent Association of Journalists of Serbia).

Key words: *media, censorship, auto-censorship, existence, privatization*

Štampa u Srbiji je, sudeći po ustavima koji su to jasno naglašavali, bila slobodna, počev od Ustava Srbije, proglašenog 22. decembra 1888. godine, kojim se utvrđuje da svaki Srbin ima pravo da u granicama zakona iskaže svoju misao govorom, pismeno, štampom ili u slikama. U važećem Ustavu, sloboda mišljenja i izražavanja jemči se čl. 46. u kojem se naglašava i „sloboda da se govorom, pisanjem, slikom ili na drugi način traže, primaju i šire obaveštenja i ideje“.¹

„Svako je slobodan da bez odobrenja, na način predviđen zakonom, osniva novine i druga sredstva javnog obaveštavanja...“

„U Republici Srbiji nema cenzure. Nadležni sud može sprečiti širenje informacija i ideja putem sredstava javnog obaveštavanja samo ako je to u demokratskom društvu neophodno radi sprečavanja pozivanja na nasilno rušenje Ustavom utvrđenog poretka ili narušavanje teritorijalnog integriteta Republike Srbije, sprečavanja propagiranja rata ili podstrekavanja na neposredno nasilje ili radi sprečavanja zagovaranja rasne, nacionalne ili verske mržnje, kojim se podstiče na diskriminaciju, neprijateljstvo ili nasilje.“²

Cenzura, manipulacija i dezinformacija

Da se zaključiti da u Srbiji ne postoji zvanična cenzura, bar ne onakva kakvu definiše Enciklopedija Britanika po kojoj je cenzura „akcija koju preduzima državni autoritet da bi proveravao pisma i ostale oblike komunikacije...jer su u suprotnosti sa javnim interesom ili državnim autoritetom“ (Tomić, 2003:187).

Međutim, nikada nijedna država, pravdajući se javnim interesima i zaštitom ustavnog poretka i bezbednosti zemlje, nije se odrekla, niti će se odreći, preventivne kontrole svega onoga što kreira javno mnjenje. Još je Platon govorio o „dva modela/tipa cenzure koji i danas egzistiraju u svom integralnom obliku kao PREVENTIVNA (prethodna) i NAKNADNA cenzura...Preventivna cenzura je orijentisane toliko na sistem zabrana, koliko na sistem kontrole čitavog polja društvene komunikacije“ (Tomić, 2003:200).

I danas živimo u Platonovim državama u kojima je „jasno izražena ideja po kojoj neće biti dozvoljeno da se misli drugačije od onoga što država kao sila sugeriše“ (Tomić, 2003:201).

Razvojem tehnologija preventivne cenzure i kontrole dostigle su neslućene razmere. To je opisano u „Orvelovoj metafori Velikog brata, koji sve vidi, sve čuje i sve zna/kontroliše“ (Tomić, 2003:201), pa je potpuno jasno da „ideja vaspitanja građana za učestvovanje u idealnoj državi podrazumeva indoktrinaciju/profilaciju/dresuru i pripremu svesti recipijenata za nekritičko prihvatanje određenog tipa kanonizovanih značenja. Time se, posredno, svest recipijenata senzibilizuje samo za određenu vrstu poruka. *Brain-washing* (pranje mozгова) koje sprovodi sistem, trebalo bi, prema ovoj Platonovoj negativnoj utopiji da obezbedi neproblematičnu, beskonfliktnu, očekivanu, kontrolisanu komunikaciju“ (Tomić, 2003:201).

¹ Ustav Srbije iz 2006. čl. 46.

² Ustav Srbije iz 2006. čl. 50.

Za sve to se koriste mediji. Posledica te (zlo)upotrebe je falsifikovanje istorije o čemu govori i Noam Čomski. Navodeći niz primera iz američke prakse, on naglašava da „kad imate totalnu kontrolu nad medijima i obrazovnim sistemom, a nauka je konformistička, to (falsifikovanje, prim. MC) možete da izvedete. Istina je zatrpana pod građevinama laži nazidanih na druge laži. Sve je to neverovatan uspeh onih koji se bave uklanjanjem pretnji od demokratije, postignut u uslovima slobode. To nije kao u totalitarnoj državi gde se to obavlja silom. Ova dostignuća su nastala u uslovima slobode“ (Čomski, 2008:30). Čomski jasno ističe da mediji sprovode „inženjering povinovanja“ koji Edvard Berniz opisuje kao „esenciju demokratije“ (Čomski, 2008:22–23). Povinovanje „stvaraju svi koji imaju sredstva i moć da to rade – poslovna elita – oni za koje vi radite“ (Čomski, 2008:22–23). To su manipulacije kojima se oblikuje javno mnjenje.

Prema Filipu Bretonu „uticaj tih tehnika u našem društvu koje sebe doživljava kao „društvo komunikacije“, demokratsko, transparentno i racionalno, ne samo što ne opada već se stalno pojačava. Ove tehnike, ne nailazeći gotovo ni na kakav otpor, osvajaju ne samo svet politike, reklama, odnosa s javnošću, već i emocije i ljudske odnose“ (Breton, 2000:9). Breton kao primere tih manipulacija navodi „rumunsku revoluciju“ 1989. i sukob sa Irakom 1990–1991. godine. Tada su mediji prikazivali „lažne grobnice navodnih žrtava Sekuritatee, lažne inkubatore sa prerano rođenom decom iz Kuvajta koje su „isključili“ okrutni Iračani, prave ptice ulepljene pravom naftom iz zagađene vode, ali udaljene hiljadama kilometara od istih „okrutnih Iračana optuženih za navedeno zlo delo“ (Breton, 2000:16–17).

Idanasima onih koji tvrde da je kontrola medija, manipulacija rečima i slikom posredstvom medija nestala završetkom hladnog rata i da toga nema u demokratiji, jer ona donosi slobodu mišljenja, što je nespojivo sa manipulacijama i kontrolom medija. U demokratiji su ljudi slobodni i uz to obavešteni, jer samo tako mogu da kao slobodni ljudi slobodno donose stavove. U demokratskim društvima, tvrde, manipulacije onemogućavaju „komunikacijsko društvo“ i mnoštvo medija.

Ima i drugačijih stavova. „Danas se jasnije vidi da odlučujuću ulogu u umnožavanju postupaka manipulacije imaju mediji, često na svoju štetu. Daleko od toga da medije možemo smatrati bitnim elementom u dekodiranju manipulacije. Oni, čak, neretko čine njen osnovni oslonac“ (Breton, 2000:20).

Cilj manipulacije je da primaoca poruke zavara, da ga dovede u zabludu, ubedi u nešto što nije tačno. Njom se nameću stav i činjenica. Mediji se u svemu tome ne mogu zaobići, jer se njima prenosi i proizvod manipulacija – dezinformacije, kojima je, kako kaže Breton, „20. vek podario trenutak slave“. Ona je „tek u savremenom svetu, kada se proizvodnjom dezinformacija bave i posebne službe bitno 'oružje', ništa manje značajno od onog što ubija“ (Breton, 2000:16).

Globalni mediji bliski centrima političke moći koji su povezani sa centrima finansijske moći, i te kako predstavljaju „opasno oružje“ za manipulaciju i prenošenje dezinformacija koje su „psihološka prinuda, gotovo jednaka fizičkom nasilju koje omogućava pravo oružje. Ona predstavlja intelektualno oružje, čije korišćenje može imati izuzetno opasne posledice“ (Breton, 2000:96).

Globalnikontrolori i cenzori

U „globalnom selu“ poznati su najjači i najvažniji političko-finansijsko-medij-ski „igrači“.

„Sredstva komunikacije je monopolizovalo nekoliko onih koji mogu dopreti do svakoga. Nikada manji broj ljudi nije držao u izolaciji toliko mnoštvo drugih. Sve je više onih koji imaju pravo da čuju i vide, ali sve manje onih koji imaju pravo da čuju i privilegiju da informišu, izražavaju mišljenje i da ga stvaraju. Diktatura jedne jedine reči i jedne jedine slike, razara mnogo više od diktature jedne partije: nameće život u kojem je uzorni građanin poslušni potrošač i pasivni posmatrač, izrađen na proizvodnoj traci severnoameričkog modela komercijalne televizije“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:4).

Sve je verovatnije „da će globalne medijske firme inkorporirati internet i srodne kompjuterske mreže u svoje imperije imonopolizovati potencijal tehnologija“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:159).

Ulazak zapadnoevropskih medijskih kompanija, pa čak i globalnih medijskih lidera, preko novoformiranih nepoznatih firmi, u medije na Zapadnom Balkanu, potvrđuje da „ubrzani razvoj globalnog komercijalnog medijskog sistema sve više utiče na pravac i sadržaj nacionalnih medija u dobrom delu sveta“. Tim globalnim komercijalnim medijskim sistemom vlada oko desetak transnacionalnih medijskih konglomerata, sa sedištem u SAD, i još 30–40 prilično velikih, uglavnom severnoameričkih i zapadnoevropskih firmi koje zauzimaju regionalna tržišta. „Sledeći logiku kapitala i profita, mediji otvaraju vrata novim tržištima i „predstavljaju nužnu komponentu globalizacije tržišne ekonomije“ jer je jasno da „globalni mediji obezbeđuju vitalni forum za oglašivače i promociju potrošačkih potreba i vrednosti“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:279).

Takav globalni medijski sistem „ima fundamentalne nedostatke koji ograničavaju njegov doprinos demokratiji. On teži daljoj centralizaciji kontrole medija u uskim krugovima poslovne elite“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:280). Trendovi koji su zahvatili i Zapadni Balkan nose pečat „širenja nesputanog kapitalizma, globalnih komercijalnih medija i komunikacionih sistema, kao i razvoj revolucionarnih tehnologija za komunikacije“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:301), pa se očekuje da ti mediji samo još više jačaju pozicije. Ipak, borci protiv tih tendencija ističu da je važno da one koji su nezadovoljni svim što se dešava „ne savlada i ne obuzme istinska nemoć, u smislu beznadežnosti i cinizma“. Kao što je Noam Čomski rekao: „Ako se budeš ponašao kao da nema mogućnosti za promenu, ti garantuješ da je neće ni biti“ (Herman, Mekčesni, 2004:302). Danas masmedijska produkcija legitimise i legalizuje obmanu, javnu prevaru, nekontrolisanu laž. A da bi to bilo moguće, arogantna demokratska kultura se mora suočiti sa surovom otrežnjujućom činjenicom „da je obmanjivanje u potpuno demokratskim uslovima nemoguće bez samoobmanjivanja“ (Reljić, 2013:440-441). Kontrola i preventivna cenzura su, nesporno, globalne pojave. Što su sistemi nadzora savremeniji, ona je perfidnija, tajnovitija, jača i opasnija, samim tim i delotvornija.

Autocenzura – samoodbrana i samoobmana

Interesi vlasnika kapitala i političkih centara moći kreiraju sadržaj medija koji onda postaje i oruđe i oružje u rukama nekih drugih, a ne urednika i novinara. Zaposleni u medijima su prinuđeni da u uslovima globalne krize brinu i o svojoj egzistenciji. Tako se kao posledica pritisakajavlja i autocenzura koja institucionalnu cenzuru čini nepotrebnom. Centri moći preuzimaju funkciju cenzora od države, a novinari prateći pravila igre, cenzurišu sami sebe.

Autocenzura je „jedan je od najpogubnijih vidova represije zato što je neposredno izabran kao *modus vivendi* samog umetnika/autora/emitenta poruke. Problem nastaje zbog toga što jeteško odrediti prirodu autocenzurei što nema dokaza za njeno postojanje. Retko će se desiti da neki autor priznačinjenicu da je podlegao određenoj vrsti pritiska i radio po diktatu“ (Tomić, 2003:202).

Uz autocenzuru, koja dominira u srpskom novinarstvu, problem medija su nedostatak istraživačkog novinarstva, nepostojanje transparentnosti vlasništva i porast ne samo broja već i uticaja tabloida, zaključeno je na panelu o slobodi medija u Srbiji održanom u Evropskom parlamentu (april 2014). Kao veliki problem istaknuta je činjenica da je medijska strategija doneta pre dve i po godine, ali i da još nema zakona.

Vlasništvo u medijima i medijske slobode

Procenjuje se da u Srbiji, u kojoj je većina stanovnika funkcionalno nepismena, postoji više od 600 štampanih i više od 500 elektronskih medija.

Nedostatak zakonske regulative usklađene sa zakonima EU i zakona o javnim servisima je problem na koji svi ukazuju. Još nije jasno kako će se finansirati javni servisi koji treba da budu nezavisni od uticaja i volje Vlade koja određuje nivo finansiranja iz budžeta. Zakonom o radio-difuziji utvrđeno je da se RTS i RTV finansiraju TV pretplatom, kroz račun za električnu energiju. Kako kupci struje neredovno plaćaju pretplatu, iz budžeta se godišnje odvajaju oko 7,5 milijardi dinara za ta dva javna servisa. U prilog strahovima onih koji upozoravaju da će javni servisi tako postati državne TV, ide i saopštenje Srpske napredne stranke (27.4.2014) u kojem se ističe da „Radio-televizija Srbije, umesto da bude javni servis svih građana, služi kao svakodnevni poligon za prljave napade na predsednika SNS-a Aleksandra Vučića“. Objavljujući to saopštenje više puta u toku dana, TV Pink, nacionalni emiter, tekst pokriva fotografijama novinara RTS-a, koje SNS nije ni pomenuo u saopštenju. UNS je ocenio da je to saopštenje „klasičan vid pritiska na RTS i slobodu medija u Srbiji, kao i zastrašivanje novinara“, dok je NUNS podsetio SNS „da ni država ni drugi centri moći nemaju pravo da se mešaju u uređivačku politiku medija“.

Istog dana kada je izdato to saopštenje, premijer Srbije Aleksandar Vučić je u ekspoziciji u Narodnoj skupštini. (27.4.2014) najavio da će biti doneta tri medijska zakona, a „njihov osnovni cilj su slobodni i nezavisni mediji“. Uz to, najavio je da „država mora da se povuče iz vlasništva u medijima“, a da će „RTS i RTV funkcionisati

kao javni servisi u razvijenim evropskim zemljama“.

Kapitalizam je vest pretvorio u robu a medij u profitabilni centar koji ima zadatakda zaradi novac. Dolazak demokratije u region pratili su tranzicija, liberalizacija, privatizacija, tajkunizacija i ubeđivanje da slobode nema bez slobodnih medija koji neće biti slobodni sve dok u njima imaju uticaj država i vlast. Već 15 godina traje to ubeđivanje, a poslenici medija, radeći u privatnim medijima, ističu da nikada manje nisu bili slobodni.

Na Zapadni Balkan su prvo došle strane medijske kompanije, i tou najuticajnije medije, zatim su domaći tajkuni preko ošor kompanija uneli novac u neke medijske kuće, a bilo je slučajeva i kreditiranja medija, pa pretvaranja tih dugova u suvlasništvo, koje je potom preprodavano. Najuticajnije mediji u Srbiji, kao i najveći regionalni kablovski operateri, danas su u vlasništvu nemačkih, švajcarskih, američkih, grčkih i švedskih kompanija ili domaćih tajkuna.

Slobodan Reljić kaže da su „srpski medijimodelirani prema svom uzoru na različite načine. Deo njih je u krajnje upitnoj privatizaciji preuzet od zapadnih kupaca, korporacija koje su uglavnom od drugorazrednog ugleda u svojim društvima, a koje su osposobljene da na 'angro' kupuju po haotičnim istočnoevropskim tržištima. Drugi deo je, u vreme Slobodana Miloševića, uveliko podržavan i izdržavan od zapadnih institucija koje 'hrane' sredstva za propagandni rat protiv 'banditskih režima' širom sveta. Treći deo srpskih medija je postao vlasništvo srpskog tajkunskog bratstva i obično se održava kao biznis od sekundarnog značaja za tajkunska carstva i pripravan je da se 'uključí' kad gazdi zatreba ili se 'iznajmljuje' prijateljima biznisa iz partijsko-državnih struktura“ (Reljić, 2011:125). On objašnjava da se „srpsko novinarstvotransformisalo u srpsku medijsku industriju u kojoj su se prihodi od oglasa umnogostručili, oglašivači postali važniji od čitalaca, a oglasne agencije zauzele mesto distribuiranja i kontrole medijske moći čime su se nekada bavili komiteti“ (Reljić, 2011:130).

„Profesionalno novinarstvoje dramatično ugroženo i predstoji mu dugotrajna borba ne samo za goli opstanak i sopstvenu identifikaciju već i za uspostavljanje drugaćijeg medijskog ambijenta čija će osnovna obeležja biti sloboda, samostalnost, etička i politička nepristrasnost“, govorio je još 1997. godinenovinar lista „Danas“ Ivan Torov na tribini „Republike“ pod nazivom „Novinarstvo juče i danas“. Učesnici tribine su istakli da se „nova glasila neprestano množe, mnogabrzo nestaju, ali se zato javljaju nova. Potražnja za mladim novinarima je velika, alimnogo njih jedva da se skrasi u jednoj redakciji, a već je prinuđeno da posao traži u drugoj. Plate su im male i neredovne, radna prava neosigurana, sindikalna zaštita gotovo nikakva. Novinari su danas jedna od socijalno najugroženijih profesija. U medijima caruju prostakluk, nadvikivanje, netolerancija, pa čak i grubo vredanje...“³

„Iako imamo pluralnost i brojnost medija, građanin je ipak manje na pravi način obavešten nego što bi se moglo očekivati s obzirom na množinu medija. Dok je u prethodnom sistemu bio dozirano i jednosmerno informisan, sada je građanin

³ „Republika“, broj 172, 1997.godine-

zbunjen, raspamećen, ogorčen ili apatičan.“⁴

Četrnaest godina posle te tribine, novinar u Srbiji je „osoba koja ima veliku odgovornost, ali je potcenjena u društvu, nije adekvatno plaćena i ne živi dostojanstveno, ima nisko samopouzdanje zbog uslova u kojima živi. Nema porodicu, živi kao podstanar ili kod roditelja, ima prosečnu platu i živi u strahu od gubitka posla. Mnogo radi, nema radno vreme, malo zarađuje ili ima neredovna primanja, nema rešen status, bez zdravstvenog je osiguranja, narušenog zdravlja, pod stresom, zabrinut za svoju budućnost, izložen pritiscima, nema vremena za porodicu...“⁵

Dragana Čabarkapa, predsednik Sindikata novinara Srbije smatra da „slobodno novinarstvo postoji samo ako su novinari slobodni. Oni to jesu ukoliko imaju egzistencijalnu sigurnost i ako su radno pravno zaštićeni. Egzistencijalna sigurnost podrazumeva stabilno (a ne projektno) finansiranje medija i adekvatne i redovne plate. Radno pravna sigurnost znači i postojanje ugovora kod poslodavca i kolektivnog ugovora koji sa poslodavcem potpisuju sindikati. Uplašeni za radno mesto, zaposleni u medijima ne smeju da se sindikalno organizuju. U takvim uslovima nema ni govora o slobodnim novinarima i slobodnom novinarstvu.“⁶

Uz ove stavove idu podaci o platama novinara u Srbiji iz navedenog istraživanja iz 2011. godine. Čak 72 odsto anketiranih ima platu do 50.000 dinara (do 40.000 – 20,38%, do 30.000 – 12,69%). Jasno je da novinari nisu ekonomski slobodni ljudi i da je slobodno novinarstvo u tim uslovima nemoguće.

Problemi sa kojima su mediji u Srbiji suočeni su: nekvalitetno novinarstvo, dominacija senzacionalizma i tabloidnog novinarstva (22,13%), jak politički pritisak i odsustvo medijske autonomije (20,59%). Kao najveći problemi novinarske profesije navode se: niske plate (20,36%), nizak stepen profesionalizma i nedovoljno poštovanje novinarske etike (16,78%), nizak društveni ugled i status profesije (16,09%)...“⁷ Najveći pritisak na medije u Srbiji vrše: političke stranke koje čine vladajuću koaliciju (25,29%), vlasnici krupnog kapitala (17,65%), predstavnici lokalne vlasti (13,09%), privatni vlasnici medija (12,49%), zakupci reklamnog prostora (11,62%) PR (4,56%), Vlada Srbije (4,46%), stranke opozicije (3,68%), policija i BIA (1,03%)“⁸

⁴ Marković, M. u „Republika“ broj 172, 1997. godine.

⁵ Istraživanje „Profesija na raskršću – novinarstvo na pragu informacionog društva“ (istraživački tim Centra za medije i medijska istraživanja Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta u Beogradu, u okviru Regionalnog programa podrške istraživanjima na Zapadnom Balkanu (RRPP) – istraživanje je realizovano od jula 2010. do juna 2011).

⁶ <http://www.koreni.rs/privatizacija-unistava-medije/>

⁷ Istraživanje „Profesija na raskršću – novinarstvo na pragu informacionog društva“.

⁸ Ibid.

Tabloidizacija države

U srpskoj javnosti se danas slobodno i glasno govori o uticaju tabloida, njihovim prljavim vezama i poslovima, gašenju profesionalizma u medijima, uticajima i pritiscima raznih centara moći. Izražavase nezadovoljstvo srpskom medijskom scenom koja ugrožava osnovne demokratske postulate društva i ljudske slobode.

„Prva asocijacija na srpsko novinarstvo je kriza i sunovrat profesije. Osiromašeni novinari u osiromašenim medijima podložni su različitim vrstama uticaja – od političkih, preko PR-ova, do uticaja izdavača i pogotovo oglašivača. Mediji su se danas pretvorili u poštansko sanduče u koje svako ubacuje šta hoće...“⁹

„Tabloidi sumediji sa lažnom ličnom kartom. Oni se prodaju na kiosku, imaju izgled novina. To nisu mediji, već glasnogovornici vlasti i podzemlja...“¹⁰ Manojlo Vukotić smatra da su „mediji izgubili granicu između informativnosti i propagande. Jer, informativnost vodi ka istini i slobodi, a propaganda ka jednomlju i totalitarizmu.“¹¹

Tamara Skrozza kaže da „domaći tabloiditrenutno važe za ispostave svih onih koji imaju ili dovoljno političke moći ili dovoljno novca da svoje neprijatelje bukvalno sahranjuju po naslovnim stranama. Država je jedan od glavnih medijskih „klijenata“.¹² Ona ukazuje na to „da su u poslednje tri godine profitabilno poslovala samo četiri dnevna lista, dok polovina nedeljnika ne posluje sa profitom. Takva situacija direktno utiče na sadržaj medija. Vlasnici, direktori i urednici su prinuđeni da budu 'dobri' ili sa političarima ili biznismenima ili i s jednim i drugim. Obični novinari samo preživljavaju, te s vremenom postaju podložni korupciji, autocenzuri ili uticajima raznih vrsta“.¹³

„Srpska medijska scena izgleda otužno. Čine je uplašeni novinari skloni autocenzuri. Potkupljivi mediji se dodvoravaju vlasti da bi preživeli, tabloidi su postali oglasne table stranaka, političara, oni su ti koji u Srbiji danas hapse i presuđuju...“¹⁴

Tabloidi se danas „ponovo snažno politizuju... Vesti više nisu samo roba, već i usluga. Kada satanizuju političke protivnike, opasni su kao barakude. Idu do koske.“¹⁵

Saša Janković, zaštitnik građana upozorava na „curenje informacija“ u medije „koje nije eksces, već pravilo“ i ukazuje na opasnosti koje nosi takva praksa. „Imamo neobjektivno, nepotpuno, neistinito informisanje građana. Poluinformacija je opasnija od laži...“

⁹ Kljajić, V. u „Nedeljnik“, 7.11.2013.

¹⁰ Dinko Gruhonjić, predsednik NDNV

<http://www.021.rs/Sigurnost-za-buducnost/Emisije/Autocenzura-vrh-brega-problema-srpskih-medija.html>

¹¹ „Nedeljnik“, 7.11.2013.

¹² „Vreme“, br. 1178, 1.8.2013.

¹³ „Nedeljnik“, 7.11.2013.

¹⁴ Vukašin Obradović, predsednik NUNS-a, tribina „Novinarstvo u Srbiji danas“

<http://www.nuns.rs/info/news/21484/tribina-novinarstvo-u-srbiji-danas.html>

¹⁵ Todorović, N. u „Nedeljnik“, br. 116, 3.4.2014.

O tabloidizaciji medija sam pisao 2012, a sada smo ušli u novu fazu – tabloidizaciju države, što nije samo medijski, već društveni i državni problem.“¹⁶

„Balkan – bure baruta za novinare“

Međunarodne organizacije koje ocenjuju slobodu medija svrstavaju Srbiju među „zemlje sa delimičnom medijskom slobodom“. Na listi Freedom House, Srbija je 2013. na 74. mestu od 197 zemalja.¹⁷ Po tom izveštaju „medijske slobode u svetu su pale na najniži nivo od 1996. godine“. Ispred Srbije na toj listi je samo Slovenija, dok su iza nje Crna Gora, Hrvatska, Kosovo (rangirano odvojeno od Srbije), Bosna i Hercegovina i BJR Makedonija. Konstatuje se „da samo 14% svetskog stanovništva živi u zemljama u kojima je izveštavanje o političkim događajima adekvatno, bezbednost novinara zagarantovana, mešanje države u medijska pitanja minimalno, a štampa nije podvrgnuta bilo kakvim neprimerenim pravnim ili ekonomskim pritiscima. Sloboda štampe u nekim zemljama ugrožena je uticajem privatnih vlasnika, onih koji imaju bliske veze sa vladama ili vladajućim partijama, a koji menjaju uredničke stavove ili otpuštaju osoblje nakon objave nezavisne vesti. Značajno opadanje je registrovano u Crnoj Gori, Centralnoafričkoj Republici, Egiptu, Grčkoj... Čak ni otvorenija medijska okruženja nisu imuna na pritisak na slobodu štampe. Prošle godine u SAD je zabeležen najveći pad slobode medija u protekloj deceniji, usled pokušaja vlade da kontroliše informisanje o pitanjima nacionalne bezbednosti“¹⁸

Na listi Reportera bez granica (RSF) Srbija je u 2013. na 54. mestu od 180 zemalja. I na toj listi ispred Srbije je Slovenija (34. mesto), a iza Srbije su Hrvatska (65), BiH (66), Crna Gora (114) i BJR (124). U 2012. godini Srbija je bila na 63. mestu. Inače, RSF svake godine objavljuje izveštaj uzimajući u obzir nekoliko faktora – nivo zloupotrebe medija, stepen pluralizma, nezavisnost medija, životnu sredinu i autocenzura, pravni okvir, transparentnost i infrastruktura. Poseban odeljak u Izveštaju RSF, iako bez detalja o medijskoj situaciji u Srbiji, ima naslov „Balkan – bure baruta za novinare“. U tom delu za sve navedene zemlje Balkana, u većoj ili manjoj meri, ističu sledeće probleme: politička kontrola vladajućih partija nad medijima, pre svega nad onima u državnom vlasništvu (Hrvatska), hapšenje novinara koji se bave istraživačkim novinarstvom (BJR), zabrinjava bezbednost novinara koji su žrtve ne samo fizičkih pretnji već i kampanja mržnje i vulgarnih uvreda (Crna Gora).

O pritiscima, cenzuri i autocenzuri 2014. godine

Krajem marta 2014. godine za potrebe ovog rada realizovano je istraživanje stavova čelnih ljudi najvažnijih medija u Beogradu, kao i novinara koji rade u njima. Tema istraživanja bila je „Cenzura medija i autocenzura – posledice po novinarsku profesiju“.

Upitnik sa osam pitanja poslat je na 91 imejl adresu u 27 medija u Beogradu i Novom Sadu. Ispitanici su odabrani zbog funkcija na kojima se nalaze i autoriteta

¹⁶ „Vreme“, broj 1213, 3.4.2014.

¹⁷ Tanjug, 1.5.2014.

¹⁸ Ibid.

koji imaju u novinarskoj profesiji. Naglašeno je da je anketa anonimna. Sa više od 90 odsto onih kojima je poslat poziv istraživač je razgovarao o cilju istraživanja. Svi upitnici koji su popunjeni vraćeni su elektronskim putem, što znači da su svi imali potpuno poverenje u organizatora istraživanja.

Mediji, agencije i novinarska udruženja kojima je upućena anketa					
elektronski	štampani	agencije	web portal	novinarska udruženja	UKUPNO
RTS - TV Beograd	Politika	Tanjug	Balkanmagazin*	UNS	
RTS - Radio Beograd 1	Večernje novosti	Beta		NUNS	
RTV - TV Novi Sad	Danas	Fonet			
TV B92	Kurir				
TV Pink	Blic				
TV Studio B	Dnevnik Novi Sad				
Radio Studio B	NIN				
TV Prva*	Vreme				
TV Sky	Ekonometar				
	Naše novine*				
	Pečat				
	Novi magazin				
9	12	3	1	2	27
* nisu odgovorili					
U anketiranju učestvovalo					24

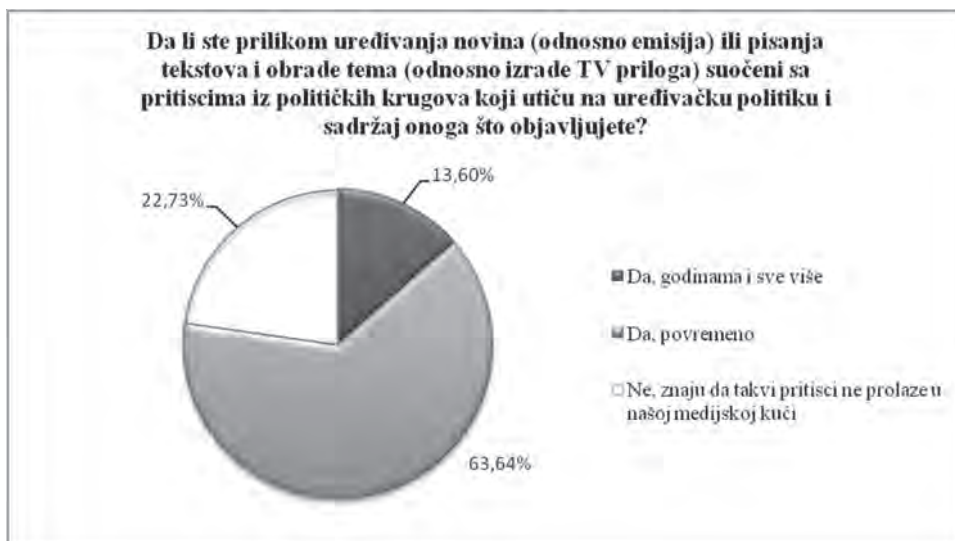
UKUPAN BROJ POSLATIH ANKETA		91	
UKUPAN BROJ PRISTIGLIH ODGOVORA		66	72,53% od poslatah anketa
Direktori, gl. i odg. urednici, zamenici gl. i odg. urednika, pomoćnici gl. i odg. urednika, urednici rubrika, emisija, članci ljudi novinarskih udruženja	RTS - TV Beograd, RTS - Radio Beograd 1, RTV - TV Novi Sad, TV Pink, TV B92, TV Studio B, Radio Studio B, Politika, Večernje novosti, Danas, Ekonometar, NIN, Novi magazin, Blic, Pečat, Tanjug, Beta, Fonet, UNS i NUNS	39	59,1% od pristiglih odgovora
Novinari	RTS - Radio Beograd 1, TV B92, TV Studio B, TV Sky, Politika, Večernje novosti, Danas, NIN, Blic, Kurir, Vreme, Dnevnik Novi Sad, Tanjug, Beta, Fonet	27	40,9% od pristiglih odgovora
Nije odgovorilo 15 urednika i 10 novinara (ukupno 25) iz tri medija.			

Pitanje br. 1	Šta podrazumevate pod pojmom „pritisak na medije“ ili šta sve novinari doživljavaju kao pritisak?		
Odgovori	Urednici elektronskih medija i novinskih agencija	Urednici štampanih medija	UNS/NUNS
	Zahtevi direktora urednicima da se nešto objavi kako treba, što urednik odmah prosleđuje novinarima	Vlasnici medija su deo sistema, u kome mediji služe za održavanje status quo/a, pa je pritisak na medije isključivo u funkciji ostvarivanja profita. Najveći je od vlasnika, dok je pritisak političara i biznisa, dodatni pritisak... Novinar je najamnik i on se ne može odbraniti od pritisa	„Priateljski saveti“ moćnika ili čak i urednika, pa i kolega
	Uslovljavanje dolaska u studio temom, pitanjima, pa i sagovornicima	To je zebnja šta da pustim ili napišem, jer istina uvek nekome smeta, pa i gloduru ili onima koji su ga tu postavili.	Uslovljavanje reklamama
	Zahtev da se interes javnosti podredi interesu grupa i lobija	Pokušaji da se neke teme zabrane, da se određene ličnosti zaštite od negativnih tekstova, i direktne pretnje fizičkom silom i pretnje da se takvim pisanjem može ugroziti i egzistencija novinara ili urednika	Pritisaci agencija
		Zahtevi da uređivačka politika prati politiku vlasnika medija koji opet uvek prati neku politiku koja će mu doneti više para, ne obazirući se na kodeks novinarstva	Selekcija tema
	Pritisak PR agencija	Pritisak je i kada ti „priateljski“ savetuju da ne pišeš o nečemu ili nekome	
	Telefonski poziv jer ste mu skratili izjavu	Direktni nalozi urednika koji je od nekoga dobio zadatak šta da uradi	
	Ucenjivanje oglašavanjem	Direktni pritisak je kada te političar ili biznismen lično ili preko posrednika zovu i daju ti savet a indirektni kada političar ili biznismen određeni medij stavi na „crnu listu“ i ignoriše ga ili kada biznismen prestane da se oglašava u njemu	
	Tabloidni novinari rade to što rade, jer nemaju gde da rade	Kada dovedu medij u situaciju da njegov opstanak zavisi od finansiranja oglašivača i političara koji imaju svoje „oglašivače“ preko kojih utiču na medij	
	Strah od gubitka posla ili gašenja medija vodi u cenzuru i autocenzuru	Opasnije su ucene oglašivača	
	Nametanje tema, stavova, pretnje i progon	Klasični pritisak je zamenjen pritiskom preko marketinških agencija, što je imalo kulminaciju u vreme Borisa Tadića kada su te agencije bile produžena ruka politike; od 2012. umesto agencija primat su preuzeli tabloidi koji presudaju i pre hapšenja, što usmerava novac oglašivača ka njima	
	Zahtevi da budu citirani, čak i kada ne govore istinu	Selekcija medija, što je dovelo da nestane istraživačko novinarstvo i da se uvede teror tabloida koje centri političke moći „hrane“ informacijama	
		Telefonski pozivi, pozivi na ručak, pritisci preko kolega, urednika	
		Sve niža kupovna moć građana kojom se utiče i na medije	

Pitanje br.1	Šta podrazumevate pod pojmom „pritisak na medije“ ili šta sve novinari doživljavaju kao pritisak?	
Odgovori	Novinari elektronskih medija i novinskih agencija	Novinari štampanih medija
	To su „saveti“ političara	Kada pišeš kako ti gazda kaže
	Kasnjenje plata	Kada te zovu PR i marketinške agencije koje rade za političare i biznismene
	Ucene oglašivača	Direktni nalozi urednika
	Problem sa urednikom kada mu se javi moćnik koga ste pitali ono što nije trebalo	Ucene oglašivača
	Svaki pokušaj uticaja na izbor teme i sadržaj teksta	Problem sa urednikom koga je zvao veliki oglašivač
	Zahtevi da se objave informacije za koje znate da su u funkciji spina	Političari ne pritisakju direktno, već preko urednika i oglašivača
	Direktan pritisak glodura, preko urednika rubrike... šta preostaje tada novinaru	Novinare pritisakju svi
	Tužbe protiv novinara	
	Uvođenje kategorije „podobnosti“ novinara, to je onaj koji je „korektan“, piše lepo	
	Na lokalnu je još izraženije, tamo je novinar sam protiv svih vrsta moćnika	

Pitanje br. 2		Da li ste prilikom uređivanja novina (odnosno emisija) ili pisanja tekstova i obrade tema (odnosno izrade TV priloga) suočeni sa pritiscima iz političkih krugova koji utiču na uređivačku politiku i sadržaj onoga što objavljujete?						
		Da, godinama i sve više	%	Da, povremeno	%	Ne, znaju da takvi pritisci ne prolaze u našoj medijskoj kući	%	Ukupan broj odgovora
1	Urednici el. medija	0		7		3		
2	Urednici štampa	3		9		5		
3	Urednici agencija	0		5		1		
4	UNS/NUNS	1		3		2		
A UKUPNO 1+2+3+4		4	10,3	24	61,54	11	28,20	39
5	Novinari el. medija	2		6		3		
6	Novinari štampa	3		9		1		
7	Novinari agencija	0		3		0		
B UKUPNO 5+6+7		5	18,5	18	66,67	4	14,81	27
UKUPNO A+B		9	13,6	42	63,64	15	22,73	66

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 3		Da li ste prilikom uređivanja novina (emisija) ili pisanja tekstova i obrade tema (izrada TV priloga) suočeni sa pritiscima iz finansijskih krugova (veliki oglašivači, banke, državni finansijski krugovi) koji utiču na uređivačku politiku i sadržaj onoga što objavljujete?						
		Da, godinama i sve više	%	Da, povremeno	%	Ne, znaju da takvi pritisci ne prolaze u našoj medijskoj kući	%	Ukupan broj odgovora
1	Urednici el. medija	0		6		4		
2	Urednici štampa	4		10		3		
3	Urednici agencija	0		5		1		
4	UNS/NUNS	1		2		3		
A	UKUPNO 1+2+3+4	5	12,82	23	58,97	11	28,21	39
5	Novinari el. medija	1		7		3		
6	Novinari štampa	5		7		1		
7	Novinari agencija	0		1		1		
B	UKUPNO 5+6+7	6	23,08	15	57,69	5	19,23	26
	UKUPNO A+B	11	16,92	38	58,46	16	24,62	65

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 4

Da li suočavanje sa takvim pritiscima, ako ih ima, doprinosi selekciji tema i načinu na koji se određene teme obrađuju, kako bi se udovoljilo centrima moći koji mogu da stvore probleme mediju u kome radite?

Ponuđene su tri opcije odgovora:

1. Ponekad pristajemo na određene ustupke, jer bismo u suprotnom ugrozili priliv finansijskih sredstava u našu kuću

Ovu opciju je izabralo ukupno 27 anketiranih (40,91%).

Od tog broja 14 su urednici i čelnici UNS-a i NUNS-a, a 13 su novinari.

2. Pokušavamo da nađemo način da odolimo pritiscima a da ne ugrozimo položaj medija u kome radimo (ponuđena opcija otvorenih odgovora uz pitanje KAKO?)

Ovu opciju su, od 66 anketiranih, izabrala 23 (34,85%).

Od tog broja 17 su urednici, a 6 novinari.

Izabrani otvoreni odgovori:

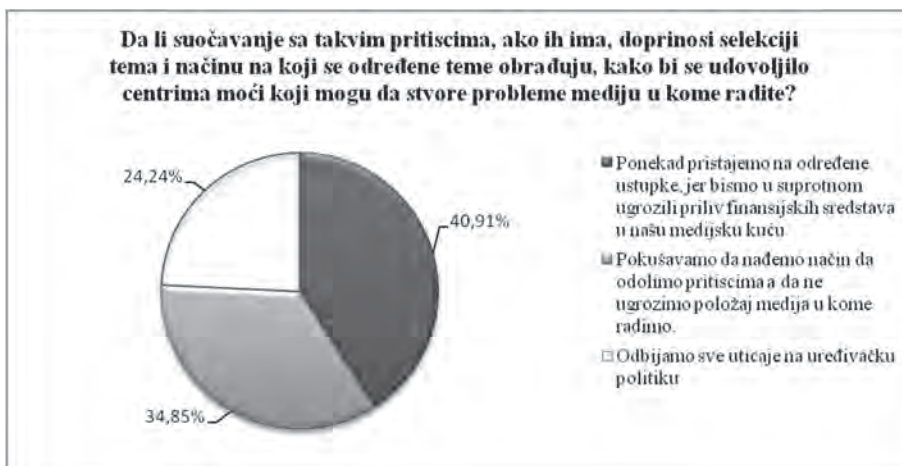
Objavimo šta traže, ali ne i gde hoće; novinar najamnik je slobodan samo u delu posla za koji upravljači nisu direktno zainteresovani; diplomatijom; objašnjavam im da od PR tekstova nemaju korist; borimo se; menjamo novinare da bismo ih zaštitili, temu radi za oglašivača nepoznati novinar; damo njihov stav, ali damo priliku i drugoj strani; obrađujemo temu iz više uglova; usklađujemo interese: redakcijske strane čuvamo a dajemo im druge;

3. Odbijamo sve uticaje na uređivačku politiku

Ovu opciju je od 66 anketiranih odabralo njih 16 (24,24%).

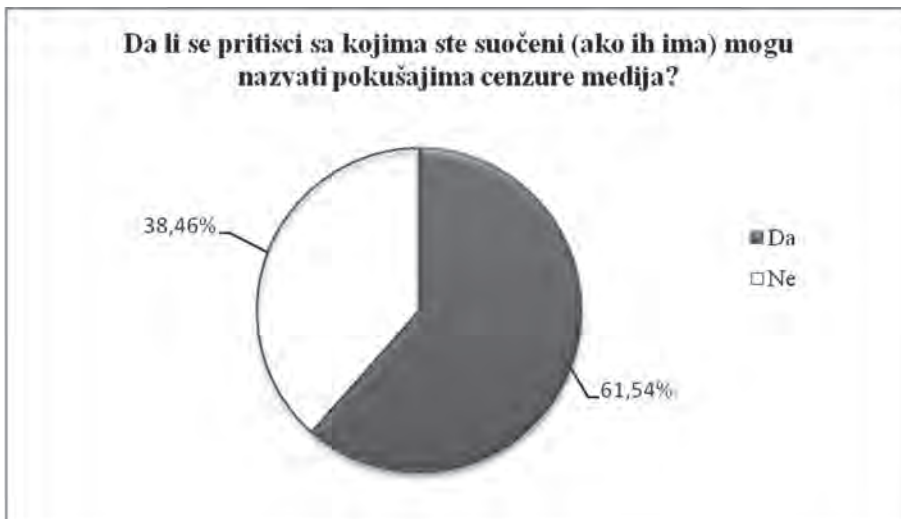
Od tog broja 8 su urednici, a 8 novinari.

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 4		Da li suočavanje sa takvim pritiscima, ako ih ima, doprinosi selekciji tema i načinu na koji se određene teme obrađuju kako bi se udovoljilo centrima moći koji mogu da stvore probleme mediju u kome radite?							
		Ponekad pristajemo na određene ustupke, jer bismo u suprotnom ugrozili priliv finansijskih sredstava u našu medijsku kuću	%	Pokušavamo da nađemo način da odolimo pritiscima a da ne ugrozimo položaj medija u kome radimo	KAKO:	%	Odbijamo sve uticaje na uređivačku politiku	%	Ukupan broj odgovora
1	Urednici el. medija	4		4	Objavimo šta traže, ali ne i gde hoće		2		
2	Urednici štampa	8		7	Novinar najmanik je slobodan samo u delu posla za koji upravljači nisu direktno zainteresovani; Teško; Diplomacijom; Objavljujem im da od PR tekstova nemaju koristi; Borimo se; Menjamo novinare da bismo ih zaštitili, temu radi za oglašivača nepoznati novinar		2		
3	Urednici agencija	1		3	Damo njihov stav ali damo priliku i drugoj strani		2		
4	UNS/NUNS	1		3	Obrađujemo temu iz više uglova; Damo priliku svima da kažu šta imaju		2		
A	UKUPNO 1+2+3+4	14	35,90	17		43,59	8	20,51	39
5	Novinari el. medija	3		2	bez objašnjenja		6		
6	Novinari štampa	8		4	Usklađujemo interese ; redakcijske strane čuvamo a dajemo im druge		1		
7	Novinari agencija	2		0	bez objašnjenja		1		
B	UKUPNO 5+6+7	13	48,15	6		22,22	8	29,63	27
	UKUPNO A+B	27	40,91	23		34,85	16	24,24	66

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 6

Da li pritisci sa kojima ste suočeni (ako ih ima) utiču na sve veću samocenzuru, kako kod urednika, tako i kod novinara?

Ponuđene su opcije:

1. Da

Ovu opciju je odabralo 25 ispitanika (38,46%).

Od tog broja 15 su urednici i čelnici novinarskih udruženja, a 10 su novinari.

Otvoreni odgovori na pitanje KAKO SE TO OGLEDA:

Čuvamo se i mi i novinar; samocenzura je osnovno stanje duha; generacije su već naučene da ne deluju subverzivno, jer ih to može koštati plate, zaposlenja...; bežimo od vrućih tema; strah od gubitka posla, gašenja medija; ne kritikujemo oglašivače; pišemo i pazimo da nekoga ne naljutimo; ako urednik ostavi novinara na cedilu, jasno je da ću imati samocenzuru: prepoznaješ zabranjene teme; ne bavim se istraživačkim novinarstvom;

2. Ne

Ovu opciju su odabrala samo 2 ispitanika – 3,08% (1 urednik i 1 čelnik novinarskog udruženja). Svi novinari smatraju da pritisci utiču na samocenzuru, pa se nijedan nije odlučio za odgovor NE.

3. To zavisi od pojedinca koji je suočen sa pritiscima

Ovu opciju je odabralo 38 ispitanika (58,46%). Od toga 21 urednik ili čelnik novinarskog udruženja i 17 novinara.

Odgovorilo je 65 anketiranih (1 nije odgovorio).

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 7

Da li je izlazak države iz vlasništva u medijima i ulazak privatnog kapitala preduslov za oslobađanje novinarstva od takvih pritisaka?

Ponuđene su opcije:

1. Da, privatizacija medija donosi boljitak novinarskoj profesiji

Za ovu opciju su se odlučila 4 anketirana (3 urednika/čelnika nov. udruženja i 1 novinar) - 7,89%.

2. Da, privatizacija medija može da oslobodi medije od političkih pritiska, ali ne i od pritisaka finansijskih centara moći zbog ekonomske zavisnosti medija

Za ovu opciju odlučilo se 23 anketiranih - (35,38%).

Od tog broja 15 su urednici/čelnici nov. udruženja, a 8 su novinari.

3. Ne, sprega privatnog kapitala i političkih centara moći još više ugrožava novinarsku profesiju

Za ovu opciju se odlučilo 38 anketiranih (58,64%).

Od tog broja 20 su urednici/čelnici nov. udruženja, a 18 su novinari.

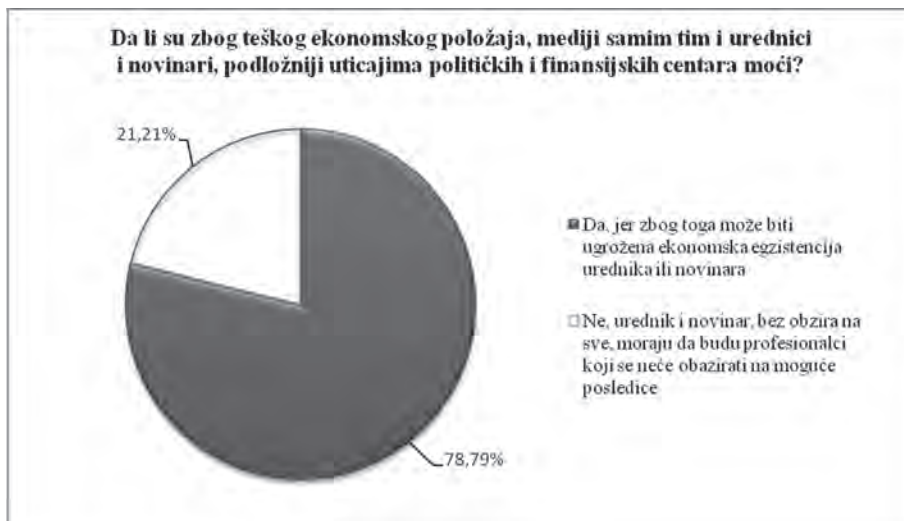
Anketirano je 65 osoba (jedan nije odgovorio).

Stavovi anketiranih



Pitanje br. 8		Da li su zbog teškog ekonomskog položaja, mediji samim tim i urednici i novinari, podložniji uticajima političkih i finansijskih centara moći?				
		Da, jer zbog toga može biti ugrožena ekonomska egzistencija urednika ili novinara	%	Ne, urednik i novinar, bez obzira na sve, moraju da budu profesionalci koji se neće obazirati na moguće posledice	%	Ukupan broj odgovora
1	Urednici el. medija	7		3		
2	Urednici štampe	15		2		
3	Urednici agencija	4		2		
4	UNS/NUNS	5		1		
A	UKUPNO 1+2+3+4	31	79,49	8	20,51	39
5	Novinari el. medija	9		2		
6	Novinari štampe	11		2		
7	Novinari agencija	1		2		
B	UKUPNO 5+6+7	21	77,78	6	22,22	27
	UKUPNO A+B	52	78,79	14	21,21	66

Stavovi anketiranih



Zaključak

O pritiscima

Od 66 anketiranih urednika, novinara i čelnika UNS-a i NUNS-a njih 9 (13,64%) smatra da su politički pritisci na medije iz godine u godinu sve veći, dok 42 anketirana ili 63,64% smatra da su ti pritisci povremeni. Samo 15 anketiranih (22,7%) ističe da na njihovu medijsku kućunemapritisaka političara, jer znaju da to neće uticati na uređivačku politiku. Takav stav imaju svi anketirani iz NIN-a, RTS – TV Beograd, RTS – Radio Beograda 1, TV B92 i nedeljnika Pečat, dok kod anketiranih u Politici, Večernjim novostima, TV Pink, Fonetu, Beti i Tanjugu ima podeljenih mišljenja.

Čak 51 anketirani ili 77,28 % potvrđuje da su politički pritisci stalni, sve jači ili da su povremeni, pa se izvodi nesporni zaključak da su anketirani mediji u Srbiji pod političkim pritiscima.

Stalne pritiske finansijskih centara moći koji traju godinama i sve su jači potvrđuje 11 ispitanika (16,92%), dok ih kao povremene pritiske navodi njih 38 (58,64%). **Pritiske na medije onih koji imaju novac potvrđuje ukupno 49 ispitanika (75,56%).**

Samo 16 ispitanika (24,62%) smatra da finansijski moćnici ne vrše pritisak na njihove medijske kuće. Reč je stavovima svih anketiranih iz RTS – TV Beograd, RTS – Radio Beograda 1, NIN-a, Pečata, TV B92 i podeljenim mišljenjima u Politici, Večernjim novostima, TV Pink, TV Studio B, Beti i Fonetu.

Otvoreni odgovori potvrđuju da postoji sprega političkih i finansijskih centara moći i da veoma često nema direktnih političkih pritisaka, već preko

agencija ili državnih kompanija koje su bliske vlasti i koje imaju zadatak da (ne)finansiraju određene medije, u zavisnosti od toga koliko su mediji spremni za saradnju. Ucenjivanje oglašavanjem i ukidanje prihoda od marketinga je oprobani i najčešći metod koji primenjuju PR i marketinške agencije u ime i za račun centara moći.

Vlasnici – urednici uticajnih tabloida koji ističu da oni „bastioni slobodnog novinarstva“ i borci za demokratiju, često negiraju bilo kakve veze sa centrima moći. Da je postojala mogućnost dobijanja objektivnih odgovora iz tih tabloida, slika o pritiscima i vezama sa centrima moći bila bi još gora.

Protiv pritisaka koji ugrožavaju finansijski opstanak medija čak 50 od 66 anketiranih (75,76%), potvrđuje da se bori na razne načine. U medijima ponekad pristaju na određene ustupke onima koji žele da zakupe oglasni prostor.

O cenzuri i autocenzuri

Pritisци kojima su izloženi mediji kod 20 od 39 anketiranih urednika nisu prepoznati kao cenzura u klasičnom smislu te reči (što je 51,28%) dok je njih 19 (48,72%) to okarakterisano kao cenzurisanje. Od 27 novinara, čak 21 (80,77%) te pritiske naziva cenzurom. Anketa je pokazala da 40 od 66 anketiranih (61,54%) smatra da ima cenzure, dok njih 25 (38,46%) smatra da su to samopokušaji cenzure ili autocenzura. Jedan ispitanik smatra da su mediji u Srbiji potpuno slobodni.

Pritisци sa kojima su suočeni ima uticaja na stvaranje autocenzure. To smatra 38,46% anketiranih. **Većina anketiranih (58,46% – 38 od 66). ističe da samo od pojedinca zavisi da li će sam sebi postati cenzor.** Kod urednika je to 55,27% a kod novinara 62,96% ispitanika. Novinari su svesni da samo od njih zavisi da li će sebi uvesti autocenzuru.

O izlasku države iz medija

Izlazak države iz medija i potpuna privatizacija (sem javnih servisa) neće doneti boljitak novinarskoj profesiji. Većina smatra (38 – 58,46%) da će zbog toga još više biti ugrožena novinarska profesija, dok 23 (35,38%) smatraju da privatizacija medija može da ih oslobodi od političkih, ali ne i od pritisaka finansijskih centara moći.

Privatizacija neće osloboditi medije od raznih pritisaka smatra 93,84% anketiranih (61 od 66). Samo četvoro ispitanika (6,15%) smatra da privatizacija donosi svetliju budućnost medijima u Srbiji.

Zbog teške ekonomske situacije u medijima, mediji su veoma podložni uticajima centara moći. Zbog toga još više može biti ugrožena egzistencija medija (52 anketirana – 78,79%) dok njih 14 (21,21%) smatra da se urednici i novinari moraju boriti za profesiju i slobodne medije bez obzira na posledice.

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mr Renato Ivanuš, doktorant¹

Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Zagrebu (Republika Hrvatska)

Utjecaj gospodarske krize na dnevne novine u Hrvatskoj

Apstrakt: U radu se analiziraju trendovi prodanih naklada hrvatskih dnevnih novina i podaci o čitanosti od 2008. do 2013. godine. Ti su podaci stavljeni u odnos sa pokazateljima ekonomskog stanja u Hrvatskoj – padom bruto društvenog proizvoda, rastom nezaposlenosti, padom prosječne plaće te s indeksom siromaštva. Rad će, dakle, pokušati dokazati vezu između rapidnog pada tiraža dnevnih novina i sve lošije ekonomske situacije u državi.

U Hrvatskoj je u promatranom razdoblju višestruko povećan broj korisnika interneta, koji uz ostalo, na news portalima, blogovima i društvenim mrežama dolaze do informacija koje su donedavno dobivali u dnevnim novinama. U radu ćemo se, dakle, baviti i utjecajem tih tzv. besplatnih izvora informacija na pad tiraža hrvatskih dnevnih novina.

U istom razdoblju ugasile su se jedne od najstarijih i nekad najuglednijih dnevnih novina – Vjesnik, a još jedan pokušaj izdavanja novih dnevnih novina propao je nakon samo nekoliko mjeseci izlaza (21. stoljeće). U velikim financijskim problemima je još nekoliko utjecajnih dnevnih novina – Jutarnji list, Novi list i Glas Istre.

Iako izdavači dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj očekuju promjenu ekonomske klime u državi kao slamku spasa za njihovo posrnulo poslovanje, postavlja se pitanje da li bi takva promjena ekonomske situacije bila dovoljna da se to i dogodi ili će one novine koje prežive krizu trebati naći nove načine kako bi zadržale postojeće i eventualno steći nove čitatelje.

Dnevne novine su u Hrvatskoj 2008. godine, bile na svom vrhuncu – njihova ukupna prodana tiraža je rasla u odnosu na prijašnje godine, imale su velik broj čitatelja, a s time i visoke prihode od oglasa. Sve se to promijenilo već u sljedećoj godini, a cjelokupno stanje tog dijela novinsko-izdavačke industrije danas je na rubu propasti.

Ključne riječi: *dnevne novine, tiraža, čitanost, internet, ekonomska kriza*

¹ Glavni urednik dnevnih novina 24sata (Zagreb, Hrvatska)
Email: rivanus6@gmail.com, renato.ivanus@24sata.hr

MSc Renato Ivanuš, PhD Candidate
Faculty of Philosophy, University in Zagreb (Republic of Croatia)

Impact of economic crisis on daily newspapers in Croatia

Abstract: The paper analyzes trends of sold circulations of Croatian daily newspapers and information on reading between 2008. and 2013. This information is placed into relation with indicators of economic condition in Croatia – decline of gross national product, increase of unemployment, decrease of average salary and poverty index. Therefore, this paper shall attempt to prove connection between rapid decline of circulation of daily newspapers and increasingly adverse economic situation in the country.

During the observed period the number of Internet users in Croatia multiplied significantly. Those users access information on news portals, blogs and social networks, among other sources, that previously accessed information through daily newspapers. The paper will therefore examine impact of these so-called free sources of information on decline of circulation of Croatian daily newspapers.

During the same period one of the oldest and once most reputable daily newspaper – Vjesnik, ceased to exist, and another attempt to launch daily newspaper failed after only several months of publishing (*21. stoljeće*). Several influential daily newspapers are in serious financial problems – Jutarnji list, Novi list and Glas Istre.

Although publishers of daily newspapers in Croatia expect a change of economic climate in the country as a straw of salvation for their declined business activity, a question has to be asked whether such change of economic situation would be sufficient or the newspapers that fail to survive the crisis will have to find new ways to keep existing and possibly gain new readers.

In 2008, i.e. only six years ago, daily newspapers in Croatia were at their peak - their total sold circulation was increasing in respect to the previous years, they had a large number of readers and consequently large income deriving from advertisements. All of that changed the very next year and the entire condition of news – publishing industry is nowadays on the verge of collapse.

Keywords: *daily newspaper, circulation, reading, Internet, economic crisis*

Uvod

Dnevne novine u Hrvatskoj vrlo su brzo prošle put od svog zenita (po broju prodanih primjeraka i broju čitatelja) do borbe za opstanak. Velike uspjehe bilježile su 2007. i 2008. godine, a danas, samo šest-sedam godina poslije, sve hrvatske dnevne novine bilježe pad tiraže, čitanosti i prihoda. Neke dnevne novine su u međuvremenu i prestale izlaziti, primjerice Vjesnik² koji je desetljećima bio sinonim za tzv. kvalitetne novine bez senzacionalizma, klasičan primjer dnevnih političkih novina koje su (naravno, ovisno o političkim prilikama) prenosile relevantne informacije. Međutim, ne postoji samo jedan razlog koji je doveo do takvog trenda dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj.

'Bez dramatike, ali visimo o niti. Kolokvijalno rečeno – u banani smo',³ kazao je na sastanku u Zagrebu sa predstavnicima sindikata 19. studenog 2008. tadašnji premijer Ivo Sanader. Bilo je to prvi puta da je netko iz tadašnje Vlade priznao da i u Hrvatsku stiže kriza, recesija i da je došao kraj državnoj rastrošnosti koja je svojim optimizmom bez pokrića utjecala i na građane koji su, pak, živjeli daleko iznad svojih mogućnosti uzimajući kredite, kupujući stanove i aute, trošeći ono što nisu zaradili i nisu razmišljali kako će to jednog dana ipak morati vratiti. Upravo je ta, na prvi pogled pomalo bizarna izjava, bila uvod u teška vremena koja su čekala i dnevne novine, odnosno njihove izdavače.

Ovaj rad pokušat će pokazati kako su se ekonomska kretanja u Hrvatskoj (pad bruto-društvenog proizvoda, rast nezaposlenosti, indeks siromaštva) od tada do 2013. godine odrazila na čitanost i prodanu nakladu dnevnih novina. U tu svrhu analizirat ćemo i opisati sekundarne kvantitativne podatke iz vjerodostojnih izvora.

Ne treba, međutim, zanemariti i još jedan aspekt koji se odrazio na novine – veliku i brzu penetraciju interneta u Hrvatsku u posljednjih šest godina. Zbog toga su informacije koje su do tada bile, da tako kažemo, ekskluzivno distribuirane preko klasičnih masmedija (novina, radija i televizije) dobile eksplozivno rastuću konkurenciju – blogove, news portale i društvene mreže. Informacije su postale puno dostupnije, puno brže (odnosno gotovo trenutačne) i jeftinije. Rad će se baviti i tim aspektom.

I, na kraju, analizirat ćemo jesu li se dnevne novine pripremile za dva prije navedena izazova i kako su na njih odgovarale i reagirale posljednjih godina.

Dnevne novine kao masovni medij

I prije pojave novina kakve danas poznajemo ljudi su komunicirali i objavljivali informacije o svom svakodnevnom životu. Prve pećinske crteže koje je crtao naš davni predak možemo svrstati u zidno novinarstvo. Te 'novine' nemaju obilježja današnjih novina, ali imale su svrhu koja se djelomično podudara s današnjim novinama – služile su informiranju određenog kruga ljudi. Novine, koje neki teoretičari

² Prvi broj Vjesnika izašao je 1940. a list se ugasio 2012. godine

³ Taj izraz znači 'u velikim smo problemima'

nazivaju i tisak, najstariji su masovni medij.

U modernoj teoriji novinarstva različiti teoretičari različito definiraju novine kao masovni medij. Kunczik i Zipfel ih ubrajaju u 'najstariji oblik masovnog komuniciranja koji ima četiri temeljne karakteristike: publicitet, aktualnost univerzalnost i periodičnost' (Kunczik, Zipfel, 2006:72).

Malović, pak, navodi da se novine prema načinu proizvodnje mogu podijeliti s obzirom na učestalost izlaženja, format i tehnologiju. 'Ritam izlaženja novina može biti dnevni, tjedni, dvotjedni i mjesečni' (Malović, 1995:85). Prema formatu razlikujemo veličinu novinske stranice. U tiskanju se može koristiti puna veličina formata ili se može presavijati do konačnog izgleda novine na kiosku. Vilović navodi podjelu novina na one tabloidnog formata (večernje novine) i na ozbiljne, analitične novine velikog formata (tzv. jutarnje novine) (Vilović, 2011). Danas se ta podjela pomalo gubi, čak i ozbiljne novine preuzimaju tabloidni format. Takav trend krenuo je početkom 21. stoljeća iz Velike Britanije i brzo se proširio po svijetu. I hrvatske novine su prihvatile taj trend. 'Formatom su sve novine tabloidne, a samo su dnevne novine 24sata i sadržajno tabloid' (Vilović, 2011:69). Prema tehnologiji tiskanja novine dijelimo na jednobojne, dvobojne i višebojne novine. Prema sadržaju novine se mogu podijeliti na informativno-političke listove, zabavno-revijalne i specijalizirana izdanja (Malović, 1995.).

Denis McQuail glavnim osobinama tiska kao masovnog medija naziva 'redovnost i stalnost izlaženja, udobnost oblika, praćenje aktualnih događaja, funkcije u javnoj sferi, gradska ili specijalizirana publika, relativna sloboda' (McQuail, 2005:28).

Ugledni publicist, novinar i kroničar hrvatskog novinstva Josip Horvat u svojoj knjizi *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771.-1962.* za novine piše da su skupni naziv za redovita tiskana (uglavnom ukoričena) izdanja s glavnom svrhom da se što prije sazna i što prije objavi glas o nekom novom događaju vezanom uz interes što većeg broja ljudi (Horvat, 1962).

Black i Bryant masovne medije, pa tako i novine definiraju kroz četiri temeljne uloge: informiranje, zabava, uvjeravanje i transmisija kulture (Black, Bryant, 1992.) Hrvatske dnevne novine posljednjih godina sve više zabavljaju i zanemaruju ostale temeljne uloge jer njihovi vlasnici misle da će tako stvoriti više profita. To možda i može imati kratkoročni učinak, no zbog toga bi čitatelji, koji ne žele od novina isključivo zabavu, mogli prijeći na druge medije.

Povijest novina u Hrvatskoj

Prve novine u Hrvatskoj pojavile su se 1774. i zvale su se *Ephemerides Zagrabianses*. Bio je to tjednik na četiri strane na latinskom jeziku. Izlazio je nepunu godinu dana. 'Sljedeće novine pokrenute su nepunih petnaest godina kasnije. Bio je to *Agramer Deutsche Zeitung* tiskan na njemačkom jeziku. Bio je kratka vijeka i slaba utjecaja' (Novak, 1997:130).

Prve novine na hrvatskom jeziku pojavile su se u 1806. godine pod nazivom *Il Regio Dalmata – Kragliski Dalmatin*. Kako je Dalmacija Požunskim mirom 1805. godine pripala Napoleonu, list je bio glasilo francuskih okupacijskih snaga. Tiskan je dvojezično, na talijanskom i hrvatskom. Izlazio je gotovo četiri godine u nakladi od 600 primjeraka.

Na tisak na hrvatskom jeziku trebalo je još pričekati do hrvatskog narodnog preporoda 1835. godine kada Ljudevit Gaj pokreće *Novine horvatske*⁴ s prilogom *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*. List *Obzor* počinje izlaziti 1. listopada 1860. pod nazivom *Prozor*, a 11 godina poslije mijenja ime u *Obzor*. Taj list je u tom razdoblju najutjecajniiji dnevnik hrvatske građanske inteligencije. *Zadarski Narodni list*, glasilo hrvatskog naroda, počeo je izlaziti 1862. godine.

Krajem 1899. dovršene su pripreme, navodi Božidar Novak, za izdavanje još jednog lista koji će 'ostaviti dubok trag u hrvatskom novinarstvu' (Novak, 2005:55). Tada je Frano Supilo potpisao ugovor s predstavnicima *Primorske tiskare* o uređivanju *Hrvatske sloge*. No, odlučio je promijeniti uređivačku politiku i list je pod novim imenom *Novi list* izašao 2. siječnja 1900. na Sušaku. Sve do početka XX. stoljeća hrvatske novine bile su daleko od tadašnjih trendova u svjetskom izdavaštvu. U razdoblju do početka Prvog svjetskog rata pojavljuju se, među ostalim, *Novosti*, *Jutarnji list*, pulska *Naša sloga*, *Riječke novine*. Za vrijeme antifašističke borbe nastajali su budući vodeći hrvatski dnevni listovi – *Vjesnik* (1940), *Slobodna Dalmacija* (1943.), *Glas Istre* (1943.), *Glas Slavonije* (1942. godine prvo kao list *Slavonski partizan*), *Primorski vjesnik* kao preteča suvremenog *Novog lista* (1943.) (Novak, 2005.).

Jedan od najznačajnijih hrvatskih dnevnih listova, *Večernji list*, počinje izlaziti 1957. godine pod nazivom *Večernji vjesnik*. Dvije godine kasnije spaja se sa zagrebačkim *Narodnim listom* i dobiva današnji naziv. Danas je *Večernjak* drugi najnakladniji hrvatski dnevnik.

Današnji *Jutarnji list* počinje izlaziti 1998. godine i sada je treći najnakladniji hrvatski dnevni list. Posljednjih sedam godina najčitanije i najprodavanije dnevne novine su *24sata*. Prvi broj tih novina izašao je u ožujku 2005. godine.

U devedesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća bilježi se veliki broj raznih izdavačkih pokušaja. No gotovo niti jedno od tih izdanja nije preživjelo, osim *Jutarnjeg lista* koji se pojavio na kraju tog razdoblja. Izdavači dnevnih novina, opisuje to razdoblje tadašnji direktor *Večernjeg lista* Branko Lovrić, 'našli su se usred ratnih događanja, neki bez dijela čitatelja zbog novih državnih granica, a neki i bez socijalističke prakse državnih subvencija'. (Lovrić, 2000:112). Bila su to teška vremena za izdavače i upravo je pojava *Jutarnjeg lista* dinamizirala tržište dnevnih novina. *Jutarnji* je prvenstveno napao tada najtiražniji *Večernji list*, ali je ipak ugrozio i regionalne dnevne *Slobodnu Dalmaciju*, *Novi list* i *Glas Slavonije*.

Na prijelazu stoljeća intenzivirala se ta tržišna borba, posebno kada *Večernji list* lansira iznimno uspješnu nagradnu igru koja mu je pojedinim danima dizala prodanu tiražu i na više od milijun primjeraka. *Jutarnji list* je vrlo brzo odgovorio sa svojom nagradnom igrom i tada počinje taj trend za povećavanje prodanih tira-

⁴ Od 1836. postaju Novine ilirske, a od 1843. Narodne novine.

ža dnevnih novina putem nagradnih igara s bogatim nagradama, koji s određenim prekidima traje do danas. Tada je prema dostupnim podacima, "Večernji list držao 39% ukupne naklade svih dnevnih listova. *Večernji* se 2000. prosječno dnevno tiskao u 266.000 primjeraka, *Jutarnji list* u 203.000, *Slobodna Dalmacija* 73.000, *Novi list* 48.000, *Sportske novosti* 42.000, *Vjesnik* 18.000, *Glas Slavonije* 9000 i *Glas Istre* 7000" (Lovrić, 2000:113).

Borba za čitatelje i oglašivače

Izdavačima dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj, od kojih su se neki i prijašnjih desetljeća borili na tržištu a neki živjeli od državnih subvencija, financijske okolnosti se mijenjaju uvođenjem PDV-a 1998. godine i smanjivanjem državne pomoći. Tiraže im istodobno padaju zbog ekonomske krize u poratnim godinama i slabije kupovne moći građana pa se u većoj mjeri moraju okrenuti drugom izvoru prihoda – oglašivačima. Već početkom novog stoljeća dnevne novine u Hrvatskoj u borbi za oglašivače dobivaju moćnog protivnika – televiziju. Na Hrvatskoj televiziji 2000. godine pojavljivalo se 65% ukupnih reklama a u dnevnim novinama 15%, dok je u Njemačkoj taj omjer bio 47:19 posto u korist novina (Lovrić, 2000). Ta se borba za oglašivače između televizije i novina do danas još više intenzivirala, posebice nakon pojave komercijalnih nacionalnih televizija u Hrvatskoj *Nove TV* i *RTL-a*.

Oglašivačima, pak, nije dovoljan samo podatak o tiraži da bi se odlučili na zakup prostora u nekim novinama ili bilo kojem drugom mediju. Oni žele znati tko konzumira određen medij, odnosno neki dio medija, što te konzumente zanima, koje su njihove navike i slično, odnosno oni žele znati jesu li pravim konzumentima nekog medija ponudili svoju reklamu kako bi ta poruka imala učinka i potaknula ih na akciju – kupnju nekog proizvoda ili usluge. Nije, dakle, samo publika važna medijskom menadžmentu. "Najveći dio pažnje dobivaju oglašivači. Oni su odlučujući za financijsku uspješnost medija. Oglašivačima je pak stalo da njihova promidžbena poruka ima najveći mogući učinak. Krug se tako zatvara. Publika je bitna, ali odlučuju oglašivači" (Malović, 2005:55).

Upravo zbog tog razloga hrvatski novinski izdavači nikada nisu previše voljeli objavljivati tiraže svojih proizvoda. Cjelovitih i potpuno vjerodostojnih podataka o tiražama nema ni danas. Situacija se donekle promijenila Zakonom o medijima (2004.) kojim je uvedena obaveza izdavača da osnovne podatke o poslovanju jednom na godinu dostavljaju nadležnom ministarstvu, no i tu neki izdavači koriste nedorečenost propisa pa u nekim slučajevima nije jasno radi li se o tiskanoj ili prodanoj nakladi dnevnih novina.

Novi uzlet hrvatskih dnevnih novina

Početak XXI stoljeća obilježila je, dakle, borba dnevnih novina za svakog čitatelja i oglašivača. Stvari se mijenjaju nabolje 2005. godine kada u ožujku izlazi prvi broj dnevnih novina *24sata*, koji je predstavljao novost na hrvatskom tržištu – ma-

njim formatom, dominacijom fotografija nad tekstem, kraćim formama, direktnim obraćanjem čitateljima, jasnim jezikom razumljivim svima. I, naravno, cijenom koja je bila upola manja od ostalih dnevnih novina – tada je bila tri kune. Sljedeće godine u svibnju Hrvatska dobiva i prve samostalne besplatne dnevne novine – *Metro Express*, a *24sata* mjesec dana ranije uvodi u Zagrebu i svoje besplatno popodnevno izdanje.

Budući ne postoje u cijelosti vjerodostojni podaci o prodanim tiražama dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj, prvo ćemo se poslužiti podacima o čitanosti tih novina koji se temelje na telefonskim anketama koje na reprezentativnom uzorku provode agencije za ispitivanje tržišta, a koje kao relevantne uzimaju marketinške agencije i oglašivači. Prema agenciji *Media Puls* 2004. godine dnevne novine je čitalo 1.636.855 stanovnika. Sljedeće godine, 2005., ta je brojka porasla na 1.711.155 čemu je definitivno pridonijelo pokretanje *24sata* u ožujku te godine. Jasno je da je *24sata* uzeo dio čitatelja ostalim dnevnim novinama, no činjenica je i da se tada u Hrvatskoj pojavila i nova čitateljska publika koje nije bilo prijašnjih godina.

Pravi bum čitanosti bilježi se 2006. kada ona, prema *Media Pulsu*, prvi puta preskače dva milijuna čitatelja – 2.100.977 što je direktna posljedica povećanja čitanosti *24sata*, uvođenja besplatnog izdanja tih novina u Zagrebu (koje su izlazile radnim danima u tiraži od 75.000 do 100.000 primjeraka), te pojavom besplatnog *Metro Expressa*. Uzlazni trend nastavlja se i 2007. godine u kojoj dnevne novine svakodnevno čita čak 2.366.286 ljudi u Hrvatskoj. Ukupna čitanost je porasla i bez obzira što je na kraju 2006. godine s tržišta nestao jedan lokalni dnevni list – *Karlovački list*.

Tih godina se u Hrvatskoj bolje živjelo. Zaposlenost je bila relativno velika, nezaposlenost relativno niska, ljudi su redovito dobivali plaće, lako se pronalazio novi posao, bilo je lako doći do kredita, kupovali su se stanovi i automobili, država je investirala u velike projekte (npr. širenje mreža autocesta). Sve se to, naravno, odrazilo i na povećanu kupnju dnevnih novina. Neki ljudi su svaki dan kupovali po dvoje ili troje dnevnih novina. Kada se tome doda da je internet još bio novost za ljude u Hrvatskoj, novine su stvarno bile u svom zenitu.

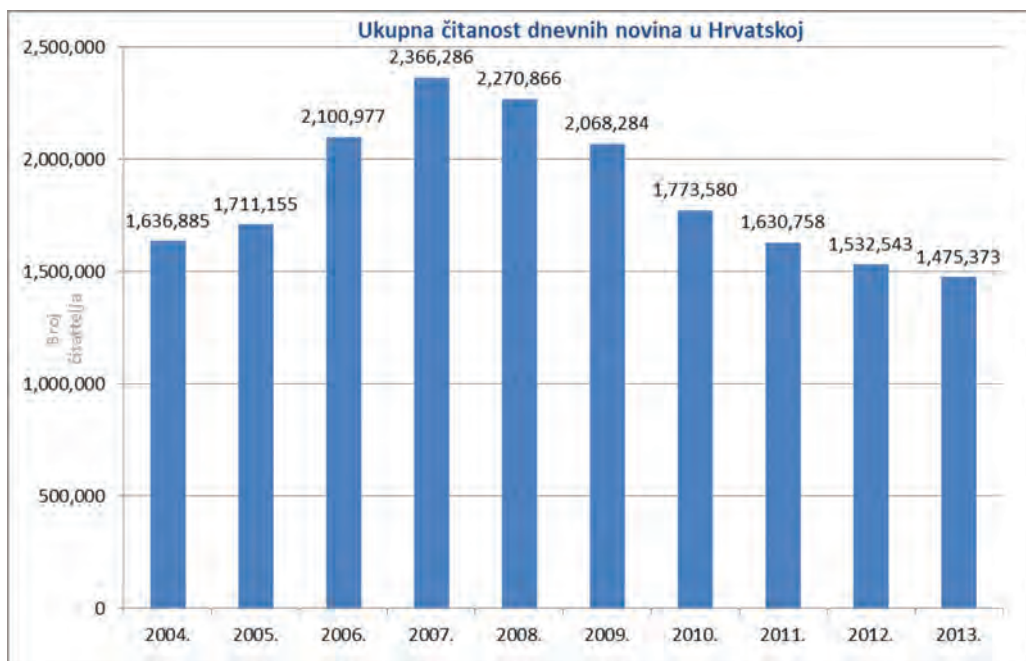
No, već sljedeće godine pokazuju se prvi znakovi da kriza ipak stiže i u Hrvatsku. Čitanost lagano pada za 2,2% u odnosu na 2007. godinu iako se na tržištu pojavljuju nove gospodarske dnevne novine *Business.hr* (koje su prije izlazile kao tjednik). No u srpnju 2008. prestaje izlaziti *Metro Express* iako je imao prosječnu čitanost⁵ u posljednjoj godini od solidnih 7,8% čime je bio uvjerljivo četvrti najčitaniji dnevni list iza *24sata*, *Jutarnjeg lista* i *Večernjeg lista*. *Jutarnji list* 2008. bilježi veliki pad čitanosti (s 18,1% 2007. na 15,8%) kao i *Večernji list* (sa 16,4% na 15,4%). Ukupni lagani pad čitanosti dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj nije spriječila ni rekordna godina *24sata* koji se 2008. godine prosječno dnevno prodavao u 181.000 primjeraka i imao prosječnu čitanost od 32,8% (2,7% više nego 2007.).

Od 2004. do 2008. godine ukupni broj čitatelja dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj narastao je, prema podacima *Media Pulsa*, za više od 38% - odnosno 2008. u Hr-

⁵ Prema podacima *Media Pulsa*.

vatskoj je bilo 633.981 čitatelj više nego 2004. godine (s tim da ih je ukupno 2007. bilo više nego 2008. – 2.366.286). Ako se analizira rast čitanosti dnevnih novina po dobnim skupinama u tom razdoblju, posebno se ističu mladi (10 do 19 godina) kojih je u ukupnom broju čitatelja dnevnih novina 2008. bilo čak 73% više nego 2004. godine. Taj podatak može se dovesti u direktnu vezu s pojavom *24sata*, odnosno s formatom i konceptom tih novina koji je više podsjećao na web portal nego na tradicionalne dnevne novine.

Graf 1: Ukupna čitanost dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj



Izvor: *Media Puls*

Kao što je vidljivo iz grafikona nakon 2007. godine čitanost dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj počinje padati. Doduše, prema podacima Hrvatske gospodarske komore, unatoč padu čitanosti i tiraže 2008. godine novine su uspjele ostvariti financijske rezultate kao i u rekordnoj 2007. godini, no to je povezano sa činjenicom da su sve dnevne novine u Hrvatskoj tijekom te godine povećale cijenu za jednu kunu. Pozitivni efekti tog poskupljenja na prihode novinskih izdavača još su se djelomično vidjeli 2009. godine, a nakon toga su nestali.

Dnevne novine u kriznim godinama

Nakon 2008. nema više niti jednog hrvatskog izdavača dnevnih novina koji barem jednu godinu nije završio u minusu.

Tome su najviše odolijevala *24sata*. Oni su, unatoč konstantnom padu tiraže, prema financijskim izvještajima 2009. godinu završili s dobiti od 50,4 milijuna kuna, godinu dana nakon toga s nešto više od 41 milijun kuna, a 2010. s 32,5 milijuna kuna dobiti. No, 2012. završili su s gubitkom od 1,3 milijuna kuna. Uz pad prodaje novina i oglasnih prihoda, tome je doprinijela i činjenica da je te godine tvrtki *24sata d.o.o.* pripojen gubitaš *Poslovni dnevnik*. Od za *24sata* rekordne 2008., kada su prosječno dnevno prodavali 181.000 primjeraka, do 2012. godine najtiražnije dnevne novine izgubile su prosječno oko 55.000 prodanih primjeraka svaki dan. Zbog svega toga *24sata* je početkom studenog 2012. još jednom povećao cijenu za jednu kunu. To je kompaniji omogućilo da 2013. godinu ponovno završi s dobiti, no povećanje cijene je direktno utjecalo na dodatno smanjenje prodaje pa su se *24sata* tijekom 2013. prosječno prodavala u oko 108.000 primjeraka.

Večernji list, druge najtiražnije hrvatske dnevne novine, nakon 2008. godine bilježe gubitke, osim 2011. koju završavaju sa 2,2 milijuna kuna dobiti. Iz financijskih izvještaja *Večernjeg lista* vidljivo je da im vrlo brzo padaju oglasni prihodi – to je posebno bilo izraženo 2009. i 2012. godine kada su ti prihodi pali za po 20% u odnosu na godinu prije. *Večernji list* se 2013. godine prosječno dnevno prodavao u oko 58.000 primjeraka. *Večernji list* je, kao i *24sata* i *Poslovni dnevnik*, u vlasništvu austrijskog medijskog koncerna *Styria*.

Treće najtiražnije novine su *Jutarnji list*. Njihov izdavač je tvrtka *EPH Media* u vlasništvu *Europapress holdinga*. Ta je tvrtka, koja uz *Jutarnji list* izdaje i politički tjednik *Globus*, samo 2010. godinu završila u plusu i to s dobiti nešto manjom od tri milijuna kuna. Sve ostale krizne godine radili su s gubitkom. *Jutarnji list* se 2013. godine prosječno dnevno prodavao u nešto više od 51.000 primjeraka. *Europapress holding* je u svibnju 2013. godine pokrenuo postupak predstečajne nagodbe zbog nelikvidnosti uzrokovane blokadom računa.

Iz financijskih izvještaja *Slobodne Dalmacije* vidljivo je da su njihovi rezultati jako oscilirali u kriznim godinama. Tvrtka koja izdaje istoimeni dnevnik, koji je inače četvrti najtiražniji u Hrvatskoj, bilježila je velike gubitke (10,6 milijuna kuna 2008., sljedeće godine 12,9 mil. kn) ali i dobit 2010. (oko 35 milijuna kuna) i 2012. godine (oko tri milijuna kuna). Ta dobit, međutim, nije povezana s većim prihodima od prodaje novina ili od oglašivača nego s drugim poslovnim potezima – 2010. godine *Slobodna Dalmacija* prodala je svoju maloprodajnu mrežu *Tisku*, a 2012. zbog drastičnog rezanja troškova, posebice troškova za zaposlene. *Slobodna Dalmacija* prodavala se tijekom 2013. godine u nešto više od 30.000 primjeraka na dan. Vlasnik *Slobodne Dalmacije* je *EPH* koji je i vlasnik *Jutarnjeg lista*.

Riječki *Novi list* je većinu kriznih godina bio u vlasništvu tajkuna Roberta Ježića. I sve te godine bio je u gubitku. Tvrtku 2012. godine preuzima drugi tajkun, Alberto Faggian, i *Novi list* tu godinu završava s dobiti od 2,5 milijuna kuna. No ni ta

dobit nema veze s prodajom novina ili prihodima od oglašivača nego s velikim rezanjem troškova tijekom 2012. godine od 20 milijuna kuna. Polovica od toga odnosilo se na rezanje troškova za zaposlene (dio ljudi je dobio otkaze, a ostalima je smanjena plaća). Tijekom 2013. Novi list se prosječno prodavao u oko 25.000 primjeraka na dan, a krajem te godine i početkom 2014. počinju im kasniti plaće.⁶

Graf 2: Prodaja najtiražnijih dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj



Izvor: HGK, interni podaci izdavača

Analiziramo li podatke o prodanim tiražama triju najprodavanijih dnevnih novina (*Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list* i *24sata*) vidimo da je daleko najuspješnija godina u razdoblju 2004.-2013. bila 2008. Te su se godine te tri novine zajedno prosječno dnevno prodavale u više od 356.000 primjeraka (*VL* – 92.000, *JL* – 83.000, *24sata* – 181.000), odnosno oko 15.000 više nego godinu dana ranije. No već sljedeće 2009. godine njihova je zajednička prosječna dnevna prodaja pala za gotovo deset posto na 321.000. Iako *Večernji list* i *Jutarnji list* imaju trend pada tiraže još od 2000. godine, pojava *24sata* dala je novi polet ukupnom tržištu dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj. No ni te novine nisu uspjele više kompenzirati pad cjelokupnog tržišta u kriznim godinama nakon 2008. jer su i one počele brzo padati. Ako pogledamo posljednju godinu u promatranom desetljeću, 2013., vidimo da je ukupna prosječna prodana dnevna tiraža triju najprodavanijih dnevnih novina bila gotovo ista kao i na početku analiziranog razdoblja 2004. – 217.000 komada. Te 2013. godine *24sata* su se prosječno dnevno prodavala u 108.000, *Večernji list* u 58.000, a *Jutarnji list* u 51.000. No 2004. godine još nije bilo *24sata*, *Večernji* se tada prosječno prodavao u oko 114.000, a *Jutarnji list* oko 103.000 primjeraka na dan.

Krizne godine u gotovo svim dnevnim novinama u Hrvatskoj obilježila su otpuštanja novinara i urednika, kašnjenje plaća i honorara i neizvjesna budućnost za

⁶ Prema razgovoru s novinarima Novog lista 16.4.2014

medijske profesionalce. Dok je, prema podacima Hrvatskog novinarskog društva, 2008. godine na Zavodu za zapošljavanje bilo registrirano 229 novinara, na početku 2013. godine bilo ih je 750, a godinu dana kasnije bilo ih je i više od 800. Novinari su u Hrvatskoj jedna od kategorija koja najteže nalazi novo zaposlenje. Zbog teškog stanja u *Europapress holdingu*, *Novom listu* i *Glasi Istre* može se očekivati da će se brojka nezaposlenih novinara tijekom 2014. godine još povećati.

Usred krize bilježimo i jedan neočekivan poslovni potez – zagrebačka tvrtka *Miran dan d.o.o.* krajem 2012. godine pokrenula je novi dnevni list kojeg su nazvali *21. stoljeće*. Te su novine trebale biti drugačije od konkurencije forsirajući magazinski sadržaj, kolumne, analize i komentare i istodobno smanjujući izvještavanje. Odlučili su se i na smanjenje cijene (*21. stoljeće* stajalo je pet kuna kao i *24sata*, odnosno dvije kune manje od ostalih dnevnih novina). Ništa, međutim, nije pomoglo da bi se više čitatelja i oglašivača odlučilo za te dnevne novine koje su prestale izlaziti otprilike dva mjeseca nakon prvog broja. Tvrtka *Miran dan* ostala je dužna novinarima i urednicima plaće i honorare. Taj propali pokušaj odrazio se i na cjelokupnu hrvatsku novinsko-izdavačku industriju budući su zagovornici teorije da su i kod nas novine na samrti dobili još jednu potvrdu svojih teza. Neuspjeh *21. stoljeća* dodatno je utjecao na one oglašivače koji su dojmali da se reklama u novinama ne isplati nego je bolje marketinški novac uložiti u neki drugi medij.

Gdje su nestali čitatelji?

Bruto društveni proizvod (BDP) rastao je 2007. godine, prema Državnom zavodu za statistiku 5,1 posto, sljedeće 2008. rast je usporen na 2,1 posto a onda počinje pad. Najveći pad se, prema istom izvoru, bilježi 2009. i iznosi čak 6,9 posto, 2010. BDP pada 2,3 posto, potom slijedi godina stagnacije, a pad se nastavlja 2012. sa dva posto, a prema prvim procjenama 2013. je iznosio jedan posto. Sve je to ostavilo traga na hrvatskim građanima. Oni su teško nastradali u kriznim godinama. Mnogi su gubili posao u tvrtkama koje su doslovce preko noći dolazile na rub propasti s blokiranim računima zbog nagomilanih dugova i još većih nenaplaćenih potraživanja. A nakon otkaza bilo je jako teško pronaći novi posao. Dio radnika koji su stekli pravo odlazili su u mirovinu kako bi si osigurali barem neka primanja koja su bila manja od njihovih donedavnih plaća ali je bila veća vjerojatnost da će ih na kraju i dobiti.

Rastao je broj nezaposlenih. Primjerice 2007. bilo je nešto više od 264.000 nezaposlenih, da bi sljedeće godine taj broj pao za 28.000. Nakon toga počinje brzi rast nezaposlenosti, pa već 2010. godine brojka prelazi 300.000, dvije godine kasnije raste za dodatnih 22.000, a 2013. godine bilo je čak 345.112 nezaposlenih. Stvarna brojka je vjerojatno i veća jer je država uvela brojne nove kriterije i obaveze za nezaposlene koje su morali poštivati kako bi ostali prijavljeni na Zavodu za zapošljavanje čak i ako nemaju nikakvih dodatnih prava. U prvoj polovici 2014. broj nezaposlenih premašio je 375.000, a probijanje granice od 400.000 spriječila je turistička sezona koja generira sezonsko zapošljavanje.

Graf 3: Broj nezaposlenih u Hrvatskoj



Izvor: Hrvatski zavod za zapošljavanje i Državni zavod za statistiku

No, toj brojci nezaposlenih treba dodati i statistiku zaposlenih. Tek kada se te dvije brojke zajedno analiziraju vidi se koliko je u kriznim godinama u Hrvatskoj nestalo radnih mjesta jer je broj zaposlenih osoba pao više nego je narastao broj nezaposlenih. Primjerice, 2008. u Hrvatskoj je bilo 1.554.805 zaposlenih, a pet godina kasnije taj je broj pao za više od 230.000. U istom razdoblju broj nezaposlenih je porastao za 'samo' 110.000. Jasno je da je većina tih ljudi koji su ostali bez posla ili su otišli u mirovinu bili primorani srezati svoje troškove i odustati od novina.

Graf 4: Broj zaposlenih u Hrvatskoj



Izvor: Državni zavod za statistiku

U istom razdoblju porastao je i rizik od siromaštva u Hrvatskoj. Prema Državnom zavodu za statistiku taj je rizik 2007. i 2008. godine iznosio 17,4 posto da bi 2012. narastao na 20,5 posto. On je, doduše, smanjen u odnosu na 2011. godinu kada je, prema istom izvoru, iznosio 21,1 posto ali i siromaštvo i dalje prijete svakom petom stanovniku Hrvatske.

Dio dojučerašnjih čitatelja novina bio je zbog nedostatka novca primoran potražiti nove izvore informacija. Budući televizija ni prije nije uzrokovala nestanak novina, prelazak na taj medij kao izvor informacija vjerojatno nije bio primaran za drastično smanjenje broja čitatelja novina u Hrvatskoj. No istodobno s početkom krize u Hrvatskoj počinje velika ekspanzija interneta. Dok je 2004. godine, prema podacima Hrvatske agencije za poštu i elektroničke komunikacije (HAKOM), bilo samo 23.000 priključaka širokopojasnog interneta već dvije godine kasnije ima ih deset puta više, a 2008. brojka prvi puta prelazi pola milijuna – tada je bilo 683.207 priključaka širokopojasnog interneta. Ekspanzija se nastavlja pa godinu dana kasnije gotovo doseže do milijun priključaka, a 2010. prelazi i tu granicu. Te je godine bilo 1,13 milijuna priključaka u Hrvatskoj. Rast se potom usporava ali i dalje nastavlja pa 2012. godinu u Hrvatskoj postoji 1,21 milijun priključaka. Od 2008. u Hrvatskoj uvode se i priključci na mobilni internet kojih četiri godine poslije ima 326.000 (uključeni u 1,21 milijun ukupnih priključaka na internet).

Graf 5: Broj priključaka širokopojasnog pristupa internetu u Hrvatskoj



Izvor: HAKOM

Ljudi se, dakle, u sve većoj mjeri informiraju preko interneta. Blogovi, forumi, news portali i društvene mreže (u Hrvatskoj ponajviše Facebook) postaju nova mjesta za dobivanje vijesti, izvještaja, ali i mišljenja o aktualnim temama. No internet je omogućio korisnicima da i sami sudjeluju u kreiranju informacija, odnosno da javno izraze svoje mišljenje što do tada u tako velikoj mjeri nije omogućavao niti jedan masovni medij. Sustavna i konstantna interakcija s korisnicima najveća je inovacija

i prednost internetskih medija pred ostalim medijima. Redakcije dnevnih novina su na vrijeme shvatile kako će se i u Hrvatskoj razvijati internet pa su neke krajem devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća oformile svoja internetska izdanja (*Glas Istre*, *Vjesnik*, *Večernji list* i *Slobodna Dalmacija*), *24sata* je to napravio simultano s lansiranjem tiskanog izdanja (ožujak 2005.), a posljednja velika redakcija dnevnih novina koja je napravila taj iskorak bio je *Jutarnji list* u prosincu 2005. godine (Brautović, 2011.)

U početku su redakcije dnevnih novina na svojim internetskim stranicama samo s odgodom objavljivale sadržaj koji je ranije bio objavljen u tiskanom izdanju. Sve se mijenja 2007. godine kada *24sata* na svom web portalu u sve većoj mjeri koristi prednosti koncepta *Weba 2.0* (konstantnu interakciju s korisnicima), omogućuje im komentiranje članaka, otvara prostor da i korisnici dostave fotografije ili vijesti redakciji (od kojih se kasnije one najbolje i najzanimljivije objavljuju i honoriraju) i sl. Taj primjer slijede i većina ostalih news portala u Hrvatskoj. Prema podacima *Gemius Audiencea*⁷ u veljači 2014. godine od prvih deset najposjećenijih internetskih portala u Hrvatskoj čak je četiri portala dnevnih novina – *24sata* na prvom mjestu, *Jutarnji list* na drugom, *Večernji* na šestom i *Slobodna Dalmacija* na desetom. Oni su, prema istom izvoru, imali oko 3,4 milijuna stvarnih (jedinstvenih) korisnika⁸ tijekom tog mjeseca.

Internetski news portali sigurno su uzeli dio čitatelja dnevnim novinama koji su se odlučili za te medije zbog novih mogućnosti (interakcije) ali i dojma da je internet besplatan. Redakcije hrvatskih dnevnih novina dobro su anticipirale takav razvoj situacije i dobro su reagirale. Problem je, međutim, što prihodi od reklama ili pokušaji naplate sadržaja na news portalima ni približno ne mogu pokriti gubitke dnevnih novina zbog pada prodaje i pada oglasnih prihoda. Osnivanje i razvoj internetskih odjela u redakcijama dnevnih novina je sigurno ulaganje u budućnost ali pitanje je kada će se te investicije i isplatiti. Taj problem u potpunosti zasad nije riješila niti jedna novinska redakcija u svijetu.

Oglašivači više vole televiziju

Oglašivači i marketinške agencije, koje posreduju između njih i medija, u Hrvatskoj su desetljećima najviše ulagali u reklame na televiziji. Ništa se nije promijenilo ni u kriznim godinama nakon 2008. No ako se analizira bruto vrijednost oglašavanja u svim medijima⁹ vidljivo je da količina reklama na televizijama u Hrvatskoj između 2008. i 2013. godine raste gotovo trostruko. Istodobno, koristeći iste kriterije, može se vidjeti da reklame u tisku padaju.

⁷ *GemiusAudience* je sindicirani marketinški projekt mjerenja posjećenosti web siteova koji se sa jednakom metodologijom izvodi u državama srednje, istočne i dijela jugoistočne Europe.

⁸ Stvarni korisni je, prema *GemiusAudienceu*, korisnik koji je barem jedno posjetio neku internet stranicu. Posjeti li ponovno tu stranicu u razdoblju koje se analizira njegov se posjet više ne broji.

⁹ Pod tim se podrazumijeva ukupna minutaža reklama na televiziji i radiju, površina novinskih stranica i plakata, te površina i učestalost pojavljivanja oglasa na internetskim portalima pomnožena sa vrijednostima iz cjenika svakog medija.

Tablica 1: Procjena bruto vrijednosti oglašavanja u Hrvatskoj (u mil. kn)

	TV	RADIO	TISAK	Outdoor	Internet
2008.	3.707	-	1.566	267	64
2009.	5.764	-	1.430	218	54
2010.	7.908	102	1.385	214	190
2011.	9.075	146	1.418	218	130
2012.	9.115	163	1.236	171	123
2013.	9.208	141	1.140	175	142

Izvor: *Media Puls*

No puno je bitnija neto vrijednost oglašavanja.¹⁰ U Hrvatskoj u kriznim godinama glavna 'valuta' kojom su mediji pokušavali doskočiti velikom odljevu oglašivača bili su popusti u odnosu na javno objavljene službene cjenike. U tome su prednjačile televizijske kuće, posebno one u privatnom vlasništvu, u kojima se za reklamu može dobiti popust i veći od 80 posto.

Tablica 2: Procjena neto vrijednosti oglašavanja u Hrvatskoj (u mil. kn)

	TV	Radio	Tisak	OOH	Internet	Ostalo
2008.	950	250	785	220	30	20
2009.	790	225	615	165	35	20
2010.	770	213	545	151	36	20
2011.	765	190	457	140	83	15
2012.	702	163	384	135	90	12

Izvor: *Hrvatska udruga reklamnih agencija (Hura)*¹¹

No, bez obzira na to iz tablice 2 je vidljivo da oglašavanje na televizijama od 2008. godine puno sporije pada nego oglašavanje u tisku. U tom razdoblju vrijednost neto oglašavanja na televizijama je pala 26 posto, a u tisku dvostruko. Time su, naravno, najviše bile pogođene dnevne novine, posebno one kojima su u kriznim godinama ili još ranije znatno pali prihodi od prodaje novina pa su se oslanjale na prihode od reklama – a to je većina hrvatskih dnevnih novina osim onih najprodavanijih.

Zbog toga su dnevne novine počele u sve većoj mjeri objavljivati tzv. sponzorirane tekstove bez posebnih oznaka koje bi čitateljima trebale pokazati da su takvi sadržaji vezani uz nekog oglašivača (primjerice oznaka sponzorirani sadržaj) ili su, jednostavno, prestali objavljivati kritičke tekstove o nekim oglašivačima. To je bio početak puta prema gubitku onoga što bi svakom mediju trebala biti svetinja – povjerenju publike u objavljeni sadržaj.

¹⁰ Novac koji su stvarno uprihodili medii od oglašavanja

¹¹ Stručnu procjenu su napravili članovi HURA-inog Odbora za medije i, u nedostatku službenih podataka medijskih kuća, ona se u Hrvatskoj smatra vrlo vjerodostojnom

Gubitak vjerodostojnosti novina

Gubitak čitatelja i drastično smanjivanje prodanih naklada dnevnih novina nisu vezani samo uz vanjske utjecaje poput efekata gospodarske krize i pojave novih medija. Dio odgovornosti za te probleme leži i na samim dnevnim novinama, njihovim redakcijama, novinarima, urednicima i vlasnicima. Na probleme dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj utjecao je i gubitak vjerodostojnosti tih medija, sadržaja koje nude čitateljima, stavova koje im prenose i kojima na čitatelje nastoje utjecati. Nekada se novinama gotovo bezrezervno vjerovalo, danas to više nije slučaj. Razlog tome je što su dnevne novine postale (samo) proizvod na tržištu koji, uostalom kao i svi drugi proizvodi, ima samo jedan cilj – zaradu, odnosno stvaranje profita za svoje vlasnike.

Nije se, dakle, ostvarila želja onih zaljubljenika u dnevne novine koji su smatrali da se nikako ne smije dogoditi da taj medij postane proizvod ili roba na tržištu. Jedan od njih bio je i Božidar Novak koji je napisao da je "svijet danas preopasno mjesto življenja da bi vijest i informiranje građana pretvarali u zabavu i isključivo sredstvo za stjecanje profita" (Novak, 2005:1047).

Od visokotiražnih dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj samo je *24sata* jasno profiliran. On je tabloid na temeljima popularnih svjetskih tabloida poput britanskog *The Suna* ili njemačkog *Bilda*. Ostale dnevne novine se gube i jednostavno nemaju jasan identitet nego s vremena na vrijeme (neke i vrlo često) kreću putem *24sata* vjerojatno iz želje da bi tim novinama preoteli dio publike i polučili veće tiražne i profitne rezultate. Jedine novine koje su trenutačno među prvih pet po tiražama, a koje ne podliježu ovom trendu, je riječki *Novi list* koji je i dalje ostao jasno orijetniran – lijevo na političkoj skali i regionalno usmjeren na stanovništvo Rijeke, Hrvatskog primorja i Gorskog kotara.

Tendencija tabloidizacije dnevnih novina postoji praktično od pojave *24sata* (ožujak 2005.), odnosno od trenutka kada su te novine preuzele poziciju najčitanijih i najprodavanijih dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj (rujan 2006.). Gordana Vilović je tu tendenciju opisala: "Opće je mjesto hrvatskih medija klizeća estradizacija i simplifikacija ozbiljnih tema kroz nerijetko izdvajanje irelevantnih činjenica iz izvještaja, samo da bi se publike zabavile" (Vilović, 2011:79).

Zbog svega toga pada i povjerenje javnosti u novinare, kao što je Malović zaključio "zbog toga što su njihovi (novinarski, op.a.) uradci sve manje temeljeni na činjenicama, a sve više na senzacionalnim poluinformacijama koje mogu pobuditi znatiželju, ali na dužu stazu erodiraju povjerenje u medije i novinarsku profesiju" (Malović, 2007:10).

Forsiranje i nametanje zabave kao jedine (ili daleko najizraženije) funkcije dnevnih novina moralo se odraziti na pad broja čitatelja i prodaju tih medija. Nastavak zapostavljanja informativne i edukativne funkcije, dnevnim novinama će u budućnosti donijeti još više problema. Prema iskustvima sa razvijenijih i daleko uređenijih zapadnih tržišta jasno je da su tabloidi (koji forsiraju zabavnu funkciju) najčitaniji i najprodavaniji. No na tim tržištima je u pravilu dominantan samo jedan

tabloid (primjerice u Njemačkoj *Bild*, Austriji *Kurier*, Norveškoj *VG* itd.). Iznimka je Velika Britanija gdje još uvijek ima mjesta i za *The Sun* i *Daily Mail* i *Mirror* i još neke manje tabloide. Ipak, ako se uspoređi njihovo ogromno tržište i tradicija tabloidnih novina sa situacijom u maloj Hrvatskoj, jasno je da kod nas teško mogu uspješno koegzistirati i dva dnevna tabloida. Hrvatski čitatelji željni ozbiljnog ili ozbiljnijeg štiva već su odustali od onih dnevnih novina koje bi trebale biti ozbiljne i analitične a zapravo često pribjegavaju seznacionalizmu i tabloidizaciji.

Zaključak

Hrvatske dnevne novine posljednjih godina proživljavaju svoje najteže dane. Neke nisu preživjele taj period, druge se nalaze na rubu propasti, a rijetke se još uvijek drže tako dobro da bi se moglo reći da će preživjeti aktualnu gospodarsku krizu. Ogroman pad čitanosti i prodanih naklada prvenstveno je posljedica te krize, velikog broja nezaposlenih i još više smanjenog broja zaposlenih ljudi u Hrvatskoj koji su gotovo svi, pod pritiskom višegodišnje recesije, izgubili barem dio prihoda, a oni kojima se prihodi nisu promijenili su se odlučili na pojačanu štednju budući se kraj krizi još uvijek ne nazire.

Na aktualne probleme dnevnih novina utjecali su i novi internetski mediji kojima se okreće sve veći broj ljudi od kojih je dio i dojučerašnjih čitatelja novina. Internet je privukao korisnike mogućnošću da od primatelja informacija i sami, zbog interaktivnosti tog medija, postanu komunikatori i podijele s javnošću svoje stavove, razmišljanja i komentare. Korisnici interneta imaju i dojam da je taj medij besplatan. On je, u svakom slučaju, jeftiniji od svakodnevnog kupovanja dnevnih novina pa je i to pridonijelo odljevu dijela novinskih čitatelja na news portale, blogove i društvene mreže koje su također postale kanal za razmjenu informacija.

Na kraju i dnevne novine, odnosno njihovi novinari, urednici i vlasnici, snose dio odgovornosti za probleme u kojima su se našli. Većina hrvatskih dnevnih novina podlegla je tabloidizaciji i želi da čitateljstvu ponudi pretežno zabavne sadržaje, što je dio tih čitatelja odbacio i odustao od kupovine i čitanja dnevnih novina.

Hoće li samo činjenica da će ekonomska kriza i u Hrvatskoj prije ili kasnije prestati spasiti dnevne novine koje prežive tu krizu? Odgovor je - neće. Dnevne novine se moraju promijeniti, oslušnuti želje ali i prepoznati potrebe čitatelja kako bi ih u potpunosti mogli ispuniti. Pretvore li se sve dnevne novine u tabloide velika je vjerojatnost da će krizu preživjeti samo jedne od njih. No istodobno novine moraju obratiti pozornost što sve i na koji način korisnicima nude news portalima jer se s njima ne mogu natjecati u brzini objave informacija, pa čak ni u prvim analizama tih informacija. Tko će poželjeti sutra čitati jučerašnje vijesti ili najjednostavnije analize tih vijesti? I još za to platiti novine. Gotovo nitko. To je bitka koju dnevne novine gube s internetskim news portalima. Dnevne novine moraju naći nove argumente kako bi ih čitatelji htjeli kupiti. Je li rješenje u pretvaranju dnevnih novina u dnevne magazine, ili u skup cijenjenih komentatora čija se mišljenja nigdje drugdje ne mogu pročitati ili u nešto treće zasad je teško predividjeti. Jasno je, međutim, da

će dnevne novine morati ponuditi čitateljima neki ekskluzivni sadržaj kao prodajni argument. U suprotnom će nastaviti prema kompletnom izumiranju.

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mr Dejan Lučić,¹ doktorand

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet Crne Gore (Crna Gora)

Društvene mreže i klasični mediji – novo modeliranje stvarnosti

Apstrakt: Participativno novinarstvo, a posebno društvene mreže, postavilo je pred klasične medije brojne izazove, od kojih je najupečatljiviji onaj kako se uhvatiti u koštac sa brzinom kojom *građani novinari* objavljuju svoje postove, ilustrujući ih fotografijama i video zapisima koji kvalitetom zadovoljavaju standarde da bi se mogli objaviti u *mainstream* medijima. Novinari i urednici, osim ako nijesu na mjestu događaja, teško da se mogu nositi sa tolikom „pravovremenošću“. Ali novinare, pored brzine, brinu i druge esnafske etičke dvojbe o tim i takvim informacijama. Jesu li vjerodostojne, kako ih provjeriti, ko su učesnici, šta je povod, koje su razmjere i posljedice date pojave, i konačno, da li objaviti nečiji *twitt* ili *post* na televiziji, radiju ili u novinama. Odgovor na ove dileme teško je dati, ali je nesumnjivo da su građansko novinarstvo i društvene mreže promijenile svjetonazore klasičnog novinarstva.

Ključne riječi: *društvene mreže, novi mediji, participativno novinarstvo*

¹E-mail: dejanlucic@ac.me

MSc Dejan Lučić, PhD candidate

Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro (Montenegro)

Social networks and traditional media - new modelling of reality

Abstract: Participatory journalism, especially social networks, set the question before the traditional media about numerous challenges, one of which is the most memorable one to come to grips with the speed at which citizen (civic) journalists publish their posts, illustrating them with photographs and videos that meet quality standards in order to be published in the Mainstream media. Reporters and editors, unless they are on the scene of events, can hardly cope with such “timeliness”. But the journalists, in addition to speed, care about other guild ethical dilemmas about this kind of information. Are they credible, how to verify them, who the participants are, what is the cause, what is the extent and consequences of the given phenomenon, and finally, question of whether to release someone tweet or post on TV, radio or in newspapers. The answer to this dilemma is difficult to give, but the citizen journalism and social media undoubtedly changed the world view of classical journalism.

Key words: *social networks, new media, participatory journalism*

Uvod

Tehnološki napredak, oličan svojevremeno u Internetu, a sada u pojavi pametnih telefona i tablet računara, nije samo uticao na promjene unutar medija, već i na njihove odnose sa publikom. Prvo, savremeni alati omogućili su medijima da sprovedu male tehnološke revolucije koje su preventivno preobrazile novinare „specijaliste“ u „univerzaliste“ sposobne da „barataju“ foto aparatima, kamerama i napišu tekst za različite platforme unutar medijske kuće. Multiskilled novinari postali su pokretljiviji i brži od svojih „klasičnih“ kolega, jer se i njihov odnos prema poslu promijenio. Slanje kraće verzije informacije i fotografije i/ili videa sms porukom ili elektronskom poštom s mjesta događanja, pisanje prvog drafta za blog, konačne verzije za portal i teksta za novinu samo su neke od faza u njegovom radu. U početnoj fazi je postignuta, u najvećoj mjeri, brzina koja se može mjeriti sa onom s društvenih mreža, s razlikom što novinar tu prvobitnu informaciju, kroz čitav niz procesa, dorađuje i proširuje za najširu moguću publiku svih platformi – radio, televiziju, štampu i Internet. Drugo, tehnološki napredak je uticao da se promijeni odnos medij – publika. On više nije jednosmjernan, u kome je medij komunikator, a publika primalac poruke bez mogućnosti interakcije (Lučić, 2012). Odnos je dvosmjernan, a publika aktivni sudionik u informisanju. Bil Kovač (Bill Kovach) i Tom Rozental (Rosenthal) to objašnjavaju riječima da „ako Njujork Tajms odluči da neće objaviti neku vijest, učiniće to sigurno neki blog, radijski tok šou ili neka veb stranica“ (Vilović, 2007:145). Taj novi odnos uticao je na pojavu takozvanog građanskog novinarstva u kome svaki pojedinac koji posjeduje osnovna informatička znanja i računar može učestvovati u stvaranju sadržaja koji može, ali ne mora, imati informativnu vrijednost. Istraživač medija Aksel Brns (Axel Bruns), ljude koji praktikuju participativno novinarstvo naziva „produsage“, objašnjavajući ovom kovanicom² inverzivni proces koji se desio onoga trenutka kada su „pisma uredniku“ zamijenjena komentarima, blogovima, forumima, video blogovima ili podkastom u kojima se komentariše, osporava, hvali ili upotpunjuje priča objavljena na online platformi tradicionalnog medija.

Autor bloga Medijašift (MediaShift) Mark Glaser objašnjava da iza građanskog novinarstva stoji ideja da ljudi, koji nijesu imali profesionalnu novinarsku obuku, mogu koristiti moderna tehnološka sredstva i globalnu dostupnost interneta da kreiraju, unaprijede ili provjere činjenice objavljene u medijima, sami ili u saradnji s drugima (Autori vari, 2010:63). Medija konsultant Džef Džavris (Jeff Jarvis) preferira termin umreženo novinarstvo koje, kako kaže, „uzima u obzir kolaborativnu prirodu sadašnjeg novinarstva: profesionalci i amateri rade zajedno da bi dobili pravu priču, povezujući se međusobno kako bi dijelili podatke, pitanja, odgovore, ideje, perspektive (Autori vari, 2010:63). Profesorica novinarstva sa Univerziteta Iowa Jane Singer smatra da je građansko novinarstvo i pojava blogova promijenila klasičnu funkciju redakcije i tradicionalnu ulogu urednika – gatekeepera (Vilović, 2007:146), dok profesor emeritus na Univerzitetu Kolumbija Herbert Gans vidi

² Riječ je nastala spajanjem engleskih riječi producent i korisnik.

građane novinare kao dopunu tradicionalnim u onome što on naziva multiperspektivnim vijestima (Miljan, 2008). Gans je ovaj termin definisao još 1979. godine, kao suprotnost dominantnom načinu izvještavanja u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama koje je tada, kako navodi, bilo ograničeno na „monoperspektivne vijesti“, odnosno one koje su dominantno dolazile od struktura vlasti. Za razliku od takvog, kako Gans kaže stenografskog novinarstva, multiperspektivno novinarstvo je drugačije jer traži novine koje imaju informativnu vrijednost za različite publike. Takvo novinarstvo vijesti sakuplja iz različitih izvora, uključujući i građane, i izvještava o različitim političkim, ideološkim i društvenim gledištima (Usher, 2011). Konsultant za društvene medije i online novinar Džozef (Joseph) Daniel Lasica objašnjava da se participativno novinarstvo odnosi na pojedince koji aktivno učestvuju u sakupljanju, izvještavanju, odabiru, analizi i distribuciji vijesti i informacija, dok Kvin (Quin) i Filak pišu da je interaktivnost Weba omogućila ljudima komunikaciju istovjetnu onoj u kafeima u međusobno povezanom susjedstvu (Kvin, Filak, 2005:70).

Participativno novinarstvo je u protekloj deceniji imalo značajan uticaj na razvoj demokratije i slobode govora, posebno ako se imaju u vidu informacije koje su bacile „novo svjetlo“ na neke od događaja koji su imali tragične posljedice, poput napada na kule blizakinje 11. septembra 2001. godine, bostonski maraton ili dešavanja na Kosovu i Metohiji. Mnoge velike medijske kuće prepoznale su važnost participativnog novinarstva i otvorile posebne sekcije za prijem multimedijalnih sadržaja koje generišu građani. Takav je CNN iReport, BBC Action Network, holandski sajt Headlines ili američki NowPublic (Lučić, 2012). U crnogorskim medijima nema takvih sekcija, ali se ne može reći da su autistični prema sadržajima koje stvaraju građani novinari. Pored informativnih portala, gotovo sve medijske kuće koje imaju web stranice omogućavaju komentarisane sadržaja, koje je opet u najvećem broju slučajeva administrirano. Osim toga, u televizijskim programima i na portalima često se emituju/postavljaju fotografije ili video snimci koje su poslali „građani reporteri“. To je posebno bilo izraženo za vrijeme nevremena koje je u februaru 2012. zahvatilo Crnu Goru. Tada su građani slali medijima fotografije i video zapise iz snijegom odsječenih sela i gradova. Ugledni crnogorski novinar Duško Vuković je u jednom od svojih blogova, pišući o nevremenu i izvještavanju o njemu, napisao da je u Crnoj Gori nastao novi vid novinarstva, takozvano „gradonačelničko novinarstvo“ (Vuković, 2012). Vuković je aludirao na gradonačelnike koji su u tom periodu bili glavni izvor informacija brojnim medijima u Crnoj Gori i javljali se „uživo“ u informativne emisije. Vuković objašnjava da se gradonačelniku „...naravno, može vjerovati na riječ kad saopšti visinu sniježnog pokrivača i još pođekoji vrijednosno neutralni podatak, ali ne i kada procjenjuje efikasnost lokalne uprave kojoj je na čelu, pa sve da je taman samokritičan koliko komunisti pred staljinističkim prijekim sudovima“. Jasno je da Vuković ukazuje da gradonačelnici, bez obzira što je za širu populaciju bilo važno da se informiše o dešavanjima u snijegom zavijanim krajevima, nijesu novinari i da ne mogu sa istom pouzdanošću, sveobuhvatno i balansirano izvijestiti o konkretnim dešavanjima. Sljedstveno, isto bi se moglo reći za građane novinare, ali uz veliku zadržku, jer se ni na koji način ne može umanjiti značaj i

uticaj koji mogu proizvesti na javnost. To u domaćim uslovima ponajbolje ilustruje Facebook inicijativa koja je nakon pogibije braće Gojčanin u Baru ujedinila po mnogim osnovama razjedinjenu Crnu Goru.

Društvene mreže

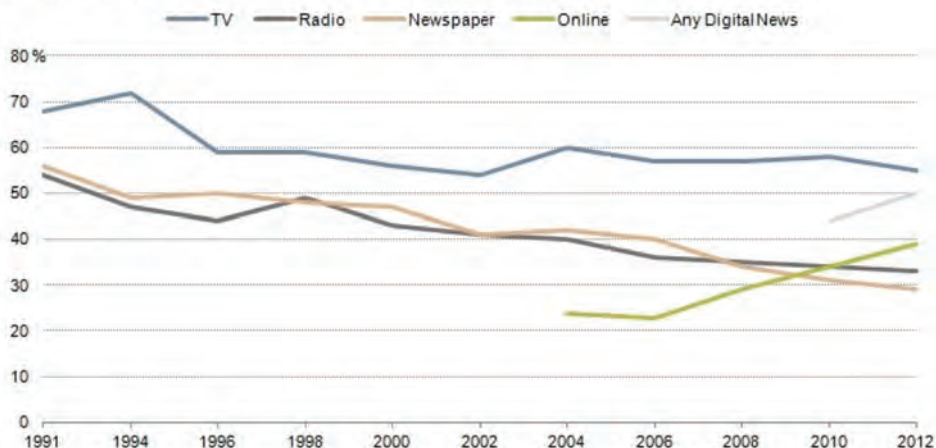
Prema podacima Socialbakers-a, kompanije za digitalnu analitiku glavnih društvenih mreža, Crna Gora zauzima 115. mjesto na listi 200 zemlja prema broju korisnika Facebook-a (Vijesti, 2012). U Crnoj Gori ima 308,54 hiljade korisnika Facebook-a, od čega gotovo trećinu čine korisnici između 18 i 24 godine. Više od polovine korisnika su muškarci, čak 54 odsto, dok su ostatak žene. Prema pisanju agencije Mina-business, od zemalja regiona, Hrvatska se nalazi na 70. mjestu sa 1,56 miliona korisnika, Srbija na 46, Bosna i Hercegovina na 75, Albanija na 79, Makedonija na 83, dok Slovenija zauzima 90. poziciju na listi. Međutim, kada se broj korisnika Facebook-a upoređi sa ukupanim brojem stanovnika, ispred Hrvatske su Srbija, Crna Gora, Mađarska, Italija i Slovenija. U svijetu više od 935 miliona ljudi koristi Facebook. Najviše korisnika ima u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, 164 miliona, a slijede Brazil i Indija, dok ih je najmanje u Vatikanu gdje je zabilježeno 20 Facebook profila (Vijesti, 2012).

Rasploživih podataka o broju korisnika Twitter-a u Crnoj Gori nema, iako je zajednica tviteraša veoma aktivna. Prema podacima statističke kuće GlobalWebIndex-a (GWI), Twitter je od početka 2013. najbrže rastuća društvena platforma na svijetu (Globalwebindex, 2013). Podaci GWI za četvrti kvartal 2012. pokazuju da je broj aktivnih korisnika povećan za 40 odsto u odnosu na drugi kvartal iste godine. Izraženo brojem, na 31 tržištu koje je obuhvaćeno istraživanjem GWI, ima 288 miliona mjesečno aktivnih korisnika, što predstavlja blizu 90 odsto globalne internet populacije uzrasta od 16 do 65 godina. Od jula 2009. godine stopa rasta aktivnih korisnika Twitter-a iznosila je 714 odsto, i na kraju prošle godine dostigla cifru od 485 miliona.

Istraživački centar za izuzetnost u novinarstvu Pew u godišnjem izvještaju o stanju američkih medija za prošlu godinu ističe značaj društvenih mreža za medijske organizacije, ocjenjujući da su one postale neophodne novinarima (Stateofthemedias, 2013). "U toku 2012. godine, društvene mreže su nastavile da šire svoj uticaj na medijski ekosistem, postavljajući sebe kao neophodnu alatku za širenje sadržaja i privlačenje novih čitalaca, kao i za uspostavljenje jačih veza sa postojećim čitaocima", navodi se u izvještaju, i dodaje da korisnici medija više nego ikada ranije čitaju vijesti na društvenim mrežama. Korišćenje online vijesti, prema navodima iz izvještaja, naglo je povećana u posljednje dvije godine, kada se bilježi i brzo širenje digitalnih platformi. U suštini, online informacije su bile jedina kategorija vijesti koja je pokazala rast u istraživanju Pew centra (grafik 1).

Digital Grows Again as a Source for News

Percentage of Respondents Who Got News "Yesterday" From Each Platform



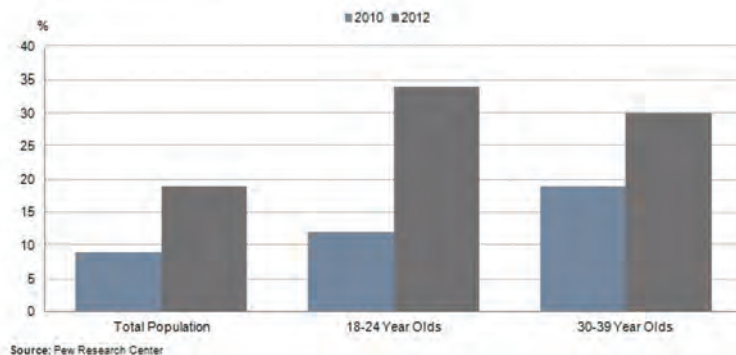
Source: Pew Research Center

Grafik 1: Upotreba online vijesti bilježi rast

U 2012. oko 39 odsto respondenata dobilo je vijesti online ili na mobilnim aparatima "juče" (dan prije nego što su učestvovali u istraživanju Pew centra) u odnosu na 34 odsto 2010. godine. Kada se ostali online i digitalni izvori vijesti uključe, udio Amerikanaca koji se informišu putem jedne ili više digitalnih formi povećava se na 50 odsto, što je nešto malo ispod televizijskog auditorijuma koji kombinuje kablovske i lokalne medije, kao i televizijske mreže. Isto tako, udio konzumenata informativnih online sadržaja je značajno veći od broja onih koji se informišu putem štampe (29 odsto) i radija (33 odsto). Studija Pew centra iz juna 2012. pokazala je i da je 19 odsto Amerikanaca vidjelo vijest ili njen naslov na društvenoj mreži „juče“, što je gotovo duplo više nego 2010. godine kada je to činilo devet odsto (grafik 2). Prema nalazima istraživanja, Facebook i Twitter ostaju ključni servisi za medije, ali se u dokumentu upozorava da možda više nije dovoljna "koncentracija na samo ova dva sajta".

More People Getting News on Social Networks

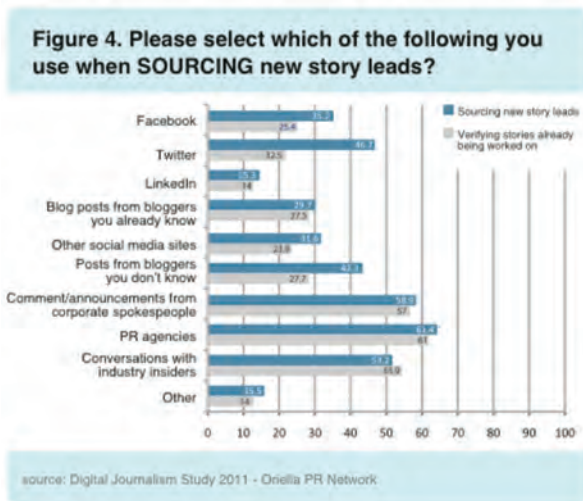
Percentage of Respondents



Source: Pew Research Center

Grafik 2: Amerikanci se sve više informišu putem društvenih mreža

Prema izvještaju Pew centra, upotreba mobilnih telefona je djelimično uzrok koji stoji iza rasta društvenih medija. Čak 64 odsto korisnika tablet računara kazalo je da sedmično dobija vijesti na svojim uređajima, dok 37 odsto to čini svakodnevno. Trend je gotovo identičan kada su u pitanju vlasnici pametnih telefona – 62 odsto dobija informacije na svojim uređajima sedmično, a 36 odsto dnevno. Isto istraživanje je pokazalo da je 31 odsto vlasnika tableta, koje koriste za dobijanje informacija, kazalo da provode više vremena čitajući vijesti otkako su nabavili te uređaje, a čak 43 odsto da čita više informacija (grafik 3).



Profesor Alfred Hermida, pionir online novinarstva i predavač, objavio je na svom blogu *reportr.net* rezultate istraživanja Digital Journalism Study 2011 o odnosu novinara i društvenih mreža. Istraživanje, koje je obuhvatilo blizu 500 novinara iz 12 zemalja, pokazalo je da gotovo polovina respondenata (47 odsto) koristi Twitter kao izvor za nove uglove priče, u poređenju sa 35 odsto onih koji koriste Facebook (Hermida, 2011). Twitter je u trećini slučajeva bio izvor za verifikovanje priča na kojima su novinari već radili, dok je Facebook koristilo gotovo 25 odsto novinara. Interesantni su i ostali nalazi iz istraživanja (grafik 4). Tako ostale društvene mreže za nove uglove priče koristi gotovo 32 odsto ispitanika, a za verifikaciju onih na kojima rade skoro četvrtina anketiranih. Blogovi poznatih blogera izvor su za novo pričanje novinarskih priča u gotovo 30 odsto slučajeva, a verifikaciju u 27,5 odsto slučajeva. Interesantno je da postovi nepoznatih blogera u 42,3 odsto slučajeva služe novinarima za nove uglove u pričanju priče, i u gotovo 28 odsto slučajeva za potvrdu aktuelnih tema. Društvena mreža Linkendin je izvor u više od 15 odsto slučajeva, dok je u 14 odsto slučajeva novinari koriste za verifikaciju teme na kojoj rade.

For Many, Mobile Means More News

News users who said that since getting their tablet they...



Based on weekly tablet news (N=810) users. Icons from the Noun Project.

Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism in collaboration with The Economist Group

Grafik 4: Upotreba društvenih mreža za pisanje i verifikovanje novinskih priča

Hermida piše da društvene mreže imaju sve važniju ulogu u prikupljanju informacija. Međutim, upozorava on, ako novinari treba da provjere podatke ili potvrde priču, brendovi i njihove agencije su na prvom mjestu za pozivanje. Drugim riječima, društvene mreže postaju dio radnog alata za neke novinare, ali mediji još pridaju veću pažnju tradicionalnim i korporativnim kanalima informisanja prilikom pisanja tekstova.

Gostujući profesor Škole novinarstva na londonskom City Univerzitetu i osnivač bloga Onlinejournalism Pol Bredšou (Paul Bradshaw) objašnjava da to ne mora biti baš tako, jer nam Internet obezbjeđuje dodatne alatke za verifikaciju informacija. Prividna „bezličnost“ medija je obmanjujuća jer svaka osoba, ostavlja trag podataka koji se može iskoristiti za građenje vjerodostojne slike, tvrdi Bradshaw (Bredšou, 2011). On objašnjava trostepeni proces verifikacije sadržaja objavljenih na internetu, koji počinje od sadržaja, potom konteksta koji ga okružuje, do tehničkih informacija koje su u njegovoj osnovi. Bradshaw piše da bi novinar, ako informacija dolazi sa društvenih mreža, trebalo da se upita: Je li ovo mamac? U suštini, objašnjava on, novinaru bi „alarm za uzbunu“ trebalo da se oglasi ako je informacija koju čita previše dobra da bude istinita. Kada je u pitanju kontekst, Bradshaw navodi da su društveni mediji dobri za verifikaciju, jer se ona podrazumijava prilikom aktivnosti na njima. Isto tako, ako informacija dolazi sa društvenih medija, novinar bi trebalo da sebi postavi neko od sljedećih pitanja: „Koliko nalog postoji?“, „Ko je prva osoba koja je „follower“ ili prijatelj?“, „Ko je prvi online komunicirao sa njima ili govorio?“ i

slično. Treći stepen verifikacije odnosi se na kod, pa bi zato trebalo uvijek pogledati web adresu, odnosno njene završetke. Vladini sajtovi trebalo bi da se završavaju na .gov, medicinski na .nhs, policijski na .police, odbrane na .mod, akademski na .ac ili .edu, ali sve ovo, kao i adrese sa završetkom .com, ništa ne garantuje (Bredšou, 2011).

Medijski časopis Link piše da postoji opšta saglasnost da bi isključivanjem sa društvenih mreža novinari izgubili značajan izvor vijesti i sagovornika. „Stoga gotovo sve velike redakcije na svijetu imaju interna uputstva kojima regulišu ponašanje svojih novinara na web-u. U Rojtersovom uputstvu se, međutim, navodi da se svijet toliko brzo mijenja da će novinari bez obzira na određene smjernice koje dobijaju od svojih redakcija morati da primijene zdrav razum u mnogim slučajevima. Koliko god “lajkovanje” nečije stranice na Facebook-u na prvi pogled djelovalo nespojivo sa novinarskom objektivnošću, često je to jedini način da se prate sve objave na datoj stranici, ali i da se lociraju potencijalni izvori“ (EJO, 2011). Američko društvo urednika izdalo je univerzalni vodič za novinare “Deset najboljih praksi za društvene medije”, u kome se navodi da: a) Tradicionalne etičke norme se primjenjuju i na internet; b) Polazite od pretpostavke da će sve što napišete na internetu postati javno; c) Koristite društvene medije za interakciju sa publikom, ali profesionalno; d) Objavite najnoviju vijest na web sajtu vašeg medija, ne na Twitter-u; e) Pazite na to kako će vas doživjeti i shvatiti; f) Napravite nezavisnu provjeru svega što nađete na društvenim mrežama; g) Uvijek se predstavite kao novinar; h) Društvene mreže su alati, ne igračke; i) Budite otvoreni i priznajte grešku na internetu; j) Neka diskusije u krugu kolega ostanu povjerljive.



Novinarka Ketrin Luis (Catherine Lewis), koja se bavi istraživanjem etičkih dilema na internetu ističe da profesija kojom se bave, novinare čini odgovornim za sve što objave na internetu, pa čak i kada to rade privatno (EJO, 2011). “Kako je novinar uvijek novinar, svaki komentar koji napiše može da mu se vrati kao bumerang, iako ga je možda namijenio svojoj privatnoj publici, jer ni zatvorene mreže nijesu imune na širenje informacija “cut and paste” metodom. Zato, prije nego što bilo šta napišete ili podijelite sa drugima na društvenoj mreži, treba da razmislite kao novinar da li to može da stvori sumnju u vašu sposobnost da svoj posao radite profesionalno i nepristrano”, objašnjava ona. Možda je najbolji primjer za ilustraciju navedenog slučaj urednice za Bliski istok u CNN-u Oktavie Nasr koja je poslije 20 godina provedenih u toj televizijskoj mreži dobila je otkaz, jer je na svom profilu na Twitter-u izrazila poštovanje prema preminulom osnivaču Hezbolaha, ajatolahu Muhamedu Huseinu Fadlalahu, koji je u američkoj javnosti povezan sa bombaškim napadima u kojima je ubijeno više od 260 Amerikanaca. Iako se vrlo brzo izvinila menadžmentu CNN-a, uz obrazloženje da je cijenila njegovo zalaganje za prava žena i da svojim tvitovanjem nije podržavala terorizam, uprava nije mnogo marila jer je, kako se navodi u

saopštenju, ugrozila svoj profesionalni kredibilitet (EJO, 2011).

Predsjednik i izvršni direktor kompanije *salesforce.com*, koja se bavi odnosima s korisnicima i softverima koji su zasnovani na društvenim mrežama, Mark Beniof (Marc Benioff) tvrdi da ljudi sada koriste tehnologiju društvenih mreža za oblikovanje svjetskih događaja i kulture. „Kada je Netflix objavio da mijenja cijene, njegovi korisnici su se razbjesnili, i postavili 82 hiljade negativnih komentara na raznim blogovima, Facebook-u i Twitter-u. U svega nekoliko mjeseci, kompanija je izgubila oko 800 hiljada korisnika i dvije trećine svoje tržišne vrijednosti. To je brzina društvenih mreža - sve se odvija brže nego ikad prije (Beniof, 2012). Srbijski magazin Profit u tekstu pod nazivom Društvene mreže - društveni fenomen piše da se pojavom socijalnih mreža i njihovim sve bržim razvojem, mijenjaju ustaljeni načini poslovnih modela. „Socijalne mreže su idealne platforme za izgradnju i vođenje pozitivne online PR strategije i “word of mouth“ marketinga. Na različitim lokacijama okupljaju se milioni međusobno povezanih surfera, potencijalnih klijenata, partnera, kupaca, potrošača, pa i konkurenata. Upravo ove grupe, ovako fokusirane, čine gotovo idealan cilj za armiju marketera, advertajzera, i idelano polje za izvođenje sofisticiranih komunikacijskih aktivnosti“ (Profit, 2012).

Društvene mreže nijesu samo moćna alatka kojom se služe profesionalni mediji i organizacije, nego i sredstvo čijom upotrebom prosječan konzument online sadržaja može postati i njihov kreator. Ilustrativan primjer je slučaj Stefana Živkovića, mladića iz Zvečana, koji je krajem jula 2011. putem Twitter-a izvještavao sa sjevera Kosova o pokušaju kosovske policije da preuzme kontrolu na administrativnim punktovima Brnjak i Jarinje (slika 1). Stefan je na debati pod nazivom “Društvene mreže i mediji: Twitter na Kosovu”, koja je u organizaciji Nezavisnog udruženja novinara Srbije održana u beogradskom Medija centru 5. avgusta 2011. godine, objasnio da je mjesto dešavanja bilo blizu njegovog doma i da je pisao „samo ono što je vidio svojim očima“.



Slika 1: Tvitovi Stefana Živkovića

Debata u NUNS-u podstakla je među učesnicima debatu jesu li tviteraši novinari. Urednik Radio-televizije Srbije Zoran Stanojević kazao je da je dobro imati što više informacija, ali je „problem kad se tvitovanje automatski proglašava novinarstvom“. „Nikada se neću složiti s tim (...) Zar nije dovoljno da blogeri budu blogeri? (...) Nema potrebe da i tviteraši budu novinari (...) Novinari mogu da koriste Twitter, ali nije tačno da tviteraši automatski postaju novinari. Novinarstvo nije nešto što se lako uči i može da staje u 140 karaktera“ (media.ba, 2011). Internet konsultant Dragan Varagić ocijenio je da tviteraši i novinari treba da uče jedni od drugih i ostvare saradnju. On smatra da je Stefanovo korišćenje Twittera, kao nekoga ko je sticajem okolnosti bio na mjestu događaja i prenosio ono što je vidio, knjiški primer građanskog novinarstva i njegove prednosti u situaciji kada “klasični mediji nijesu bili prisutni i nijesu dobro odradili posao” (media.ba, 2011).

Slučaj braće Gojčanin

Sredinom februara 2013. godine Crnu Goru je potreslo ubistvo braće Dejana (26) i Ljubomira (24) Gojačanin u Baru, u koje je više hitaca ispalio sugrađanin Šćepan Buijić (21). Ubistvo braće pokrenulo je buru negodovanja u crnogorskoj javnosti i iniciralo ozbiljnu akciju policije koja je rezultirala hapšenjem osumnjičenog i kadrovskim promjenama u službi. Ono po čemu se ovaj tragični događaj razlikuje od brojnih sličnih jeste činjenica da je odmah nakon ubistva formirana Facebook stranica ‘Svi smo mi Dejan i Ljubo Gojčanin’, koja je uspjela da ujedini po mnogim osnovama razjedinjenu Crnu Goru.

Stranicu na Facebook-u pokrenule su Jovana Stevanović i Nina Glavanović u znak protesta protiv ubistva braće Gojčanin i svakog oblika nasilja. Stranicu je za dva dana podržalo čak 18 hiljada ljudi. Stevanovićeva i Glavanovićeva su, koristeći prednosti društvene mreže, pokrenule mirne proteste koji su prvo započeli u Baru, da bi se kasnije proširili i na ostale gradove, ali i potpisivanje peticije da trg ispred robne kuće u Baru dobije ime po ubijenoj braći. Za dva dana njihovu peticiju potpisalo je više od 8.000 građana koji su saglasni da se po braći Gojačanin nazove trg u Baru (Večernje novosti, 2013).



Na dan sahrane braće Gojačanin, 17. februara 2013. godine, u večernjim satima održani su protesti protiv nasilja u Podgorici, Baru, Bijelom Polju, Ulcinju, Kotoru, Nikšiću i Bijelom Polju, na kojima je učestvovalo više hiljada građana. Značaj ovih skupova nije samo u izražavanju solidarnosti sa porodicom nastradalih mladića ili u građanskom negodovanju zbog kriminala i drugih radnji koje ugrožavaju javni red i bezbjednost, već i u tome što su pokazali kakva i kolika može biti moć društvenih mreža. Ne treba smetnuti sa uma da su od pokretanja inicijative (15. februar) do organizovanja mirnih protesta (17. februar) u šest crnogorskih opština, prošla svega dva dana i da su u međuvremenu u Baru organizovani skupovi i prikupljanje potpisa za peticiju. Skupovi imaju i kulturološko-sociološki značaj jer su pokazali da, bez obzira na savremene trendove života i otuđenost, građani Crne Gore pokazuju izrazit stepen emocionalne inteligencije i empatije. Facebook grupa "Svi smo mi Dejan i Ljubo Gojačanin" bila je uspješna i u svojoj drugoj namjeri da se trg ispred robne kuće u Baru imenuje po ubijenim mladićima, jer je Opština Bar prihvatila peticiju koju su pokrenuli. Dio trga ispred robne kuće zvaće se Trg Braće Gojačanin, a ubijenim mladićima biće podignut i spomenik.

Zaključak

Ako se ostave po strani dileme da participativno novinarstvo ne može i ne smije biti izjednačavano sa mainstream novinarstvom, nesumnjivo je da ono doprinosi razumijevanju i sagledavanju okolnosti pod kojim su se određeni događaji desili. Društvene mreže sve više postaju izvor informacija na osnovu kojih će mediji graditi ili potvrdjivati svoje priče. Istovremeno sve je više onih koji se informišu putem društvenih mreža, u pokretu, korišćenjem pametnih telefona i tablet računara. Ove godine društvena mreža Twitter, koju je u prethodnom periodu karakterisala ne pretjerana eksponiranost njenih članova, dostigla je gotovo pola milijarde korisnika, zabilježivši rast od preko 700 odsto od 2009. godine. Istovremeno više od 308 hiljada građana Crne Gore koristi Facebook, što je nešto manje od polovine ukupnog broja stanovnika.

Slučaj Stefana Živkovića iz Zvečana je očit primjer kako građani novinari mogu doprinijeti informisanju i razumijevanju situacije na terenu. Stefan je, kako je saopšteno na debati NUNS-a, pretekao srbijanske informativne medije šaljući twittove u kojima je opisivao ono što je vidio u blizini svog doma ili čuo od sugrađana. S druge strane, profesionalni novinari moraju biti oprezni kada kometarišu, lajkuju ili twittuju. Slučaj Oktavije Nasr koja je ostala bez posla zbog twitta podrške vođi Hezbolaha opominje da bi novinari, osim uputstava koja za korišćenje društvenih mreža donose mediji, često trebali da konsultuju i „zdrav razum“.

I „gradonačelničko novinarstvo“, na koje upozorava novinar Duško Vuković, i inicijativa Facebook grupe "Svi smo mi Dejan i Ljubo Gojačanin" omogućavaju nam da uvidimo koliko participativno novinarstvo i društvene mreže u domaćim uslovima mogu da doprinesu opštem dobru i informisanju javnosti, ali i da budu faktor

koji će motivisati hiljade građana da se udruže i protestuju protiv nasilja.

Kako i koliko će participativno novinarstvo i društvene mreže uticati na mainstream medije u budućnosti teško je predvidjeti. Jasno je međutim da je solidaran odnos novinara i građana reportera dobra osnova za pisanje dobrih priča u smislu početnih ideja, iznalaženja novih uglova, praćenja razvoja događaja koji su opisani ili sudbina aktera. Društvene mreže su prostran poligon za plasiranje informacija širokom spektru korisnika, ali i nepresušan rudnik za nove priče. Koliko će ko iz tog okna zahvatiti zavisi od umješnosti da se prepozna vijest, ali i od sposobnosti da se sa malo kaže mnogo. Možda baš u tom sažimanju sadržaja leži „svjetla“ budućnost odnosa društvenih mreža i medija, jer savremeni konzument ima sve manje vremena i želi da bude informisan sa što manje napora.

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MA Lidija Mirkov,¹ doktorand

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Stilska analiza naslovnih strana dnevne štampe u Srbiji 24. marta 2014.

Apstrakt: U ovom radu predstavljeno je istraživanje autorke sprovedeno na nekoliko najčitanijih dnevnih listova u Srbiji: Politika, Danas, Večernje novosti, Blic, Alo, Naše novine, Informer, Kurir. Reč je o stilskoj analizi koja podrazumeva kvalitativnu analizu najava najvažnijih tema verbalizovanih u naslovima koji su zaslužili mesto na naslovnica. Posebnu važnost u medijima imaju naslovi na naslovnim stranama, jer njima uredništvo lista nastoji da privuče čitaoce – naslovna strana određuje prioritet tema koje su predstavljene čitaocima, a u elektronskim medijima postoji trend čitanja naslovnih strana dnevnih novina kao dodatak informativnom programu.

Stilskom analizom možemo utvrditi kontekst u koji novinari i urednici postavljaju određenu temu, tj. kako se prema njoj odnose: neutralno, pozitivno ili negativno. Takođe, moguće je uvideti da li je temi posvećeno dovoljno novinarske pažnje ili je informacija nekritički preneti bez istraživačkog rada, kao i to da li je tema patetizovana i nepotrebno ukrašena. Za datum uzorkovanja namerno je određen 24. mart 2014. godine jer je tog dana obeležena petnaesta godišnjica NATO bombardovanja nekadašnje SR Jugoslavije, o čemu je proteklih godina u javnosti bilo mnogo reči. Pretpostavka autorke bila je da će ozbiljni mediji pristupiti toj temi sa posebnom stilskom preciznošću, a da će tabloidi pokušati da o njoj govore afektivno, žargonski ili patetično. Uprkos aktuelnoj političkoj važnosti tog datuma za današnje srpsko društvo, broj naslova posvećen bombardovanju bio je zanemarljivo mali: samo dva dnevna lista objavila su naslove o tome na svojim naslovnica, i to ne kao najvažnije. Ostalih šest listova te naslove uopšte nisu imali na naslovnim stranama.

Ključne reči: *stil, izražavanje, naslovi, mediji, štampa*

¹ saradnik-demonstrator, E-mail: lidijami@yahoo.com

MA Lidija Mirkov, PhD candidate
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Stylistic analysis of front pages in daily press in Serbia on March the 24th 2014

Abstract: This paper presents the research that the author conducted on several dailies that are the most read in Serbia: Politika, Danas, Večernje novosti, Blic, Alo, Naše novine, Informer, Kurir. It consists out of stylistic analysis with qualitative analysis of the introductions to the most important topics verbalised within the headlines which are dominant enough to be on the front page. Those headlines have a special importance in the media because the editors try to attract the readers with them – the front page decides what has the priority for the readers, and in the news on TV and radio there is a trend of reading the front pages of dailies as an addition to the news.

Having a stylistic analysis, we can determine the context in which the journalists and editors put a certain topic, how they refer to it: with a neutral, positive or negative stance. Also, it is possible to see if the topic was done with the best journalistic work or the information was not well investigated, and whether it is explained with pathetic expressions. The date of sampling is March 24th 2014, which was the 15th annual of NATO bombing of former SR Yugoslavia, which was largely spoken about within the last years. The assumption was that the factographic media will have a precise style with the approach to those topics, and that the tabloids will try to discuss it affectively, with slang or pathetic. Even though the political meaning of the date is still important for Serbian society, the number of headlines about the bombing was rather small: only two of the dailies have published a headline about it on the front page, and – what's interesting – not as the most important texts as it usually was. The other six dailies had no headlines about the bombing on their front pages.

Key words: *style, expression, headlines, media, press*

Uvod

U ovom radu biće reči o stilu izražavanja na naslovnim stranama dnevnih listova u Srbiji kada izveštavaju o godišnjici bombardovanja. Stilska oneobičenja izazivaju veliku pažnju čitalaca, od kojih se očekuje da kupe novine čiji naslovi će im biti dovoljno zanimljivi. Intrigantni naslovi izazivaju veću potražnju, veća potražnja uzrokuje veći tiraž, a veći tiraž podrazumeva veću zainteresovanost oglašivača koji ulažu u komercijalni prostor tog medija. Zbog toga mediji često, umesto da se koriste elementarnim *novinarskim lukavstvima u izražavanju* (vidi: Životić, 2001), izražavaju se senzacionalno, fraziraju i plasiraju neproverene ili namerno pristrasne informacije kojima će primamiti kupce. „Jezička bolest stvarni je simptom dubljih anomalija u društvu“ (Simić, 1996:199). Kupci zamenjuju čitaoce, a samo čitaoци (ne i kupci) jesu sposobni za konstruktivnu društvenu kritiku.

Pretpostavka u ovom istraživanju bila je da će na petnaestu godišnjicu NATO bombardovanja mediji govoriti pristrasno (zauzimajući odstupnicu), senzacionalno i patetično. Ispostavilo se da su mediji nerado pokazivali tu temu na naslovnim stranama, ali patetika, senzacija i pristrasnost postojale su u svim temama. „Jezik više nije lice mišljenja, već maska prostora koji treba zauzeti fraziranjem“ (Stanojević, 2009:6).

Kada je reč o važnosti novinarskog izražavanja, tu navodimo četiri važne uloge koje obavljaju novinari: novinar treba da obavesti, poduči (obrazuje), socijalizuje i zabavi. Ne samo u domaćim medijima, ta preporuka kao da više nije popularna. Mediji teže da postignu zabavu preko reda, tj. prvenstveno obraćaju pažnju na primamljivost, pa tek onda na istinitost, tačnost, moralnost, ispravnost u izražavanju. Ono što se čuje na medijima postaje norma, bez obzira na to šta je važeći jezički kodeks i kakva pravila u jeziku postoje. Novinari imaju moć da tekstovima nametnu svoj stil izražavanja, čak i kada taj stil odstupa od jezika većine koja se koristi tim jezikom. Taj učinak jeste poželjan kada se novinari brižljivo odnose prema jeziku, ali zbog brzine koju profesija zahteva i nedostatka institucije lektora u većini štampanih medija jezičko eksperimentisanje u medijima ne iznenađuje – pogotovu u naslovima, koji su osnovni mamac za publiku. Specifične verbalne konstrukcije i pojedine reči dovoljne su da prosečan građanin poželi da pročita i ostatak teksta, instinktivno gradeći očekivanja na osnovu naslova.

Prema Životiću (2001) neizbežna svojstva stila čine jasnost, konciznost, tačnost, živost i skladnost. Ispostavlja se da je savremenim novinarima jednako teško kao njihovim prethodnicima, ako ne i teže, da usklade ta svojstva i ostvare dobar stil. U savremenim medijima ostvarenje jednog svojstva stila kao da izaziva povlačenje drugog, a redakcije pokušavaju da u stilu održe tu krhku ravnotežu. „Nema potrebe da stil bude ni odviše prost, ni odviše uzvišen, već prikladan“ (Aristotel, 1997:248).

Određivanje uzorka

Za uzorak ovog istraživanja planirali smo verbalne sadržaje naslovnih strana najčitanijih dnevnih listova u Srbiji na 24. mart 2014. Reč je o novinama: Politika, Danas, Večernje novosti, Blic, Alo, Naše novine, Kurir, Informer.

Bilo je zanimljivo stilski porediti naslove o temama koje se ponavljaju na nekoliko naslovnih strana, ali takvih tema nije bilo mnogo. Pretpostavka u ovom istraživanju bila je da će tema koja se ponavlja biti u vezi sa godišnjicom bombardovanja, ali to se desilo samo u Politici i Večernjim novostima. Ostali listovi nisu na naslovnim stranama pokazali naslove tekstova o tome. Stoga smo stilsku analizu sproveli samo na naslovima o godišnjici bombardovanja.

Pošto se uređivačke politike listova razlikuju, uredništva na naslovne strane stavljaju različit broj naslova, dozvoljavaju im površine različitih veličina i obogaćuju ih različitom grafostilskom opremom (fotografijama, podnaslovima i sl.). Usled takvih neravnomernosti, naslove na naslovnim stranama podelili smo na tri ranga: primarne, sekundarne i tercijarne. Primarni naslovi jesu najvažniji, oni kojima je posvećeno najviše pažnje – ne samo zbog najveće površine, nego i posebnog akcentovanja fotografijama i dodatnim informacijama poput nadnaslova i podnaslova u više tačaka. Sekundarnim naslovima označeni su oni u kojima je reč o skoro jednako vrednoj temi, ali koja nema mnoge upadljive grafostilske elemente, da bi primarni naslov došao do izražaja. Tercijarni naslovi služe da popunjavaju prostor po potrebi, ali su uredništvu važniji od preostalih naslova u listu koji nisu dospeli na naslovnicu. Njima često nedostaju grafostilski elementi poput fotografija.

Upoređivanja radi, u tabeli niže dati su naslovi koje su mediji prikazali kao primarne.

Medij	Ukupno naslova na naslovnoj strani	Broj naslova na nasl. strani posvećenih godišnjici bombardovanja	Primarni naslov
Politika	6	2	Kad šef države „preti“ lokalnim vlastima
Danas	6	0	U Univerzalu držali sedam milijardi dinara
Večernje novosti	8	1	TREĆINA BRAKOVA BEZ DECE
Blic	5	0	Đilas tražio krticu u vrhu DS!
Alo	3	0	Ceca ispunila životnu želju bolesnoj devojčici

Naše novine	6	0	Nijedna dečja igraonica nema atest o bezbednosti!
Kurir	3	0	KRALJ NEMORALA – Đilas ne da vlast u DS, panično se plaši robije!
Informer	6	0	ČEDA dužan zelenašima?

U navedenom uzorku Politika je objavila dva naslova o godišnjici bombardovanja, a Večernje novosti jedan. Sva tri naslova možemo označiti kao sekundarne, jer je primarni tekst u oba lista bilo nešto drugo (sa centralnim mestom na naslovnici, većom fotografijom i sl.), a naslovi sa temom bombardovanja sadrže fotografije srednje veličine, zauzimaju veliku površinu, ali su prostorno skrajnuti. Nijedan tercijarni naslov nije bio o temi kojom smo se bavili.

Cilj istraživanja i hipoteze

Istraživanje je započeto da bismo utvrdili na koji način se medijske redakcije odnose prema jeziku u naslovima koje biraju za naslovnu stranu. Početna pretpostavka bila je da naslovi, čak i oni koji neće biti na naslovnici, a posebno oni na naslovnoj strani, jesu osmišljeni sa posebnom stilskom pažnjom da bi privukli, ali i zadržali čitaoce koji ih ugledaju. Iako je za taj učinak privlačenja čitalaca potrebno više od verbalnog sadržaja (npr. fotografije, font, upadljive boje, okviri i sl.), u ovom radu neće biti analizirani grafostilski elementi naslova. Naslovna strana je najvažnija jer je ona jedini vidljivi sadržaj pre nego što čitaoci kupe primerak novina.

Primetno je da među primarnim naslovima na naslovnim stranama navedenih listova nije bilo ponavljanja neke teme, već je svaki list izabrao sopstvenu glavnu temu. Jedina ponavljanja tema bila su moguća u sekundarnim i tercijarnim naslovima, a cilj ovog istraživanja je da u sekundarnim naslovima o godišnjici bombardovanja prepoznamo stilske specifičnosti važne za novinarsku profesiju. Zamisao u ovoj analizi bila je da utvrdimo koji su stilski postupci prevagnuli u takvim naslovima.

Pretpostavku posebne stilske pažnje za naslove definisali smo u hipotezi: stilski postupci koje će novinari primeniti na naslovnoj strani u naslovima o godišnjici bombardovanja pripadaju afektivnom stilu, patetizovani su i zbog toga iskazuju pristrasnost autora (i redakcije). Patetizacija se dešava da bi se približilo najširem sloju društva, govori se emotivno, bez kritičkog osvrta i afektirano kao posle prvog utiska. Cilj istraživanja jeste da pokažemo na koji način se dešava takav stil, kojim stilskim postupcima novinari pokušavaju da dočaraju poželjnu ekspresiju i kojim stilskim sredstvima nastoje da izazovu traženu impresiju čitalaca.

Metodologija rada

Kao što je pomenuto ranije u radu, glavni metod jeste kvalitativna analiza stila izražavanja u zadatom uzorku. Saznanjima koja imamo na osnovu pregledane literature prepoznajemo različite stilske postupke, stilske figure i posebna značenja koja možemo uočiti u stilemima. Osim toga, prepoznajemo stilske alternative, tj. u postupcima stvaranja verbalnih sadržaja pokušavamo da prepoznamo kojim drugačijim stilskim postupcima novinari u datom konkretnom slučaju mogu da se posluže i da li bi to bilo poželjno ili ne.

Uporedna analiza omogućava nam da sagledamo stilske sličnosti i razlike dve redakcije iz uzorka, ali da uvidimo i takve sličnosti i razlike u dva teksta u Politici koja su o istoj temi. Takođe, primenili smo i semiološku (značenjsku) analizu naslova na osnovu toga kako su novinari pozicionirali naslovne termine u određeni kontekst, prepoznatljiv na osnovu prvog čitanja (tj. bez udubljenja u objašnjenja u tekstu unutar lista) i na osnovu elementarnog predznanja o događaju koji je tema naslova.

Sva tri naslova koji su dospeli u uzorak analizirali smo postupkom *reč po reč* da bismo lakše odredili nameru novinara koji su birali određene stileme. Sledeći postupak u analizi bilo je određivanje konteksta određenih reči u skladu sa celinom naslova. Osim toga, posmatrano je šta pojedine stilske slike mogu da znače u savremenom semiološkom tonu. Upoređivanjem rezultata nastojali smo da pokažemo sa kakvom stilskom pažnjom su novinari tri teksta (u dva lista) pristupili kazivanju.

Kontekstualno pozicioniranje medija iz uzorka

Politika važi za ozbiljan dnevni list, što znači da radi po priznatim pravilima profesije, bavi se ozbiljnim temama i novinari te redakcije posvećuju se novinarskom istraživanju. Politika je objavila dva naslova u vezi sa godišnjicom bombardovanja, s tim što je jedan naslov tipična retrospektiva sa gledištem o tome kako je sad, tj. šta se promenilo i koje su posledice. Drugi naslov je izvod iz intervju sa spisateljicom koja je objavila knjigu o bombardovanju i o, kako kaže, pogrešno vođenoj spoljnoj politici SAD. Oba teksta imaju više veze sa trenutnom međunarodnom politikom SAD-a i intervencijama u drugim delovima sveta, nego konkretno sa bombardovanjem tadašnje Jugoslavije. Obe teme su, iako nisu neposredno u vezi sa Srbijom, motivisane ratnim dešavanjima iz 1999. godine.

Dnevni list Politika jeste važan kao najstariji dnevni list u Srbiji koji kontinuirano izlazi (izuzev perioda Svetskih ratova), ali i kao presedan među medijima, kao redak primer štampanih novina u kojima država ima veliki uticaj i udeo u vlasništvu. Politika izlazi od početka 1904. godine, a ciljna publika jesu visokoobrazovani pripadnici srednje klase. Glavni urednik je Ljiljana Smajlović, predsednica Udruženja novinara Srbije. Dnevni tiraž jeste oko 125.000 primeraka.

Večernje novosti postoje od kraja 1953. godine (nastale su skoro tačno pola veka posle Politike). Nastale su kao večernja dopuna dnevnih izdanja za nestrpljive

i radoznale čitaoce. U proteklih nekoliko godina pretrpele su različite promene – u uredništvu, vlasništvu, strukturi oglašivača. Glavni i odgovorni urednik u trenutku uzorkovanja bio je Ratko Dmitrović, javnosti poznat kao novinar i kasnije urednik sklon autocenzuri i povinovanju pritiscima vlasti, a njegov dolazak na mesto urednika pratile su mnoge kontroverze. Ciljna publika Večernjih novosti jesu odrasli mladi ljudi koje zanimaju nove kratke vesti o različitim temama, neodređenog obrazovanja. Tiraž koji Večernje novosti dnevno objavljuju jeste oko 200.000 primeraka.

Iako su nekada i Novosti važile za ozbiljan list, teme kojima se danas bave pokazuju da je reč o polutabloidu. Ne možemo reći da su Večernje novosti tabloid jer nisu prestale da se bave sopstvenim istraživačkim temama, nisu neposredno naklonjene nekim političko-ekonomskim strujama, a zabavne teme i teme iz šou-biznisa ne dominiraju, nego su ravnomerno date u poređenju sa ozbiljnim temama. Ipak, naslov teksta kojim se najavljuje intervju sa nemačkim admiralom Elmarom Ludvigom Šmelingom pokazuje da je Večernjim novostima stalo do patetizacije, povlađivanja publici i emocionalnog pisanja o temi koja pogađa mnoge čitaoce.

Naslove o godišnjici bombardovanja videli smo samo na naslovnim stranama Politike i Večernjih novosti. Zanimljivo je primetiti da su oba lista štampana ćirilicom, primarnim nacionalnim pismom većinskog stanovništva u Srbiji. „Čini se da su jezik i nacija povezani složenom mrežom odnosa u prostoru i vremenu, od kojih su neki čvršći, a neki labaviji, kojima u celosti upravlja komplikovana dinamika društvenog života i društvenih promena.“ (Bugarski, 2001:89) Svi ostali mediji iz uzorka štampani su latinicom i ni na jednoj od njihovih naslovnih strana nema naslova o godišnjici bombardovanja. Svi listovi sadrže tekst o toj temi unutar lista. Tekstovi koji su unutar novina iz uzorka takođe pokazuju tendenciju da se Politika i Večernje novosti posvećenije bave ovom temom na izabrani dan – veća je površina, više teksta, različiti su žanrovi, kvalitetniji izvori.

Analiza uzorka – Večernje novosti

Naslov u Večernjim novostima koji je posvećen godišnjici bombardovanja dat je kao sekundarni, ali ne sasvim sporedni. On glasi: „Evropska pravda je umrla u Srbiji“.

Reč *pravda* ovde je personifikovana kao biće koje ima sposobnost da živi i umre. Ako je već negde živela, događaji u Srbiji odredili su da baš tu i zbog toga umre. Takođe je reč o hiperboli, preterivanju, jer unutar personifikacije se iskazuje drastičnost izneveravanja principa pravde – ona nije nestala, izostala ili ponižena, već je konačno umrla. Reč je o *evropskoj* pravdi, što je u suprotnosti sa logičnošću izraza, jer pravda može biti samo jedna i nije važno da li je evropska, srpska, svetska ili bilo koja druga. Implicira se da je Srbiju trebalo da zaštiti evropska zajednica, ona koja propagira zaštitu međunarodnog prava i ostvarenja ličnih prava pojedinaca. Stilem *pravda* ne trpi nijansiranje, stepenovanje, ni raslojavanje. U medijima bi trebalo da bude podrazumevano značenje opšteg termina (*pravda*) u jednom društvu, a ne da se pridevom definiše o kakvoj je pravdi reč ili o njenim nijansama, jer je to

suvišno i stoga u tom postupku prepoznamo tragove pleonazma.

Personifikovani naslov u kojem se dešava smrt određujemo kao patetičan i zato je narušena tačnost stila u ovom naslovu (Životić, 2001:200).

Ovaj naslov, kao i većina naslova u Večernjim novostima, zavisen je od nadnaslova ili podnaslova (ili oba). Nije dovoljno pročitati samo naslov da bismo znali o čemu je tekst, što je očekivano u listu koji neguje princip postojanja sva tri elementa naslovnog bloka. Tek čitanjem nadnaslova shvatamo da je reč o intervjuu (i da je naslov zapravo citat, iako nije obeležen navodnicima), a podnaslov je objašnjavajući, takođe citat bez navodnika, u kojem se navodi: „Porazno što agresori do sada nisu odgovarali za sramno bombardovanje“. Ovde analiziramo i podnaslov da bismo odredili kontekst u kojem se javlja ovaj naslov. Krnji oblik nije neobičan za naslovni blok (izostaje kopula *je* u imenskom delu predikata). Subjekat glasi *agresori*, što jasno definiše stav onoga koji govori (ali i piše, gledano u kontekstu celog naslova) o tome na čijoj je strani.

Vremensko određenje *do sada* ukazuje na to da svih ovih 15 godina ne postoji „evropska pravda“, ali se ne gubi nada da će se ona ipak ostvariti *od sada*. Ako *do sada* nije, ne znači da *od sada* neće. Glagol *odgovarati* podrazumeva postojanje više instance koja propisuje da neko preuzme *odgovornost* ako je sam ne preuzme. *Bombardovanje* objašnjeno je epitetom *sramno*, a pojam *sram* u jeziku ne znači isto svim pojedincima, niti je moguće definisati ga. *Sram* bi trebalo da bude nešto nepoželjno, ono što se ne radi, što većito ostaje kao upozorenje da je taj neko ko se sramno ponaša sposoban da naruši norme poželjnog ponašanja. U kontekstu naslova „Evropska pravda je umrla u Srbiji“ podrazumeva se da evropske vrednosti ne dozvoljavaju bombardovanje i slične vojne intervencije, iako je mnogo članica EU takođe član NATO. *Sram* jeste društvena vrednost koju sagovornik nameće evropskim političkim činiocima za koje smatra da treba da propagiraju određene vrednosti, a ne da intervišu primenom sile. Epitet *sramno* može mnogo da nam kaže o stavu sagovornika, o onome što ćemo pročitati u tekstu ako se odlučimo da pročita-mo više od naslovnog bloka, ali spoj *sramno bombardovanje* jeste pleonazam, jer je svako bombardovanje na neki način sramno. Suprotnost *sramnom* može biti samo *slavno*, *herojsko*, a teško da bi bilo ko razuman nazvao *rat* i *bombardovanje civila* takvim epitetima da bi bilo nužno da odredimo ovo konkretno bombardovanje kao izuzetak, tj. kao sramno. Ovde pleonazam ima stilsku ulogu oprijateljstva sagovornika iz „neprijateljske“ zemlje, jer taj Nemač je – kao što čitamo – na našoj strani.

Analiza uzorka – Politika

U Politici postoje dva sekundarna naslova o ovoj temi, opremljena samo podnaslovom i fotografijom. Naslov je razumljiva celina i bez drugih elemenata naslovnog bloka. Prvi tekst o tome naslovljen je: „Otpor NATO agresiji – jedna od bitaka u globalnom ratu“.

Imenica *otpor* jeste istaknuta reč naslova kojom u Politici nazivaju suprotstavljanje napadima tokom bombardovanja. U medijima je poželjno izbegavati izlizane

izraze, pa *otpor* zvuči uspješnije od *odbrana*, *rat*, *PVO*, *bombardovanje*.

Konstrukcija *NATO agresija* jeste ustaljena zbog česte upotrebe, ali nije u duhu jezika. Skraćenica NATO vrši ulogu imenice u rečenici, a uz reč *agresija*, koja je takođe imenica, vrši ulogu prideva. Ipak, imenica ne može biti pridev, iako je zamisao da bude epitet. Dve imenice možemo spojiti samo u složenice ili polysloženice, a ovde to nismo videli. Dve samostalne imenice napisane su jedna do druge i u istom su padežu, suprotno duhu jezika – prirodnije bi bilo da se na zamišljeno pitanje „otpor čijoj agresiji“ odgovori sa „agresiji NATO-a“ ili „agresiji koju je uradio NATO“, a ne da se imenice gomilaju bez pomoćnih reči koje bi ih logički povezale. Ova pogrešna konstrukcija nastala je još u vreme kada se bombardovanje dešavalo i posredstvom medija postala je uobičajena i u svakodnevnom izražavanju. Novinari se njome služe podrazumevajući da je tačna i precizna ako zvuči poznato. Fraziranje koje dolazi iz političkog diskursa jeste prepoznatljiva opasnost za javni jezik. (Životić, Stanojević, 2013). U tome se ogleda i nemar i moć medija kada je reč o obrazovanju publike i socijalizaciji. Jezik ima nezamenljivu ulogu kao mehanizam socijalizacije. „Prilikom ovladavanja jezikom pojedinac interiorizuje i gotovo sve odlike kulture kojoj pripada. Zbog toga je Sapir u pravu kada tvrdi da je iskaz *on govori kao mi* jednakovredan iskazu *on je jedan od nas*“ (Radojković i Miletić, 2008:40).

Reč *agresija* jeste varvarizam (tuđica, pozajmljenica) iz latinskog jezika (latinizam – *aggressio*) kojom iskazujemo napad, nasilje, ali i „neizazvan napad u cilju potčinjavanja, osvajanja“ (Vujaklija, 1980). Konstrukcija kojom se usled inverzije prvo odgovara *čija agresija*, pa tek onda definiše potčinjavanje, ima ulogu da napravi oštru poddelu između nas i tog drugog, tj. da satanizuje *osvajачa*. „Uvek postoje dve jasno definisane i uzajamno razgraničene grupe. Jednu činimo *mi* – dobri, progresivni, miroljubivi, ugroženi, predmet zavisti i zavere itd., a drugu predstavljaju *oni* – zli, nazadni, agresivni, izvor pretnji, spletkaroši itd. Između ove dve kategorije nema prelaznih oblika, niti mogućnosti mirnog sporazuma: govor mržnje ne zna za finese, niti kompromise“ (Bugarski: 2001:118).

Iza tog dela naslova sledi crta – interpunkcijski znak kojim obeležavamo pauzu u govoru i kojom u nekim slučajevima (kao što je ovaj naslov) možemo rasteretiti rečenicu tako što ćemo umesto enklitičkih oblika pomoćnih glagola pisati crtu. Osim toga, crtom je sprečena aliteracija, koja bi nastala da je umesto crte bio enklitički oblik pomoćnog glagola *jesam*. Tada bi naslov glasio „Otpor NATO agresiji je jedna od...“ i aliteracija bi se desila kada pokušamo da izgovorimo „agresiji Je Jedna“. Kao ni reči, ne treba gomilati ni glasove, slogove, foneme. Aliteracija je ponavljanje suglasnika na početku reči (Životić, 2001:117). U ovom slučaju ponovio bi se suglasnik *J*.

Drugi deo naslova sledi iza crte: „jedna od bitaka u globalnom ratu“. Broj *jedna* treba da uputi na razmišljanje o tome da nije bila jedina, već samo jedna od mnogih koje su usledile ili se desile pre, pogotovu kada je broj spojen uz predlog *od*, posle čega sledi imenica u množini (*jedna od bitaka*). Imenica *bitka* treba da u naslovu dočara prethodna vremena, da obezbedi utisak o epohalnosti događaja o kojem je reč. Bitka je oružani sukob dve suprotstavljene strane koji se odvija uživo, prsa u prsa, hladnim oružjem. Upotrebom ovog arhaizma slovenskog porekla ne kaže se da je

bombardovanje zaista bilo bitka, već se metaforično ukazuje na suprotstavljenost dve strane i simbolično se govori o sukobu koji će dugo biti prepoznatljiv u istoriji Srbije, mada kroz prizmu samo *jedne od bitaka u globalnom ratu*.

Konstrukcija *globalni rat* je složena jer je razumljiva samo onima koji se zanimaju za tu oblast, koji su načitani, obavešteni i obrazovani. Reč *globalni* je profesionalizam, reč koju upotrebljavaju naučnici koji se bave pojavama na svetskom nivou. *Globalni rat* je usko specijalizovana politikološka konstrukcija, koja osim profesionalnog tona sadrži i imenicu *rat* koja može da izazove nelagodu i prisećanje na loše iskustvo i uspomene, tj. stilski gledano – provocira afektaciju. Utisak o stilu izražavanja u ovom naslovu jeste da je reč o tekstu koji je analitičan, sveobuhvatan i kojem je posvećeno dovoljno vremena za istraživanje. Takođe, rezultati novinarskog istraživanja nisu suvoparno dati, već je novinar pokušao da ih objasni narativno, tj. pripovedački, zanimljivo, ali ne i frazerski patetično. „Stil će biti skladan ako bude strastven, ako je etičan i ako je u skladu s predmetom na koji se odnosi.“ (Aristotel, 1997:270) Ipak, svako pominjanje rata i „NATO agresije“ na dan godišnjice bombardovanja mora da bude patetično bar po kontekstu.

Drugi naslov u Politici koji je u vezi sa bombardovanjem jeste: „SAD i evropski sateliti neće priznati grešku iz 1999. godine“.

Naslov počinje abrevijacijom *SAD*, koja je česta, prepoznatljiva i zato poželjna kao zamena za dugi naziv Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. *SAD*-u je pripojen još jedan element subjekta u rečenici, koji se smatra jednako odgovornim: *evropski sateliti*. Jasno je da je reč o metafori, jer se ne misli na svemirske satelite, već se skraćeno poredi da su neke države u Evropi (verovatno se misli na EU) mali, slabiji imitatori *SAD* u spoljnoj politici za određena politička pitanja. Ovde je takođe reč o amfiboliji, višeznačnosti. Nije jasno da li to znači da su sateliti vlasništvo nekoga iz Evrope ili ih čini nešto/neko iz Evrope. Ovde se desila zamena značenja reči. Jasnije bi bilo da je rečeno *sateliti iz Evrope*, iako to podrazumeva reč više – predlog. Konciznost stila ipak ne bi bila narušena zbog predloga, posebno kada uzmemo u obzir da je u suprotnom narušena jasnost stila.

Glagol *neće* sačinjen je od negacije i osnove za pomoćni glagol *hteti*, u budućem vremenu je i izričito saopštava da se nešto neće desiti, ne ostavlja mogućnost za *možda*. Ako bi bio upotrebljen neki drugi glagol, izričitost bi bila slabija: npr. *ne može* (ali možda hoće), *treba/ne treba* (a uradiće), *nije moguće* (ali čuda se dešavaju). Posle *neće* nema *ali*. Predikat, dakle, glasi: *neće priznati*. Infinitivni deo čini glagol *priznati*. Ovde sagovornik (čiji je ovo citat) jasno deklariše stav prema „SAD i evropskim satelitima“, iako je već kod reči *satelit* bilo jasno da ona nosi negativni prizvuk i konotaciju. Ako je bilo dileme u vezi sa tim, glagol *priznati* određuje da sagovornik postavlja subjekte u rečenici na optuženičku klupu, pred istražne sudije i učitava im potrebu da nešto priznaju, oni su *krivci*. Pošto se samo zločini i prekršaji priznaju, ovaj glagol je dovoljan da shvatimo šta je namera osobe koja govori.

Objekat u rečenici je reč *greška*. Podrazumeva se da je krivac koji nešto treba da *prizna* napravio *grešku*, pa je ova imenica odgovarajuća u skladu sa stilom rečenice. Vremenska odredba *iz 1999. godine* jeste jedini trag koji nas navodi da je tekst

za ovaj naslov u vezi sa bombardovanjem te godine, posebno kada uzmemo u obzir kontekst udruživanja SAD-a sa onim što je u naslovu imenovano kao *evropski sateliti*. Ipak, tekst nije samo o bombardovanju, a posebno ne o godišnjici. Tekst jeste motivisan tim dešavanjima, ali intervju sa autorkom knjige koja govori antiglobalistički i antiamerički nije analiza naše države 15 godina posle bombardovanja, već stručno viđenje o spoljnoj politici SAD-a i političkim odnosima SAD-a i Evrope (EU). Naslov je, rečenički gledano, dobro konstruisan: subjekat-predikat-objekat, nema inverzije. Pošto je reč o citatu, a nema navodnika, podrazumeva se da je uredništvo spremno da preuzme odgovornost za tumačenje naslova. Lukavstvo u ovom naslovu bilo je to da se čitaocu „podmetne“ pristrasna izjava kao mamac da pročita još.

Zaključak

Već je rečeno da preostalih šest listova iz uzorka nije ponudilo na naslovnim stranama bilo kakvu naznaku tekstova o godišnjici bombardovanja. Samo Politika i Večernje novosti, kao jedina dva lista iz uzorka štampana ćirilicom, objavili su naslove o toj temi na naslovnoj strani. Važan element u izražavanju novinara jeste izbegavanje pasivnih konstrukcija, tj. glagolskog prideva trpnog – u sva tri naslova nismo videli takve konstrukcije, već su sve bile aktivne (predikat je imao i subjekat i objekat radnje, a u pasivu bi izostao subjekat). Nije bilo inverzije, ni interpolacija (umetnutih delova), što je takođe doprinelo živosti stila. Oba lista u naslovima navode *agresiju* ili *agresore*, što pokazuje da su oba lista zauzela stranu u tekstu. Zauzimanje strane neminovno vodi elementarnom stepenu afektivnosti i patetizacije teme, mada nisu oba lista pristupila isto tim stilskim postupcima.

Politika važi za ozbiljan informativni list i, shodno reputaciji, nisu narušili svojstva stila. Tematika podrazumeva određene nijanse patetičnosti, ali je stilskim postupcima izbegnuta afektacija i patetizacija događaja. Ipak, u izražavanju novinara i urednika koji stvaraju naslove (i tekstove) prepoznali smo otklon prema „drugom“, jasno ocrtavanje granica između „nas i „njih“, žrtava i agresora. Pohvalno je što se daje stručna analiza, govori se stručnim (ali razumljivim) jezikom, što govori o posvećenosti istraživačkom radu i upućenosti u temu, tj. kompetentnosti za nju. U Politikinim naslovima prepoznali smo mnoštvo stilskih figura, ali i izbegavanje zamki u izražavanju: umesto aliteracije ponuđen je pravilan, ali iz nekog razloga redak pravopisni postupak obeležavanja pauze interpunkcijskim znakom crtom. Naslov je razumljiva celina i bez drugih elemenata naslovnog bloka. Dominantni utisak o stilu izražavanja jeste da je koncizan i jasan, a govori se pripovedački, zanimljivo, ali uglavnom ne i frazerski patetično.

„U današnje vreme treba biti *jasan*, govor mora biti *otvoren*, *nejasnoće* nisu dozvoljene. To, međutim, ne bi smelo da nas zavara; takav je, ipak, samo stil“ (Bretton, 2000:78). Autorka nije istraživala razloge zašto se na naslovnoj strani Politike našlo čak dva naslova o godišnjici bombardovanja (što je trećina nalova), dok u preostalim medijima ta tema nije bila dovoljno intrigantna da uopšte bude naslova o tome na naslovnim stranama. Možemo da spekuliramo o slobodi izražavanja i

javne kritike među medijima koji o toj temi nisu govorili, ali upašćemo u zamku da ne prepoznamo kontekst u kojem se ta tema dvostruko javlja na naslovnoj strani nacionalnog lista sa državnim udelom u vlasništvu. Ovim temama možda ćemo se baviti nekom drugom prilikom.

U Večernjim novostima, koje su polutabloid, tema je stilski obrađena na potpuno drugačiji način. Na naslovnoj strani bio je samo jedan naslov o datoj temi. Novinari i urednici ove redakcije skloni su otvorenoj patetizaciji u naslovu, preterivanju (hiperboličnom izražavanju) i afektaciji, što dalje remeti logičnost izraza i stvara nespojivost izraza (katahrezu). Patetiku vidimo najviše u postupku oživljavanja (personifikacije) apstraktnog pojma „pravda“ kojoj se dešava smrt (što je afektacija), a nijansira se da je reč o evropskoj, a ne bilo kojoj pravdi. Takav način izražavanja narušava princip tačnosti stila. Ipak, utisak o ovim ogrešenjima o svojstva stila jeste da nisu slučajna, tj. nisu posledica nemara. Pleonastičko (npr. *sramno bombardovanje*), hiperbolično i patetično izražavanje služe kao lukavstvo kojim se čitaocima dozvoljava da dožive katarzu, zbog toga se identifikuju sa tekstom i postanu verna čitalačka publika. Nijedno isklizavanje iz poželjnih stilskih postupaka nije stilski nemotivisano – naslov je necitirani citat koji služi da spoznamo da postoje članovi „neprijateljskog“ naroda koji su na našoj strani. Ovaj naslov, kao i većina naslova u Večernjim novostima, zavisao je od nadnaslova ili podnaslova (ili oba). To nije stilski nepodobno ako imamo u vidu da Večernje novosti bez izuzetka prikazuju potpuni naslovni blok.

Na primeru dva dnevna lista pokazali smo da tema diktira stil izražavanja, ali da od novinarske pažnje i posvećenosti zavisi kako će taj stil biti oblikovan. „Već poznati stav o zavisnosti jezičke kulture od tematike sporazumevanja – ponovo postaje aktuelan“ (Simić, 2010:127). Bombardovanje jeste potresni događaj ne samo za čitaoce, već i za autore tekstova. Odmicanje od sopstvenog subjektivnog doživljaja teme jeste veoma teško, ali profesionalni novinari to uspeju. Izborom teme i sagovornika koji će pokazati svoje stanovište o tome već se dovoljno interveniše u javno mnjenje.

Na primeru Politike i Večernjih novosti vidimo da je jedan od glavnih postupaka zaobilaženja sopstvenih stavova o temi – stilsko usmeravanje činjenica (vidi: Životić, 2001). Umekšavanjem jednog stilskog postupka dešava se isticanje drugog, na isti način kao kada se reflektorom na pozorišnoj sceni osvetli jedan lik, a drugi zaseni. To nije nužno svestan postupak, niti je sasvim nepoželjan. Nekada je potpuna objektivnost u medijima neizvodljiva. Međutim, mediji ni pod kojim uslovima (i ma šta da je tema) ne bi smeli da se prepuste stilskim manipulacijama zarad prenošenja stava o nečemu, pogotovu ne ako se samo pretpostavlja šta čitalaštvo želi da pročita. Publici ne treba povlađivati, već treba objektivno ponuditi analizu i moguće rešenje, ukoliko je to moguće. Publika voli da kupi mamac, ali za trajno sticanje publike potrebno je više od mamca i zanimljivosti, intriga i patetike. „Stoga će nesumnjivo biti lep onaj stil i oni entimemi koji brzo saopštavaju novo znanje“ (Aristotel, 1997:287). Zavisno od teme, jasno je da će neko od svojstava stila dominirati nad drugim svojstvima, ali nesklad koji može da nastane kada se o

tome ne vodi računa remeti javnu komunikaciju i ostavlja dalekosežne posledice po javni jezik. Sve češća je jezička nepažnja, a korektan odnos prema publici i lepotu izražavanja zamenjuju senzacionalizam, afektacije i trka za zaradom u kojoj ionako pobeđuju tržišni moćnici. Vraćanje obaveznog postojanja lektora moglo bi da obezbedi sigurnu pismenost, ali ne bi intervenisalo u stilsku raznovrsnost. Odgovornost svakog pojedinačnog novinara jeste da unapređuje svoje obrazovanje, uči o jeziku i isprobava različite načine izražavanja sa novinarskom pažnjom, a uredništvo treba za svoje redakcije da bira obrazovane novinare koji umeju sa rečima. Samo verbalna raznovrsnost može da iskaže pravu društvenu, političku i kulturnu raznolikost jednog društva.

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MSc Katerina Zateva,¹ junior research
Faculty of Law "Justinian I", "Ss. Cyril and Methodius"
University in Skopje (Republic of Macedonia)

Journalism in the shadow of social media as a source of information

Abstract: Social media are becoming more present in today's society and an indispensable part of everyday life. This paper explored how the popularity of social media has influenced the way in which individuals communicate with each other and acquire information. Social media is in the increase thanks to the popularization of the Internet as well as the simple access to digital information. This paper will look at present situation of conventional media and social media popularity, emphasizing possibility of a threat to traditional journalism. Since the inception of the Internet and the new technology into our daily lives, it's obvious that our way of consuming information began to change. There will be highlighted different ways of how social media is getting into our daily routine and creates some kind of addiction of getting quick information. There is no doubt that social media through their online technology tools enable people to communicate and to easily share information and simpler to reach it. This paper will consider specific aspects of journalism profession and will focus on how social media affect the consumers' right of true information and credible source of publication.

The purpose of this paper is to present implications of social media on journalism and to analyze obstacles that came along the way and to determine and overcome the crisis of profession.

Key words: *journalism, social media, social network, internet*

1 E-mail: katerina_pf@yahoo.com

mr Katerina Zateva, stručni saradnik
Pravni fakultet "Justinijan I", Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju
(Republika Makedonija)

Novinarstvo u senci društvenih medija kao izvora informacija

Apstrakt: Društveni mediji su sve više prisutni u današnjem okruženju i nezaobilazan su deo svakodnevnog života. Ovaj rad pokazuje kako društveni mediji utiču na način komuniciranja među pojedincima i kako se informišu. Prikazaćemo sadašnju situaciju konvencionalnih medija i popularnost društvenih medija, naglašavajući mogućnost pretnje tradicionalnim novinarima. Od samog ulaska Interneta i novih tehnologija u naše svakodnevne živote, očito je da se i naš način konzumiranja informacija počeo menjati. U ovom radu ćemo istaći na koje sve načine društveni mediji ulaze u naše svakodnevne rutine i stvaraju neku vrstu zavisnosti za dobijanjem brze informacije.

Nema sumnje da društveni mediji, preko svojih tehnoloških alata, omogućavaju ljudima da komuniciraju i da lako dele informacije i jednostavnije dođu do njih. Ovaj rad će razmotriti konkretne aspekte novinarske profesije i fokusiraće se na to kako društveni mediji utiču na pravo korisnika na istinitu informaciju i pouzdani izvor koji je objavljuje.

Cilj ovog rada je da predstavi implikacije društvenih medija na novinarsku profesiju i da predstavi određene prepreke koje stoje na putu pisane reči, kao i da se utvrdi i savlada kriza struke.

Ključne reči: *novinarstvo, društveni mediji, društvene mreže, Internet*

Introduction

Modern development in the field of journalism opens a series of questions about the future of the profession that does not call into question the survival of the profession but includes deep structural and significant changes. Starting from the standpoint that information is power, having access to the right information is undoubtedly an advantage, but on the other side not having an access considered as powerless. Journalists are one's of the creators and distributors of information in our society and that makes them authoritative and influential. The power of journalism shows through its main task, that is to produce the right information and to import it close to the citizens. Written and spoken word has enormous influence on society and that makes them important and gives an obligation for professionalism and responsibility. Undoubtedly journalists are an important chain of world events and their consumers have the right of real picture and true story. Even if conventional journalism as a source of information is indispensable, it is undergoing a wave of changes that are gladly accepted by the modern society. The changes include a different way of creating, reporting, publishing and consuming of the news. Development of new technologies of communication and faster Internet penetration allows user participation in public informing space. That means that journalists are no longer a monopoly in news creation. Their exclusive place is more and more threatened by citizens, that have permission to create, publish and exchange information through digital sphere. Actually, that force represents social media, that are finding their place in the society and relentlessly put in shadow the conventional journalism. Social media represent a virtual space where citizens rapidly develop their opinion and often their participation looks as journalists. Current media separate on conventional and new media and two kinds of audience, passive that absorb what is served and the other one's that actively participates in consuming, commenting and sharing the information but also creating the new one.

Defining social media as a source of information

Social media are integrating technology that allows users to generate their own content and then share that content through various connections. Social media is synonymous with Web 2.0, technology that focuses on integration, collaboration, and interaction. There are numerous social media tools available, many for little or no cost. Examples of social media include blogs, social networking sites, microblogging sites, photo ²- and video-sharing sites, location-based networks, wikis, RSS feeds, and podcasts.

According to the Oxford dictionary social media includes websites or applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking.³

² Iacpsocialmedia.org, 2014

³ social media: definition of social media in Oxford dictionary (British & World English, 2014)

Social media have existed in various forms for several decades, but came into the mainstream notoriety in the first decade of twenty-first century with the debut of a number of sites (e.g. MySpace, Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, etc.) that soared in popularity and access. Social interaction on the World Wide Web, including the behavioral and cultural patterns of the people using social software, can be described as social media. Media are not social. People are social. People can use media to be social beyond face-to-face contacts and carry on conversations beyond time and space. Media now can be 'social' by engaging in conversations. Media can send one message to many users, receive feedback, react on message, see how their message is passed along different users and ask for interactions. Compared to traditional media which are one-directional, social media allow consumers to actively engage in a communication process, not only as information receivers, but also as message creators, thus enabling better information sharing and opinion exchanges. As the technological environment and the media content supply have evolved, consumption habits have also changed. users have turned from the once-dominant print media to electronic media and new electronic media (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:9).

Globalization and the explosion of instruments of mass communication, especially the social media have made the audiovisual human interaction across national boundaries as easy as the push of a tiny button on a small device that fits into the pocket. With the resultant capacity of transmitting information and pictures thousands of miles across the world, people are now able to access information at the snap of the fingertips and this has affected global consciousness (Del Giudice, Peruta, Carayannis, 2013:73).

News consumption and Internet access

The rapid expansion of communication and information resources is remarkably affected contemporary society, it's the point that it is often described as an information age. Information and communication structures and networks are so important nowadays that the society we live in has been defined in terms, such as information society, knowledge society, and networked society, all underscoring this significance. Reality itself has turned into information space where material objects are converted into information flowing through global networks, and become media objects (Del Giudice, Peruta, Carayannis, 2013:77).

The internet has become part of our daily life and has reshaped roles and boundaries of traditional media through complex processes of complementarity and substitutability. The internet is becoming a platform for the delivery of very different media and pieces of news, and while traditional media evolved with a specific position in the vertical chain of information and offer a stable bundle of news in term of the format and depth of range, on the internet, professionals and final users can find themselves side by side very different type of information and news (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:49). People are taking advantage of having access to news in their pockets, on their laps and at their desks: mobile devices ap-

pear to be adding to the news experience.⁴

Each medium can be differentiated from the others by considering the following characteristics: audience, time, display, distribution, distance and storage. Simply stated, the Internet is a worldwide network of computers. Millions of people around the globe download information from the Internet every day. The Internet also provides an opportunity for people to upload material. The world wide web is a technologically separate and unique medium, yet it shares many properties with traditional media. Both its similarities and differences have made it a formidable competitor for the traditional mass media audience. The Internet also offers benefits that aren't found in traditional media: two-way communication through social media for example. In addition Internet provides online versions of print media, which can be read electronically or even printed to provide a portable version. Although the Internet's proponents highly tout this medium, it falls short of traditional media in some ways. A computer, cell phone or WI-FI enabled device is required to access online material. Although the Internet seems almost ubiquitous, there are many places where getting an Internet connection is an inconvenience. Non-electronic social networks have been around for a long time. People form a social relationship because of common interests or values. The Internet has made social networking an everyday activity for millions of people because of the ease of communicating (Medoff, Kaye, 2011:6).

Almost all traditional forms of publishing and broadcast are now stored and transmitted in new media formats. Newspapers and magazines are widely available on the Internet through personal computers, mobile telephones and handheld products (Crone, Alberstat, Cassels, Overs, 2002:2).

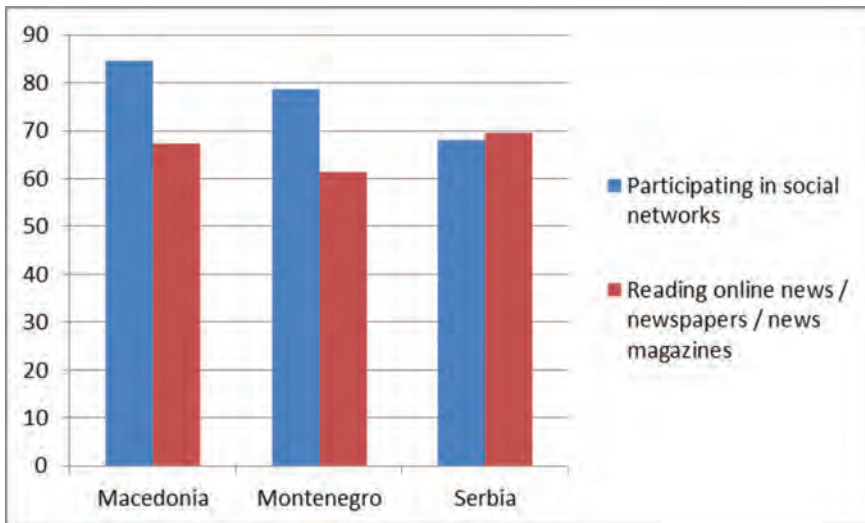


Table 1: Internet usage by countries, 2013
(Stat.gov.mk, 2014, Monstat.org, 2014, Webrzs.stat.gov.rs, 2014)

⁴ How Mobile and Social Media Drive News Consumption, Roy Morejon, 2012.

Table 1 consists of data from Statistics offices from different countries and presents one of the most common activities of the population with an Internet access.

Following chart shows that residents in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia who have access to the Internet are very likely to use social media networks and an enormous percent are using their internet connection for reading online news, newspapers or news magazines.

According to the data of the State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia, in the first quarter of 2013, 65.1% of the households had access to the Internet at home, which is 6.8 percentage points more in comparison with the same period in 2012. Participation of the households with broadband connections in the total number of households increased from 58.1% in 2012 to 65.0% in 2013.⁵

According to the data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RZS), more than 2.4 million citizens use the Internet on a daily or almost daily basis, which is 300 thousand more than in the year 2012. In Serbia, 59.9% of households own a computer, while 55.8% have an internet connection. The number of households with internet connections higher by 8.3% compared to last year.⁶

According to the Montenegro Statistical Office, there are 55.8% of surveyed households having reported Internet access in the house, regardless of its use. (Montenegro Statistical Office, 2014)

In comparison internet access of the population in the European Union Member States countries, 79% of households had access to the internet in 2013, 3% higher compared to last year.⁷

Future of the journalism profession

Our view of the world is arguably influenced more by the media than our personal experience. We rely to a large extent on both the broadcast and printed media as communicators of politics, of culture and of 'information', and, as such media exercise great power in our lives (Feintuck, 1999:1).

The main task of contemporary journalist is to make balance between conventional and new media by exploiting the best elements from them.

In the past, the opportunity to be a publisher or a broadcaster was open to a select few. Now anyone can become a global media brand. The job of finding, producing and distributing content has extended from the newsroom to the street (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:3). Journalists were a clearly defined group. For the most part, they were professionals who wrote for major mainstream newspapers and broadcasters. The public had no great difficulty in identifying members of the "press." Today, citizens without journalistic training and who do not work in mainstream media calls themselves journalists, or write in ways that fall under the general description of a journalist as someone who regularly writes on public

⁵ State Statistical Office, Macedonia, 2014.

⁶ Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RZS), 2014.

⁷ Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union 2014.

issues for a public or audience. It is not always clear whether the term “journalist” begins or ends (Ward, 2010).

Talking about the positivity that came from the conventional journalism, imminent is the fact that consumers still need a reliable source that tells stories with context and traditional media outlet are needed to redouble their efforts to be more credible.⁸

The journalistic ethical norms include a commitment to accuracy, verification and truth. A writer’s skills include investigative capabilities, research skills, facility with media technology of media, knowledge of how institutions work, and highly developed communication skills. The one with these skills and these ethical commitments is capable of publishing good and ethically responsible journalism (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:181).

Another element that distinguishes both news sources in anonymity.

Anonymity is accepted more readily online than in mainstream news media. Newspapers usually require the writers of letters to the editor to identify themselves. Online users resist demands from website and blogs to register and identify themselves. Anonymity is praised as allowing freedom of speech and sometimes helping to expose wrongdoing. Reports and images circulate the globe with amazing speed via Twitter, YouTube, Facebook, blogs, cell phones, and email. Speed puts pressure on newsrooms to publish stories before they are adequately checked and verified as to the source of the story and the reliability of the alleged facts. Many news organizations encourage their reporters to use social media to gather information and to create “brand” for themselves by starting their own blog, Facebook page, or Twitter account. The ethical challenge is to develop social media guidelines that allow reporters to explore the new media world, but also to draw reasonable limits on personal commentary. (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:181).

The most powerful weapon of the new media against journalism is the ability of social network to move information quickly among a large group of people. It can provide a valuable two-way engaging with the audience, changing significantly how journalists talk to their audiences and listen to the audience’s response. This can mean that local news is able to transform into international news very quickly as social media has the power to transfer information across the world instantaneously. Growing use of social media to report the news the consumer perception of real time news is changing – people now expect to receive news instantaneously and expect constant updates of developments. One of the great positives of social media journalists is the way that it has the power to engage with greater audiences.

This is significantly influencing the direction and practice of journalism. The availability of these online blogs and social media networks has changed the way that journalists are able to operate and it can be a valuable tool aiding journalists in their news gathering, audience engagement and it can act as another platform for content. It is important to note that social media and blogs are not replacing journalism, but they are adding another layer of information to existing news sources.

⁸ Social media not threat for traditional journalists: Experts - Antara News, 2014.

This has helped them to collect more material on news stories and has provided access to a wider range of voices who are able to tell their own stories and opinions on the matter. This can be a significant benefit making it easier for journalists to track down those who might have a first-hand account of an event. However, this also means that in some cases journalists are having to compete with the average citizen for breaking news as sites such as social media platforms and a way to spread news by the younger generations. Furthermore, journalists still need to check, verify and evaluate news claims found on social media before they report them. (Ponce, 2014).

The technology, advanced and the tools were developed to enable anyone to research, create and disseminate content. And there is social media. At first there was a cacophony of noise that was hard to follow. But then those designing social media tools got smarter, and social media became more focused and personalized through tagging, lists, and other filters. It empowers the individual who had a story to tell with tools to proclaim their news to the world. Based on the quality of the content they produced they began to gain followers through peer group recommendation. Those followers responded, added value to what was being said, and shared the information with their contacts. And with smart tagging, it all went viral. For many, social media is now a central part of news gathering, news production and news distribution strategy. Today, you are more likely to get an update on trending topics on Twitter/Facebook or ground breaking news via one of these platforms prior to watching the late night news or reading the afternoon print edition of a newspaper or listening to radio news on the hour (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:3).

Over the past decade, we have seen an increase in the popularity of social media such as discussion forums, weblogs and wikis, and social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, along with the proliferation of open-publishing initiatives and social news websites. Today, it seems that citizens are increasingly publishing and sharing their stories, comments, news, photos, videos and podcasts, while chatting, debating, tagging, blogging and tweeting in online communities (Peters, Broersma, 2013:115).

Social media uses new technology and therefore has many aspects that differentiate it from traditional media outlets. Immediacy is one of them. Where newspapers have to wait for the next publication, and television news stations have to get a reporter to the scene, social media allows news to come straight from the source in real time. This allows users to control the conversation by being the first to distribute information and by having the ability to immediately respond to inaccurate or negative information. Where traditional forms of communication tend to be one-way communication, social media facilitates conversations and interactions among users. Users are also able to decide what content they want and how they want to receive it.⁹

Despite all cons mention above, the impact of the social media on conventional journalism brings some mitigating circumstances in favor of the journalists.

⁹ Iacpsocialmedia.org, 2014.

By using online tools, journalists get information, ideas and feedback. And if they do interact consistently with readers and viewers, they develop a different type of relationship than the arms-length connection that traditional mass communication created. For users social media and blogs offer anyone the opportunity to express themselves and to connect with persons of like mind or interests. These digital tools provide an easy way for members of the public to take part in discussion with larger groups of people and draw attention to issues and topics that traditional news media might have overlooked (Picard, 2009).

Breaking news spread on Twitter or Facebook same hours before the news agencies release and confirm them, so they are becoming a main source for journalists. There are clearly both opportunities and threats for news publishers when it comes to social media. A disadvantage involves that legacy media world in which news is both produced and distributed beyond their proprietary platforms. On the other hand, social media enable publishers to move closer to those inclined to access and discuss their news reporting. However, at the forefront of social media are new powerful global actors, such as Facebook, Twitter and Google, who do not only grant more power to “the people formerly were known as the audience”, but also become intermediaries in commercial relations media (Friedrichsen, Mühl-Benninghaus, 2013:181).

Table 2: Basic statistical data on published newspapers/magazines by countries and numbers of titles

<i>Published newspapers and magazines</i>	2011	2012
Macedonia	117	165
Montenegro	195	167
Serbia	1546	1671

According to the Table 2, created by the data from Statistical Offices, despite of the rapid expansion of information technologies the numbers of titles of newspapers and magazines in these countries are still constant or with slight decrease. It proves the fact that people still rely on the professional journals and signed stories.

There is no doubt, journalism faces challenging times. Since the turn of the millennium, the financial health of the news industry has failed, mainstream audiences are on the decline, and professional authority, credibility and autonomy are eroding. While over the course of the twentieth century, mass media succeeded in unifying large communities of readers – and in some instances they still do – this seems to be disintegrating. The rise of social media can be understood here as a

sign of a general cultural trend whereby audiences are turning into active media producers leading some to herald a new era of participatory journalism. This participatory culture challenges the top-down model of journalism by allowing anyone to post and upload content without formal, editorial moderation or filtering processes. Citizens are no longer passive receivers, but rather are actively engaged in (re) creating, challenging, questioning, correcting, and personalizing news media (Peters, Broersma, 2013:115).

Looking at the future, journalists see themselves in a threatened situation because of their competitors, non-professional people who use the power of the Internet and availability of information and possibility for fast publishing their stories. The hardest loss faced by journalists is losing its monopoly position of being only information sources. That situation brings them into the world of competition which always gives better results and many options for the consumers. Evaluation of the journalism goes together with the technological changes so in that scenario, innovation just helps being in step of new trends and close to new habits of the population.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this paper has been to examine the significance of information in our daily life and sources from which we consume them. Journalism plays an enormous role in the process of opinion making in our society. Therefore, the journalist's obligation is to observe the content that is offered to the public. One of the most significant benefits that makes social media more available is the fact that news come more quickly than a traditional print newspaper. Even the traditional newspaper edition is available online, the probability of not showing the whole content is always present. Social media sites allow the rapid spread of information between users and allow events to be instantly reported and broadcast online. Concluding the benefits from traditional journalism we must point that they are still applicable as more reliable. Although the social media are in step with the written word and despite of, the indisputable speed of digital information, the relationship of trust between journalists and their consumers, is still unbreakable. It is hard to predict the future of news consumers and their habits, but it's more secure that need for quick access of information is most valuable and the role of social media in news consumption gives them that privilege. Despite the fact that domination of online news creators is enormous, popularity always depends on the creativity of the content and talent of the author. From this point of view seems that coexistence of citizen-generated and professional content can have a reasonable solution if both of them possess consumers and benefit from them.

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MA Dijana Subotički, doktorantkinja¹

ACIMSI - Centar za rodne studije Univerziteta u Novom Sadu
(Republika Srbija)

Odlike kampanje u medijima pred parlamentarne izbore 2014. u Srbiji

Apstrakt: Rezultat izbora za narodne poslanike u Skupštini Srbije koji su održani 16. marta 2014. godine iznenadio je i apsolutne pobednike - Srpsku naprednu stranku, na čelu sa Aleksandrom Vučićem, osvojenim brojem glasova od 48,35 procenata, odnosno 158 mandata od mogućih 250. Centar za monitoring Kuće ljudskih prava i demokratije (koji čini pet nevladinih organizacija: Građanske inicijative, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Komitet pravnika za ljudska prava, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava i Centar za praktičnu politiku) jedan od onih koji su u procesu monitoringa štampanih medija zaključili da je glavni trend kampanje ogromna podrška medija vladajućoj Srpskoj naprednoj stranci i izrazito negativna kampanja u nekoliko dnevnih listova protiv opozicione Demokratske stranke.

U ovom radu razmatramo diskursne odlike kampanje pred parlamentarne izbore u vodećim štampanim medijima u Srbiji u odabranom periodu ukazujući na nedostatak nekritičnih elemenata. Dajemo pregled kvantitativnih i kvalitativnih rezultata zastupljenosti aktera, sa posebnim akcentom na rodne odlike. Ukazujemo da preovlađuju kratke novinarske forme u kojima su prenete glavne poruke govornika kampanje, čime su političke stranice novina pretvorene u prostor za PR.

Ključne reči: izbori, kandidati/kinje, javni servisi, mediji, predizborna kampanja

¹ E-mail: dijanasuboticki@yahoo.com

MA Dijana Subotički, PhD candidate
ACIMSI - Centre for Gender Studies, University of Novi Sad
(Republic of Serbia)

The characteristics of a media campaign ahead of parliamentary elections in Serbia 2014.

Abstract: Results of elections of MPs for the Assembly of Serbia held on March 16th 2014. surprised the absolute winner - Serbian Progressive Party, led by Aleksandar Vučić, by the number of votes won by 48.35 percent, or 158 out of 250 mandates. Centre for monitoring of Human Rights and Democracy (which consists of five non-governmental organizations: Civic Initiatives, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and the Centre for Practical Policy) was one of those who were in the process of monitoring of print media, and have concluded that the main trend of the campaign was a huge media support to the ruling Serbian Progressive Party and the extremely negative campaign in several newspapers against the opposition Democratic Party.

In this study we are considering the discourse characteristics of campaign ahead of parliamentary elections in leading print media in Serbia in selected period pointing to the lack of noncritical elements. We give the review of qualitative and quantitative results of representativeness of main participants, with the special view to gender characteristics. We point to the fact that short journalist forms prevail in which the main messages of the orators in the campaign are transmitted, which made political pages of newspapers into PR section.

Key words: elections, *candidate, public service, media, campaign for elections*

Uvod

“Otvorenost medija za političke partije” naslov je petog poglavlja prvog celovitog izveštaja o medijskoj situaciji u Srbiji (2012) na osnovu 27 indikatora Saveta Evrope o slobodama izražavanja, informisanja i medija, koji je objavljen u publikaciji “Medijske slobode Srbije u evropskom ogledalu”. U njemu se navodi da pravni propisi i samoregulativne mere obavezuju medije da ostvaruju pravičan i ravnopravan tretman političkih partija, ali mediji ni od regulatora, ni od profesionalnih udruženja, ni od publike ne trpe posledice ako ove obaveze ne poštuju. „U vreme izborne kampanje, drastična medijska diskriminacija partija ili kandidata je retka, ali ravnopravnost izbornih učesnika nije opšteprihvaćena norma. U svakodnevnom medijskom izveštavanju, većina medija favorizuje vladajuće partije, dajući im veći i pozitivniji publicitet, bilo zbog finansijske zavisnosti u visoko partokratizovanoj državi ili direktnih političkih pritisaka“²

“Izorno izveštavanje spada u područja koja su najpreciznije regulisana i teško se može naći neko drugo područje novinarskog rada koje ima tako jasno razrađene preporuke i pravila. Bez obzira na to, novinari su izloženi različitim metodama manipulacije i pritisaka” (Malović, 2004:43).

U kampanji pred parlamentarne izbore koji su u Srbiji održani 16. marta 2014. godine, Republička radiodifuzna agencija (RRA) po prvi put je sproveda kvantitativna merenja zastupljenosti političkih aktera u medijima sa nacionalnom (i nekoliko sa manjom pokrivenošću) koja je objavljivala tokom same kampanje, tako da su redakcije bile u prilici da promene svoje izveštavanje kako bi ono bilo izbalansirano.

Prema izveštaju o nadzoru nad radom emitera tokom predizborne kampanje za republičke i lokalne izbore 2014. godine - statistika predizbornog programa za period 29.1 - 28.2.2014. godine od ukupnog predizbornog vremena, svih nivoa izbora (republički i lokalni), na svim televizijama zbirno,³ “najveću zastupljenost imala izborna lista ‘Aleksandar Vučić - budućnost u koju verujemo’ sa 20,16%. Sledi izborna lista ‘Sa Demokratskom strankom, za demokratsku Srbiju’ sa 16,51%, zatim

² Indikator 5, izveštaja NUNS-a iz 2012.

³ Emitovano je 93,99% informativnog programa (88,89 redovnog informativnog programa i 5,10 specijalizovanih predizbornih emisija) i 6,01% predizbornog plaćenog programa (5,51% predizbornih oglasnih poruka - spotova i 0,50% predizbornih plaćenih termina). Izmereno je da je najviše predizbornog vremena bilo na programu TV B92 (26,32%), da sledi RTV 1 sa 20,91%, a iza nje su TV Pink (16,94%) i RTS 1 (14,55%). Ostali TV emiteri zastupljeni su sa po manje od 8%.

RRA (2014). Izveštaj o nadzoru nad radom emitera tokom predizborne kampanje za republičke i lokalne izbore 2014. godine, (za period 29.01.2014 - 28.02.2014.), str. 3. dostupno na <http://www.rra.org.rs/uploads/useruploads/izvestaji-o-nadzoru/IZBORI-presek-29-01-28-02.pdf>.

Posmatrano po emiterima, najveću razlike RRA je izmerila: Na kanalu TV Pink: SNS više od tri puta zastupljenija je od liste DS (32,53%:10,58%). Kod emitera TV B92: evidentirana je tri puta veća zastupljenost izborne liste SNS u odnosu na izbornu listu NDS. Na kanalu Hepar TV gde su NDS (28,91%) i DS (25,57%) pojedinačno ostvarile više od pet puta veću zastupljenost u odnosu na listu SNS (4,93%). Ogromna razlika uočena je i kod TV Prva gde su pojedinačno, liste „Čedomir Jovanović - Liberalno demokratska partija“ (25,24%) i NDS (24,72%), dva puta zastupljenije od liste SNS (12,46%). *Isto*, str 5.

izborna lista 'Boris Tadić - NDS - Zeleni - LSV-ZZS, VMDK, ZZV, DLR' sa 14,05%, dok je na četvrtom mestu izborna lista 'Ivica Dačić - SPS - PUPS - JS' sa 11,70%. Ostale izborne liste imale su pojedinačnu zastupljenost manju od 9%.⁴

RRA je konstatovala da je u vestima i dnevnicima u programima svih televizija najveću zastupljenost imala izborna lista SNS (22,67), na drugom mestu je izborna lista DS (14,70%), na trećem NDS (12,29%). Iznad 10% učešća imali su SPS, LDP, a ispod 10% DSS i URS,⁵ dok su ostale izborne liste bile pojedinačno zastupljene sa manje od 4%.⁶

S druge strane, Biro za društvena istraživanja (BIRODI) je u periodu od 26.2. do 11.3.2014. godine sproveo monitoring medija – centralnih informativnih emisija TV stanica i izabranih „talk show“ emisija sa izbornim temama. Cilj monitoringa je bio informisanje javnosti o ponašanju TV stanica tokom poslednje dve nedelje kampanje, kao i ukazivanje na slučajeve odstupanja od standarda profesionalnog izveštavanja/rada. Zoran Gavrilović, glavni analitičar BIRODI naveo je da je: *“Kampanja bila dominantno promotivna, više nego za parlamentarne izbore 2012. godine, čemu je doprinelo postojanje fenomena “partijskih” kamera. Tematski plitka – redukovana na ekonomska pitanja. I u ovom izbornom ciklusu je primetno postojanje funkcionerske kampanje u kojoj su Ivica Dačić kao predsednik Vlade i Aleksandar Vučić kao prvi potpredsednik dominantno zastupljeni. Postojala je nejednaka zastupljenost stranaka, odnosno imali smo izbore “na dva sprata”: Liste okupljene oko SNS-a koji se bori za većinu i ostale liste koje se bore da pređu cenzus”*

Budući da nijedna institucija nema obavezu praćenja izborne kampanje, odnosno zastupljenosti političkih aktera u štampanim medijima, dragoceni su podaci Centra za monitoring *Kuće ljudskih prava i demokratije* (u daljem tekstu Centar) koji je prezentovao nedeljne analize pisanja dnevne štampe o političkim strankama. Za period od 24. februara do 1. marta 2014. godine analizirano je pisanje osam dnevnih listova (*Danas, Politika, Blic, Alo, Kurir, Informer, Večernje novosti* i *Naše novine*). U pogledu metodologije analize saopšteno je da su izostavljeni svi članci u kojima novinari analiziraju izbore ili neki njihov aspekt, kolumne, komentari i slični tekstovi. Takođe, nisu analizirani članci u kojima se prenose međusobne svađe na ličnoj osnovi predstavnika političkih stranaka. Na osnovu analize, Centar je zaključio da SNS ima ubedljivo najveću zastupljenost u dnevnoj štampi. “Značajna novost je da su, uz tradicionalno profesionalni dnevni list *Danas*, dnevni listovi *Blic* i *Alo* imali vrlo ujednačeno i fer predstavljanje političkih stranaka. Dnevni list *Danas* je jedini koji ima kritičke tekstove o Srpskoj naprednoj stranci.”⁷ Centar je u zaključku analize konstatovao da je od osam dnevnih listova, njih četiri, *Kurir, Informer, Večernje novosti* i *Politika* neskriveno favorizovalo SNS, dok je *Naše novine* blago favorizuju.

⁴ Isto. str 5.

⁵ Zbog ekonomije teksta u daljem navođenju učesnika izbora koristićemo samo nazive vodećih partija koje su bile nosioci lista.

⁶ Isto. str. 7.

⁷ Više na: <http://www.bgcentar.org.rs/analiza-novinskih-tekstova/>.

Centar je u analizi za period od 3. do 8. marta 2014. godine utvrdio da je SNS favorizovana u pet od posmatranih osam listova (*Novosti, Alo, Politika, Kurir i Informer* – procenat zasupljenosti od 31 do 65 odsto), kao i da dnevni listovi *Blic* i *Naše novine* te nedelje nisu favorizovali nijednu stranku, dok dnevni list *Danas* drži ubedljivo prvo mesto po fer tretmanu i po raznolikosti tema koje obrađuje, ali i po tome što je jedini dnevni list koji kritički piše o SNS. Centar je upozorio da se izrazito negativna kampanja vodi protiv najveće opozicione stranke u dnevnim listovima *Kurir* i *Informer*. “*Kurir* je imao 14 članaka o Demokratskoj stranci i svih 14 su izrazito negativni (nasuprot tome objavljeno je 30 članaka o SNS-u i svi su pozitivni).”⁸

Cilj rada

“U kojoj meri i zašto možemo tvrditi da su izborne kampanje važne? Ako je temeljni zadatak izbornih kampanja “informisati birače o opcijama koje su im na raspolaganju te podstaći izbornu participaciju građana” (Norris i dr, 1999:20), onda to pitanje najpre treba da odgovori na to koliko i kako one taj svoj primarni cilj zaista i ispunjavaju, doprinoseći tako demokratskom procesu. Međutim, u svetlu savremene prakse izbornih kampanja i žučnih rasprava o njihovim stvarnim učincima, to se pitanje takođe može odnositi na moć kampanja da određenoj političkoj opciji obezbede glasove birača” (Grbeša, 2006:49).

U kom obimu i na koji način su štampani mediji u Srbiji informisali birače o učesnicima/cama izbora za narodne poslanike 2014. godine, pitanje je na koje tražimo i nudimo odgovore u ovom radu. Cilj rada je da pokaže kako su reprezentativni štampani mediji izveštavali u finišu predizborne kampanje, koliko su podsticali demokratske procese, a koliko bili u službi PR-a pojedinih partija.

“Među naučnicima i analitičarima raste zabrinutost da savremene kampanje – kako ih praktikuju stranke, a prate mediji – ugrožavaju demokratski proces. S jedne strane, tehnikama *spina* i prodaje nastoje se zamagliti pravi problemi, imidž i osobnost kandidata guraju se u prvi plan na štetu stranačkih programa i konkretnih rešenja, a političari proračunato kreiranim oglasima i nastupima podilaze emocijama birača... Umorni i skeptični, birači se sve manje uključuju u političke aktivnosti” (Grbeša, 2006:52).

Metodološko- teorijski okvir i korpus

„Analiza diskursa odabrana je kao produktivna metoda za istraživanje odnosa između jezika/medijskog teksta i društva, koju od ostalih društvenih nauka razlikuje to što ne polazi *a priori* od teorije i metode, mada se tokom analize oslanja i na ova dva dominantna elementa, već od same teme istraživanja“ (Valić Nedeljković, 2010. u Valić Nedeljković, Kleut, 2013:64).

⁸ <http://www.bgcentar.org.rs/analiza-stampanih-medija-u-predizbornoj-kampanji-3-8-mart-2014-godine/>

“Njen osnovni cilj jeste *interpretacija značenja* i otuda *kritičko* propitivanje društvenog i kulturnog, pre svega ideološkog i političkog, konteksta posebno među istraživačima koji sebe svrstavaju u one koji se bave *kritičkom analizom diskursa*. U tom smislu je ova analiza moćno sredstvo za *dekonstrukciju* raznih oblika moći u društvu, a jedna takva moć je u institucijama i pojedinim autoritetima” (Valić Nedeljković, 2010:16)

Korpus empirijskih podataka čine tekstovi štampanih izdanja četiri dnevna lista iz Srbije: *Blica*, *Kurira*, *Danasa* i *Politike*.

Za analizu su odabrane poslednje dve sedmice kampanje, tačnije poslednjih jedanaest dana (od ponedeljka 3. do četvrtka 13. marta 2014.) do početka predizborne tišine koja traje na dan održavanja izbora (16. marta i dva dana koja joj prethode 14. i 15. marta).

Analiziramo tekstove *Blica* deset izdanja od broja 1626 do 1636, deset izdanja *Kurira* od broja 28 do 38, deset izdanja *Danasa* (jer vikendom ima dvobroj) od broja 5999 do 6008 i jedanaest izdanja *Politike* od broja 36032 do 36042. Iz svakog lista analiziramo samo tekstove koji po temi, akterima ili rubrici obuhvataju predizbornu kampanju, tačnije one u kojima se pojavljuju učesnici predizborne kampanje.

„Pod novinskim izvještajem Van Dajk (Van Dijk, 1988b:4) podrazumeva ‘onu vrstu teksta koja pruža informacije o skorijim događajima’. Rea (Reah, 1998: 4) proširuje ovu definiciju, podrazumevajući pod veću ‘informaciju o skorijim događajima koji su od interesa za dovoljno veliku grupu ili koji mogu uticati na živote dovoljno velike grupe ljudi.’” (Lakić, 2009:92).

Po uzoru na određenje koje primenjuje Svenka Savić novinske tekstove određujemo formalnim (vizuelnim) kriterijumom: tekst je ono što se nalazi između belina na stranici novina. „U tom pogledu kao deo teksta računamo i fotografije, crteže, karikature i druge materijale izražene drugim znakovnim sistemima. Ovakva je odrednica teksta zato da pokažemo prelaze tekstova iz jednog žanra u druge žanrove i druge znakovne forme, povezano sa smenom vrednosti onoga o čemu tekstovi informišu“ (Savić, 2013:11).

Po uzoru na slična istraživanja kojima se rukovodi Dubravka Valić Nedeljković za potrebe analize izrađen je kodni list. U njemu je 12 osnovnih elemenata za kvantitativnu analizu koje dalje delimo na podkategorije, a dobijeni podaci stvaraju bazu za kvalitativnu analizu.

Identifikaciju tekstova utvrđujemo na osnovu odrednice svakog broja novina kao što su datum, stranica, naziv rubrike. Veličinu teksta određujemo na osnovu fizičkog prostora koji obuhvata svaki tekst i delimo u tri grupe: na mali, ukoliko ima do 120 reči (najčešće zauzima do četvrtine stranice), od 120 do 300 reči je srednji (najčešće polovina strane) i od 300 reči pa naviše je veliki tekst (cela strana).

Pravimo klasifikaciju na tekstove koji imaju fotografiju koju smatramo delom teksta (karikaturu, grafiku, sliku, crtež) i one koji je nemaju, tako da dodatno analiziramo i samu fotografiju (gledamo da li su na njoj pojedinci ili grupe).

Autorstvo teksta određujemo na osnovu kategorizacije Svenke Savić „nepotpisan tekst, inicijali ličnog imena i prezimena, inicijal za lično ime i puno prezime,

puno lično ime i prezime; titula lično ime i prezime, agencijska vest“ (Savić, 1996).

Žanr teksta određujemo na osnovu sadržaja, pa tako prepoznajemo: vest, izveštaj, intervju, izjavu, saopštenje, lični stav (komentar, osvrt, kolumnu, odnosno ovde svrstavamo one tekstove u kojima autori pišu o nekome/nečemu iz ličnog ugla i ne moraju biti novinari niti medijski radnici).

Objekte tekstova klasifikujemo prema frekvenciji pojavljivanja (najzastupljenije političare), a zasebno utvrđujemo subjekte tekstova.

Kvantitativan obuhvat teksta utvrđujemo na osnovu kriterijuma - medijski povod: medijska inicijativa, pseudo događaj, aktuelan događaj, reakcija na aktuelan događaj, autorski tekst, plaćeni oglas (koji liči na redovan tekst).

Posebnu kategoriju za analizu čine tekstovi u kojima su političarke, odnosno kandidatkinje na izborima.

Kvantitativni i kvalitativni rezultati analize

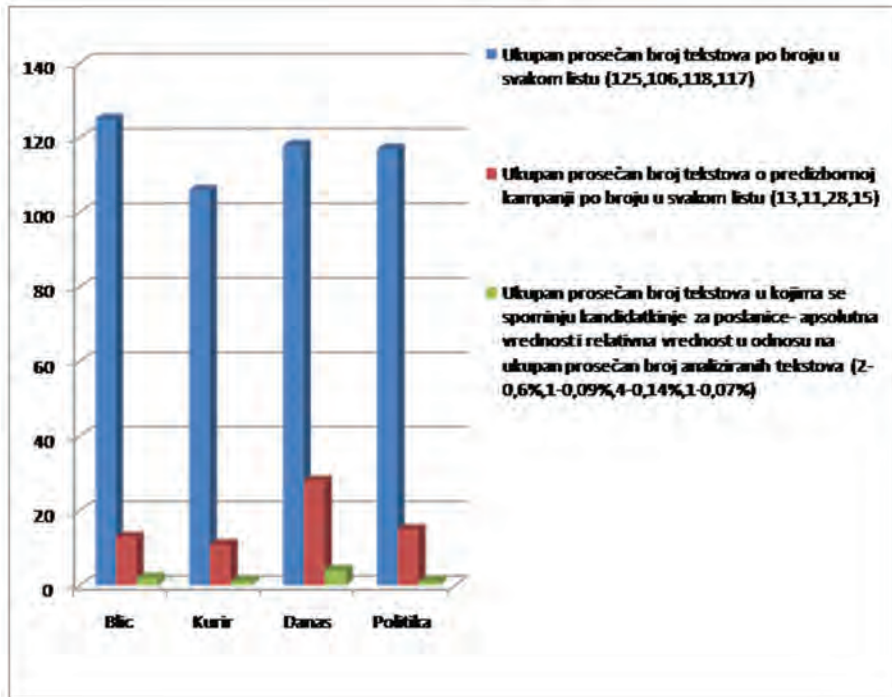
Ukupan broj tekstova u svakom listu u navedenom periodu glasi: *Blic* 1625, *Kurir* 1378, *Danas* 1534, *Politika* 1521, što je zbir od 6058 tekstova, kako je predstavljeno u tabeli broj 1.

Tabela broj 1. Ukupan korpus (3.3.-13.3.2014)

Naziv dnevnog lista	Ukupan broj tekstova po broju u svakom listu	Ukupan <i>prosečan</i> broj tekstova po broju u svakom listu	Ukupan broj analiziranih tekstova o predizbornoj kampanji u svakom listu	Ukupan <i>prosečan</i> broj tekstova o predizbornoj kampanji po broju u svakom listu	Ukupan broj tekstova u kojima se spominju kandidatkinje za poslanice-apsolutna i relativna vrednost u odnosu na ukupne vrednosti	Ukupan <i>prosečan</i> broj tekstova u kojima se spominju kandidatkinje za poslanice-apsolutna i relativna vrednost u odnosu na ukupne vrednosti
Blic	1625	125	165	13	24 (0,14)	2 (0,6)
Kurir	1378	106	140	11	15 (0,10)	1 (0,10)
Danas	1534	118	372	28	46 (0,13)	4 (0,13)
Politika	1521	117	183	15	19 (0,15)	1 (0,15)
Σ	6058	466	860	82	104 (0,12)	8 (0,09)

Ukupan *prosečan* broj tekstova po broju u svakom listu glasi: *Blic* 13, *Kurir* 11, *Danas* 28, *Politika* 15. dok je prosečen broj tekstova u kojima se spominju kandidatkinje za poslanice zanemarljiv, kako je prikazano u grafikonu broj 1.

Grafikon broj 1: Ukupan prosečan broj tekstova po broju



Broj objavljenih tekstova posvećenih izbornoj kampanji u *Danasu* značajno je veći u odnosu na ostale dnevne listove jer su ove novine jedine imale dodatak posvećen izborima pod nazivom *Predizborna groznica*.

Sva četiri lista u finišu kampanje imala su preovlađujuće male i tekstove srednjeg formata (do polovine strane), što znači da su prednost dali vestima. *Blic* je objavio više malih tekstova (58%) od onih srednje veličine (18%) i velikih (25%) zajedno, *Danas* (45%) i *Politika* (49%) su imali najviše srednjih, zatim malih (38% i 46%) i najmanje velikih tekstova (17% i 5%), dok je *Kurir* imao podjednak broj malih i velikih tekstova (po 37%), jer je imao čitav ciklus tekstova u kojima je vodio optuženičku kampanju protiv određenih opozicionih političara.

Kada je u pitanju žanr teksta koji je kao kategorija direktno povezan sa veličinom teksta *Blic* i *Politika* su objavili najveći broj izveštaja i izjava, slede prezentacije istraživanja, pa saopštenja i lični stavovi, dok je najmanje intervjua, što se vidi u grafikonu broj 2.

Grafikon 2. Zastupljenost žanrova u sva četiri lista



Danas je objavio najveći broj ličnih stavova, slede izveštaji, pa istraživanja, izjave, vesti, intervjui i saopštenja, dok je *Kurir* imao više od 52 procenta izveštaja i približno isti broj izjava i intervjua, kako je navedeno u tabeli broj 2 u kojoj iskazujemo relativne vrednosti.

Tabela 2. Relativne vrednosti – Odnos vrste teksta prema ukupnoj količini analiziranih tekstova, po listu i ukupno

Naziv dnevnog lista	Žanr teksta							Ukupno analiziranih tekstova
	Intervju	Izjava	Vest	Istraživanje	Saopštenje	Izveštaj	Lični stav	
Blic	4,24%	27,88%	7,88%	13,94%	9,70%	28,48%	7,88%	100,00%(165)
Kurir	12,86%	13,57%	7,86%	8,57%	4,29%	52,14%	0,71%	100,00%(140)
Danas	7,26%	12,10%	8,33%	15,59%	4,84%	22,85%	29,03%	100,00%(372)
Politika	5,46%	24,04%	8,20%	6,01%	11,48%	28,96%	15,85%	100,00%(183)
Σ	7,21%	17,91%	8,14%	12,09%	7,09%	30,00%	17,56%	100,00%(860)

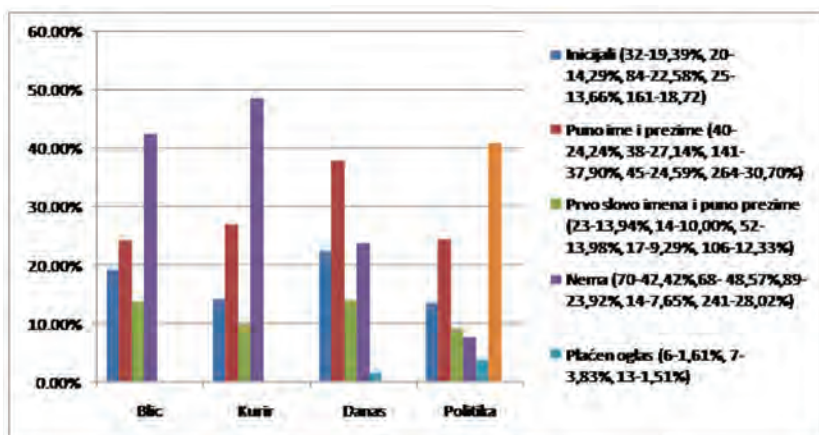
U kategoriju „lični stav“ uvrstili smo skoro trećinu ukupnih tekstova predizborne tematike *Danas*, jer je ovaj list celu poslednju stranicu predizbornog dodatka opredelio za tekstove tzv. “Četiri asa” u kojima je četvorici autora dat prostor da komentarišu izborni proces, dok se kao u pojedinim danima tu pojavljuju i kolumne Snežane Čongradin. U ovu grupu uvrstili smo i kolumne i različite autorske tekstove iz prednjeg dela lista u kojem različiti autori koji nisu novinari nego češće stručnjaci iz raznih oblasti iz svojih uglova pišu osvrte, analize, prisećanja i slične kolumne, pa su se među njima javili i političari kao potpisnici poput Zorana Živkovića, bivšeg premijera iz Demokratske stranke.

U *Kuriru* postoji samo jedan autorski tekst svrstan u kategoriju *lični stav* i to je tekst koji je potpisala ministarka Zorana Mihajlović, visoka funkcionerka Srpske napredne stranke, koja je bila vrlo aktivna u predizbornoj kampanji, a analiza će dalje utvrditi medijski najvidljivija političarka. Treba istaći da njen tekst ni po rubrici ni po temi ne pripada izbornoj kampanji, ali je ona stalnu rubriku *Kurira* pod nazivom reč stručnjaka iskoristila da piše o temi iz svog resora upravo u vreme kampanje.

Ako imamo u vidu da je pored intervjuja upravo kategorija lični stav od presudne važnosti za listove u periodu predizborne kampanje jer omogućava da različiti akteri analitički sagledaju ono što se nudi, onda u pozitivnom kontekstu moramo izvojiti podatak da je *Danas* imao skoro trećinu takvih tekstova, da je *Politika* imala blizu 16 odsto takvih tekstova, čime nije pokazala potrebu za promenom forme u odnosu na uobičajen način zastupljenosti žanrova u svojoj uređivačkoj politici, *Blic* je ponudio blizu 8 odsto takvog žanra, dok *Kurir* uopšte nije imao takvih rubrika.

U analizi autorstva listova važno je istaći da *Kurir* ima skoro polovinu nepotpisanih tekstova, dok *Blic* ima blizu 43 procenta nepotpisanih tekstova, u *Danasu* je nepotpisana skoro četvrtina tekstova, a blizu 8 odsto je takvih u *Politici* što ilustrujemo grafikonom broj 3.

Grafikon 3. Autorstvo tekstova



Najviše nepotpisanih tekstova je u tabloidu kakav je *Kurir*, sledi ga *Blic* kao polutabloid, *Danas* nije izbegao kategoriju, a najmanju količinu nepotpisanih vesti donosi *Politika*, kao najstariji dnevni list. Ovaj pregled ukazuje na nelogičnost ako ga uporedimo sa prethodno prikazanom žanrovskom strukturom jer pretpostavka može biti da je veliki broj vesti preuzet od agencija, međutim one nisu potpisane. *Politika* je jedini od četiri lista u ovoj analizi, koji *Tanjug*, *Betu* i *Fonet* navodi kao izvor. Međutim, ako imamo u vidu različite izjave aktera izbornog procesa u kontekstu najdominantnijih žanrova i autorstva, gde je manje od 4% u *Politici* i manje od 2% tekstova u *Danasu* obeleženo kao „plaćeni oglas“ jedina pretpostavka je da su redakcije veoma često koristile različita saopštenja partijskih štabova, kako bi obezbedile pregled dešavanja većeg broja učesnika izborne trke.

Po sličnom obrascu listovi funkcionišu i kada pogledamo vizuelnu prezentaciju, odnosno prisustvo fotografije (pod ovim izrazom uvrstili smo i grafiku, tabele, karikature i sl.). Najveći broj tekstova koji je objavljen sa fotografijom je u *Kuriru* - skoro 93%, *Blic* ima blizu 70% tekstova sa fotografijom, sledi *Danas* sa skoro 80%, zahvaljujući dodatku, dok je u *Politici* polovina tekstova imala vizuelnu prezentaciju, kako je predstavljeno u tabeli broj 3.

Tabela 3. Vizuelna prezentacija i procentualna zastupljenost tekstova sa/bez fotografije po listu i ukupno

Naziv dnevnog lista	Vizuelna prezentacija teksta		Ukupno
	Sa fotografijom	Bez fotografije	
Blic	115 (69,70%)	50 (30,30%)	165 (100%)
Kurir	130 (92,86%)	10 (7,14%)	140 (100%)
Danas	297 (79,84%)	75 (20,16%)	372 (100%)
Politika	93 (50,82%)	90 (49,18%)	183 (100%)
Σ	635 (73,84%)	225 (26,16%)	860 (100%)

U analizi tekstova o predizbornoj kampanji važno je sagledati mesta na kojima su pozicionirani. U tabeli broj 4 dat je pregled najčešće tri rubrike. U *Blicu* je najveći broj tekstova (69) objavljen u rubrici *Politika*, slede *Tema dana* (30) i *Vojvodina* (26), u *Kuriru* je 126, odnosno 90 odsto tekstova štampano u rubrici *Vesti* koja obuhvata nekoliko početnih stranica i vrlo je uopštena, dok je nekoliko tekstova pozicionirano na stranicama *Biznisa* i *Hronike*. U *Danasu* je najveći broj (očekivano) na stranicama *specijalnog dodatka Izborna groznica* (67,74%), ali isti naslov dat je u prvim stranicama lista: *Izborna groznica* u kojem je 12,37% tekstova, a manje od 5% našlo se u rubrici *Dijalog*. *Politika* koja nije odredila posebnu rubriku za potrebe izborne kampanje na stranama *Politike* objavila je 34% tekstova, 30% rasporedila je u *Događaje dana*, a manje od deset odsto na stranice *Ekonomije*.

Tabela broj 4. Najčešće rubrike po listovima u kojima su tekstovi o predizbornoj kampanji

Blic (165 tekstova-100%)			Kurir (104 tekstova-100%)		
Naziv rubrike	Broj tekstova u rubrici	% učeće u ukupnom tekstu lista	Naziv rubrike	Broj tekstova u rubrici	% učeće u ukupnom tekstu lista
Politika	69	41,82%	Vesti	126	90,00%
Tema dana	30	18,18%	Biznis	7	5,00%
Vojvodina	26	15,76%	Hronika	5	3,57%
Danas (372 teksta-100%)			Politika (183-100%)		
Naziv rubrike	Broj tekstova u rubrici	% učeće u ukupnom tekstu lista	Naziv rubrike	Broj tekstova u rubrici	% učeće u ukupnom tekstu lista
Izborna groznica: Specijalan dodatak	252	67,74%	Politika	62	34,00%
Izborna groznica	46	12,37%	Događaji dana	54	30,00%
Dijalog	17	4,57%	Ekonomija	17	9,00%

U ulozi objekta (*tabela 5*), dakle onih koji se pominju u tekstu, ali ne dobijaju priliku da govore najčešće su se pojavljivali lideri pet partija, od kojih posljednji sa ove liste nije uspeo da osvoji cenzus i postane član Skupštine Srbije, budući da je Liberalno demokratska partija (LDP) nakon izbora postala vanparlamentarna stranka. Predsednik Srpske napredne stranke (SNS) Aleksandar Vučić najčešće je pominjan u tekstovima sva četiri dnevna lista. Od ukupnog broja tekstova Vučić se u *Blicu* spominje u petini, u *Kuriru* i *Danasu* skoro podjednako 15%, a u *Politici* dva odsto manje - 13%. Predsednik Socijalističke partije Srbije (SPS) Ivica Dačić značajno je ispod Vučića po procentu tekstova u kojima je pominjan. U *Blicu* je to u 12% tekstova, u *Kuriru* 10%, u *Politici* 8,20%, dok je u *Danasu* spominjan u manje od 6% tekstova. Lider Nove demokratske stranke (NDS) Boris Tadić najviše je spominjan u *Kuriru* (12,24%), u *Blicu* i *Danasu* se kao objekat javlja u 8%, dok je u *Politici* imao zastupljenost od 6%. Predsednik Demokratske stranke Dragan Đilas najveći procenat pojavljivanja (čime je blago premašio Aleksandra Vučića) kao objekat imao je u *Kuriru* (koji je vodio izraženu negativnu kampanju protiv ovog političara) 15,71%, dok je u ostala tri lista imao približno isti procenat zastupljenosti od oko 5%. Predsednik LDP Čedomir Jovanović slično Đilas u najveći broj tekstova u kojima je spominjan (negativno) ima u *Kuriru*, dok je oko 4% imao zastupljenost po ovom kriterijumu u preostala tri lista analize.

Tabela 5. Pet najzastupljenijih političara u tekstovima (objekti tekstova) po listu i ukupno (% odnos prema ukupnom tekstu po listu i ukupnom analiziranom tekstu)

Ime, prezime i funkcija	Naziv dnevnog lista: broj tekstova u kojima se pojavljuje 5 najzastupljenijih političara i % učešće				Ukupno tekstova pojedinačno i ukupno po političaru (860=100%)
	Blic (165=100%)	Kurir (140=100%)	Danas (372=100%)	Politika (183=100%)	
1. Aleksandar Vučić, predsjednik Srpske napredne stranke	23 (19,94%)	21 (15%)	53 (14,25%)	24 (13,11%)	121 (14,07%)
2. Ivica Dačić, predsjednik Socijalističke partije Srbije	20 (12,12%)	14 (10%)	22 (5,91%)	15 (8,20%)	71 (8,26%)
3. Boris Tadić, predsjednik Nove demokratske stranke	14 (8,48%)	17 (12,24%)	30 (8,06%)	11 (6,01%)	72 (8,37%)
4. Dragan Đilas, predsjednik Demokratske stranke	8 (4,85%)	22 (15,71%)	22 (5,91%)	9 (4,92%)	61 (7,09%)
5. Čedomir Jovanović, predsjednik Liberalno demokratske partije	6 (3,64%)	12 (8,57%)	15 (4,03%)	8 (4,37%)	41 (4,77%)
Σ tekstova u kojima se pojavljuje 5 najzastupljenijih političara	71 (43,03%)	86 (61,43%)	142 (38,17%)	67 (36,61%)	366 (42,56%)

U analizi subjekata tekstova među liderima partija najveći broj ima Aleksandar Vučić (47 tekstova odnosno 5,47%), drugi je Ivica Dačić (41 tekst odnosno 4,77%), treći Čedomir Jovanović (39 tekstova odnosno 4,53%), četvrti Dragan Đilas (31 tekst odnosno 3,6%) i peti Boris Tadić (23 teksta odnosno 2,67%).

Gledajući po listovima Aleksandar Vučić je najveći broj tekstova u kojima ima subjekatsku ulogu imao u *Blicu*, *Politici* (po 13) i u *Kuriru* (12), dok je u *Danasu* procenat tekstova u kojima je citiran najmanje 9 tekstova, ali manje od 2,5%. Ivica Dačić najveći broj tekstova u kojima govori je imao u *Politici*, pa u *Danasu*, dok su *Blic* i *Kurir* imali identičan broj tekstova u kojima je subjekat. Čedomir Jovanović bio je subjekat u po 12 tekstova u *Danasu* i *Politici*, u 8 u *Blicu* i 7 u *Kuriru*.

Međutim, ovde treba istaći da broj tekstova i procentualno učešće za svakog od nabrojanih nije isto. U skladu sa tim, Dragan Đilas je najveći broj tekstova imao u *Blicu*, ali je procentualno najzastupljeniji u *Politici*, dok slede *Kurir* i *Danas*. Boris Tadić je najčešće bio citiran u *Blicu*, zatim u *Kuriru* i u *Politici*, a najmanje u *Danasu*.

„Ukoliko se u medijima nađe najveći broj priloga/tekstova u kategoriji medijska inicijativa, to znači da su novinari i urednici učinili dodatni napor kako bi svojoj

publici pružili neke informacije koje ne poseduju drugi mediji ili na način koji je svojstven samo tom određenom mediju. Ova kategorija u medijskim istraživanjima mnogo se više ceni u odnosu na aktuelni događaj ili pseudodogađaj, gde je obaveza novinara samo da prati šta se događa, odnosno da prepričava informacije koje mu predstave određeni politički ili društveni akteri“ (Pralica 2013:79). Najveći broj analiziranih tekstova u korpusu od 860 je upravo bila medijska inicijativa, među kojima su u *Kuriru* dominirali tekstovi u kojima se napadaju DS i NDS, treći na listi zastupljenosti je autorski tekst zbog koncepta *Danasa*, dok je aktuelnih događaja manje od 5%. U ovoj kategoriji kao i u kategoriji potpisa posebno izdvajamo plaćeni oglas, jer je LDP u *Danasu* i *Politici* imao seriju tekstova na naslovnoj strani koja je vizuelno izgledala kao novinski izveštaj sa fotografijom lidera, međutim tek iščitavanjem celog teksta i pažljivim gledanjem fotografije u uglu bismo sasvim sitnim i tankim slovima mogli naći oznaku plaćeni oglas. (tabela 6)

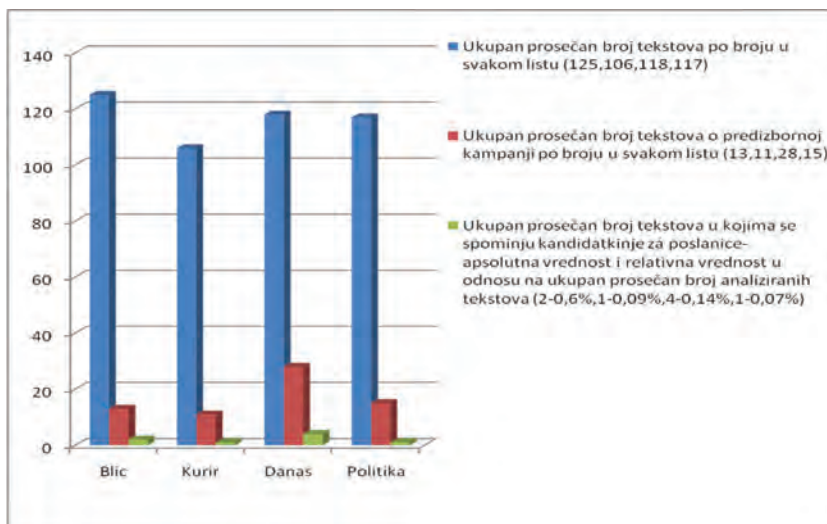
Tabela 6. Kvantitativan obuhvat teksta na osnovu kriterijuma-medijski povod, po listovima (apsolutno i relativno iskazano) i ukupno

Naziv dnevnog lista	Medijska inicijativa	Pseudo događaj	Aktuelan događaj	Aktuelan događaj koji je reakcija	Autorski tekst	Plaćen oglas (skriveni)	Ukupno
Blic	54 (32,73%)	71 (43,03%)	28 (16,97%)	6 (3,64%)	6 (3,64%)	/	165 (100%)
Kurir	52 (37,14%)	55 (39,29%)	25 (17,86%)	7 (5%)	1 (0,71%)	/	140 (100%)
Danas	142 (38,17%)	73 (19,62%)	25 (6,72%)	14 (3,76%)	111 (29,84)	6 (1,61%)	372 (100%)
Politika	56 (30,60%)	67 (36,61%)	20 (10,93%)	15 (8,20%)	18 (9,84%)	7 (3,83%)	183 (100%)
Σ	304 (35,35%)	266 (30,93%)	99 (11,51%)	42 (4,88%)	136 (15,81%)	13 (1,51%)	860 (100%)

Svih 19 lista učesnica izbora za narodne poslanike morale su na izbornoj listi među svaka tri kandidata po redosledu imati najmanje po jednog kandidata - pripadnika onog pola koji je manje zastupljen na listi (član 40a Zakona o parlamentarnim izborima). Ako imamo u vidu da je minimum trećina kandidata ženskog pola, mogli bismo očekivati da su kandidatkinje tokom predizborne kampanje u štampanim medijima imale barem trećinu prostora, međutim taj procenat nije ostvaren. Naprotiv, analiza je pokazala da se političarke kao subjekti ili objekti pojavljuju u svega 104 teksta u korpusu od 860. Pored petorice najzastupljenijih političara, u celom korpusu kandidatkinje su potpuno nevidljive. Iz najveće partije SNS izuzetak može biti samo jedna žena i to ministarka Zorana Mihajlović. Ako pogledamo *Blic* pored Mihajlovićke tri i više puta možemo videti guvernerku NBS Jorgovanku Tabaković, koja nije učestvovala na izborima, ali kako je pripadnica SNS, svako njeno

pojavljivanje podsvesno birače asocira na tu partiju. Dva puta se javlja Aleksandra Jerkov portparolka DS. U *Danasu* tri i više puta pored Mihajlovičke pojavljuje se potpredsednica SPS Dijana Vukomanović, Aleksandra Jerkov dva puta, a jednom Maja Gojković kandidatkinja sa liste SNS. U *Kuriru* se ponovo u kategoriji tri i više puta može videti Mihajlovička, a dva puta Jorgovanka Tabaković. U *Politici* tek po jedanput Jorgovanka Tabaković i Dijana Vukomanović. (grafikon 4)

Grafikon 4. Zastupljenost tekstova u kojima se spominju kandidatkinje u sva četiri lista



Ako se slažemo da „mediji neprestano utiču na način našeg razmišljanja, osećanja i delanja. To što nam taj proces nije vidljiv ne znači da ne postoji“ (Poter, 2011:127), onda činjenično stanje o odsustvu prezentacije žena u kampanji moramo sa pažnjom razmatrati. U poslednjoj sedmici kampanje uglavnom se upućuju zaključne poruke partija, međutim, partijski programi i građanska participacija bili su u drugom planu u ovoj kampanji.

U *Danasu* je poslednje sedmice kampanje, jedini članak o kandidatkinjama Dveri konkretno dao prostor ženama političarkama u medijima. Ključnog 13. marta žene su samo na fotografijama: supruga predsednika Republike Dragica Nikolić, ministarka Slavica Đukić Dejanović, zatim one koje su prethodnog dana obeležile godišnjicu od ubistva premijera Zorana Đinđića: Ružica Đinđić, Nataša Mičić, Jelena Jovanović (vide se u masi kako hodaju) i generalna sekretarka Pokreta socijalista Mirjana Milutinović koja jedina govori u kratkom izveštaju; dok se žena koja nije kandidatkinja Ketrin Ešton vidi na fotografiji sa zasedanja povodom Briselskog sporazuma. U poslednjoj sedmici kampanje u *Kuriru* koji inače obiluje fotografijama spominje se Mila Jovanović, koja je prešla iz odborničke grupe DS u NDS. Prikazane su žene na slikama sa Draganom Đilasom i Borisom Tadićem, nabrajaju se kao

učesnice performansa u dnu teksta, a Dragan Đilas govori o rodnoj ravnopravnosti „Nadam se da ćemo jednog dana dobiti predsednicu DS, ali ne žurimo sa tim“. U periodu od 8. do 13. marta u ovom listu dva puta se može videti Zorana Mihajlović i jednom Jorgovanka Tabaković, a na fotografijama su: Zorana Mihajlović i Maja Gojković iz SNS, dok Slavica Đ. Dejanović govori o izgledima SPS na izborima. Kada gledamo Politiku moramo ukazati na potpuno atipičnu naslovnu stranu u poslednjoj nedelji izbora: u ponedeljak 10. marta 2014. godine na naslovnoj strani su dva oglasa: Svom snagom u reforme Aleksandar Vučić i tekst Čedomira Jovanovića o LDP-u za koji je gotovo nemoguće utvrditi da li je reč o plaćenom oglasu, međutim nijedna fotografija niti naslov teksta ne ukazuju na predizborni period u Srbiji.

Pojedinačno kao objekat tekstova Vučić se pojavio u *Danasu* u najvećem broju tekstova, ali procentualno u odnosu na broj tekstova posvećen kampanji dominaciju je imao u *Blicu*. Sadržaj, odnosno značenje ovih tekstova zahteva zasebnu analizu, jer je *Kurir* imao izrazito negativnu kampanju protiv opozicionih listova, dok je o SNS imao samo pozitivne stavove, čime je u potpunosti bio u službi propagande jedne (vladajuće) partije. Npr. poslednjeg dana kampanje na naslovnoj strani bio je intervju sa Aleksandrom Vučićem i pozitivnim naslovom „*Ne radim ovo zbog izbora, nego zbog budućih generacija!*“ dok je na fotografiji prikazan sa osmehom i podignutom stisnutom pesnicom kao da su rezultati izbora već saopšteni pa trijumfuje, dan ranije u sredu 12. marta na naslovnoj strani bio je intervju sa Ivicom Dačićem i naslovom „*Demokrate se kaju što nas nisu sve pobili 5. oktobra!*“, dok je u utorak 11. marta na naslovnoj strani bio inetrvju sa Borisom Tadićem i naslovom „*Đinđića bi zgrozilo ovo šta Đilas radi!*“, u kojem bivši lider demokrata oštro napada svoje bivše partijske kolege, čime se intervju može svrsti u obračun novih političkih rivala koji odgovara SNS. Ovakvo izveštavanje u kojem mediji poput *Kurira* i *Blica* izrazito pohvalno pišu o SNS, *Danas* pretežno neutralno, dok *Politika* tradicionalno veliki prostor poklanja vladajućim partijama i njenim liderima u ovom slučaju Vučiću i Dačiću (njih dvojica su izjednačeni po broju subjekatske zastupljenosti u Politici) ukazuje na navijačko izveštavanje.

Težište analize ovoga rada bila su izdanja do početka izborne tišine, jer smo pošli od teze da političara nema tokom tišine. Međutim, *Kurir* je kampanju za SNS radio i tokom tišine, pa je u subotu 15. marta na naslovnoj strani objavio veliki naslov „*Udar na političku mafiju*“ sa podnaslovom „*Sledi konačni obračun sa organizovanim kriminalom i korupcijom, kreću hapšenja istaknutih političara koji su zahvaljujući funkcijama godinama izbegavali zatvor*“, čime se aludira na hapšenje bivših pripadnika vlasti koji treba da strepe od vlasti Aleksandra Vučića kao ikone borbe protiv mafije. U istom maniru osvanuo je i nedeljni *Kurir* na dan izbora kada je na naslovnoj stranici objavljen veliki naslov „*Kraj političke mafije*“, i nadnaslovom „*Narod odlučuje*“. Činjenica da imenom i/ili fotografijom neki list nije prikazao učesnika izbora, ali je koristio njegovu retoriku, poruke, objavio tekstove u kojima osuđuje period u kojem na vlasti bila aktuelna opozicija, nedvosmisleno pokazuje navijačku orijentaciju medija.

Kao pozitivan primer rešenja naslovne stranice poslednjeg dana kampanje možemo izdvojiti *Blic* koji je imao naslov "I lopovi su simpatičniji od političara reketasa" sa nadnaslovom "Izbori na Blic: sukob lidera stranaka" u kojem prikazuju okrugli sto lidera partija koji je snimaljen za TV emsiju, a na fotografiji se vide predsednici četiri stranke: LDP, NDS, DS, SPS, sličan tekst bio je i prethodnog dana u kojem je navedeno da se nije pojavio lider SNS.

Analiza je delom dovela u pitanje BIRODI konstatovanu neutralnost *Danasa*. Ovaj list deluje neutralno u poređenju sa svojevrsnom kampanjom koju je vodio *Kurir*, ali to ne može biti merilo. Ukoliko pogledamo brojke iz analize subjekata tekstova u *Danasu*, videćemo da je od petorice lidera partija, Čedomir Jovanović imao najveći broj tekstova (12 odnosno 3,23%), drugi je Ivica Dačić (10 tekstova ili 2,69%), Aleksandar Vučić i Dragan Đilas imaju podjednaku zastupljenost (po 9 tekstova ili 2,42%), a najmanju zastupljenost imao je Boris Tadić (4 teksta ili 1,08%). *Danas* je poslednjeg dana kampanje objavio na naslovnoj strani dva intervjua sa Đilasom i Jovanovićem u istom obimu, dok je dan ranije imao intervju sa Vučićem koji je imao mnogo manju fotografiju na naslovnici od ove dvojice pojedinačno, a ako dublje analiziramo tekstove koje smo žanrovski svrstali u "moj stav", *Danas* blago naginje strujama koje su bile okupljene oko ubijenog premijera Đinđića.

Visoki rezultat za Jovanovića kao subjekta možemo dovesti u vezu sa oglasnim prostorom. Naime, pojavljivanje subjekata u tekstovima *Danasa* i *Kurira* u vezi je sa zakupcima oglasa. SNS je imao najviše zakupljenog reklamnog prostora među učesnicima izbora 91 oglas, NDS 21, LDP 13, SPS 10, Treća Srbija 8, DSS 5 i DS 2. Gledano pojedinačno po distribuciji oglasa u ova četiri lista, SNS je najviše 28 oglasa imao u *Politici*, po 24 imao u *Kuriru* i *Blicu* i 15 u *Danasu*. LDP je imao "skriveno" neprirodno malim fontom naznačene natpise "plaćeni oglas" u oglasima nalik tekstovima u *Danasu* (6) i u *Politici* (7).

Podaci analize subjekata tekstova pokazali su da je Politika izjadnačila Vučića i Dačića sa po 13 tekstova, ali Čedomir Jovanović je treći na listi sa 12 tekstova. Ako imamo u vidu da je LDP upravo *Politiku* izabrao (pored *Danasa*) za novine u kojima će se oglašavati, onda postavljamo pitanje u kojoj meri je taj podatak uticao na njegovu visoku zastupljenost u tekstovima *Politike*?

Treća Srbija je 8 oglasa objavila u *Danasu*, a taj list je objavio intervju na polovini stranice sa predsednikom Aleksandrom Protićem poslednjeg dana kampanje, dok je dan ranije imao veliki intervju sa Nadom Tabaš iz Treće Srbije. Oba teksta opremljena su fotografijama poput onih pravljenih za plakate, dok je Vučićev intervju imao opremu "klasičnih" tekstova sa neretuširanim novinskim fotografijama. Ipak, *Danas* je imao veliko istraživanje u kojem je ispitivao raspoloženje građana Srbije u kojem su rezultati pokazali da će SNS osvojiti iznad 50% podrške na izborima, a nakon izbora pokazalo se da je istraživanje u velikoj meri predvidelo konačan rezultat izbora. Upravo činjenica da je redakcija imala uvid u takve podatke iznenađuje da uredništvo poslednja dva dana kampanje opredeli prostor za intervjue Treće Srbije.

Zaključak

Analiza četiri dnevna lista u predizbornoj kampanji u Srbiji pokazala je potpunu dominaciju SNS na čelu sa Aleksandrom Vučićem, kao i nevidljivost kandidatkinja.

„U vreme izborne kampanje, drastična medijska diskriminacija partija ili kandidata je retka, ali ravnopravnost izbornih učesnika nije opšteprihvaćena norma. U svakodnevnom medijskom izveštavanju, većina medija favorizuje vladajuće partije, dajući im veći i pozitivniji publicitet, bilo zbog finansijske zavisnosti u visoko partokratizovanoj državi ili direktnih političkih pritisaka.“⁹

List *Danas* objavio je najveći broj tekstova o predizbornoj kampanji - 372, *Politika* koja nije imala posebnu izbornu rubriku objavila je 183 teksta o izborima, *Blic* 165, a *Kurir* 104.

Analizom je utvrđen zabrinjavajući broj kratkih tekstova, bez potpisa čemu uzroci mogu biti nenavođenje novinskih agencija i prepričavanje partijskih saopštenja. Budući da su stranački štabovi praktikovali slanje i izveštaja i fotografija i video snimaka, oni su medijima ponudili gotove proizvode svoje propaganda, čime su novine postale puki prenosioci poruka. Ovo je delom ponovljeno i u kategoriji medijska inicijativa, gde je u intervjuima veliki broj pitanja omogućio promociju izbornih aktera, a glavno pitanje bilo je u vezi sa kombinatorikom raspodele vlasti nakon izbora.

“Ponašanje medija u toku predizborne kampanje zaista je od veoma velikog značaja. Uređivačka nezavisnost, integritet i profesionalnost predstavljaju stubove zdravog izveštavanja o izborima. Odsustvo autonomije ili novinarske odgovornosti, u kombinaciji sa previše homogenim medijskim pejzažem, može da iskrivi rezultate izbora” (Lange 2002:4).

9 (Indikator 5, izveštaja NUNS-a iz 2012).

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MA Snežana Bajčeta,¹ doktorand

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

MA Ivana Milošević,² doktorand

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu (Republika Srbija)

Medijski sadržaj između javnog i vlastitog interesa - analiza dnevnog lista *Blic* i televizije *Pink*

Apstrakt: Direktna uticaj vlasništva na medijski sadržaj jedan je od mogućih aspekata kroz koji se oslikava kriza novinarske profesije u Srbiji. Cilj ovog rada je da utvrdi na koji način pojedinci koriste prostor medija čiji su vlasnici za ostvarivanje interesa. Istraživanje obuhvata emitovane priloge na televiziji Pink u periodu od 25. jula do 30. avgusta 2013. godine, kada je vlasnik medija sa nacionalnom frekvencijom koristio televizijski program kao prostor za sukobljavanje sa gradonačelnikom Beograda i urednikom dnevnog lista Blic. Pretpostavka je da vlasništvo disperzovano između internacionalnih kompanija ne pothranjuje ovakvu vrstu krize. Međutim, analiza sadržaja dnevnog lista Blic u istom periodu pokazuje da to nije dovoljan uslov za društveno odgovorno, "fer" izveštavanje.

Ključne reči: *medijsko vlasništvo, medijski sadržaj, javni i vlastiti interes, televizija Pink, dnevni list Blic*

¹ E-mail: snezanabajceta@gmail.com

² E-mail: eve.m ilosevic@gmail.com

MA Snežana Bajčeta, PhD candidate
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

MA Ivana Milošević, PhD candidate
Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade (Republic of Serbia)

Media content between the public and self-interest - Analysis of the daily newspaper Blic and TV Pink

Abstract: The direct impact of ownership on media content is one of the possible aspects through which the crisis of journalism in Serbia is depicted. The aim of this study was to determine how individuals (owners) use media space for their own purposes. The study includes broadcast footage on television Pink in the period from 25 July to 30 August 2013. When the owner of the media with national coverage used a television program as a space for confrontation with the Mayor of Belgrade and editor of the daily newspaper Blic. The assumption is that ownership dispersed among international companies do not take kindly on this kind of crisis. However, analysis of the content of the daily Blic in the same period shows that this is not a sufficient condition for social responsible, “fair” reporting.

Key words: *media ownership, media content, public and self-interest, TV Pink, the daily newspapers Blic*

Uvod

Postojanje uticaja medijskog vlasništva na sadržaj nije upitno. Na to ukazuju medijska teorija i praksa. Stepen i priroda tog uticaja, bez obzira na tip vlasništva – državno ili privatno, koncentrisano u rukama pojedinca ili disperzovano između više transnacionalnih kompanija, mogući su pokazatelji stanja novinarske profesije, posebno kada je reč o odgovornosti novinara i medijskih kuća prema publici i javnosti. Ovo praktično načelo, upisano u Minhenskoj deklaraciji o dužnostima i pravima novinara iz 1971. godine, u osnovi je većine evropskih nacionalnih kodeksa³. Ostvarivost načela „profesionalne odgovornosti prema javnosti, a ne prema vlasniku“ sa stanovišta teoretičara političke ekonomije medija, već dolazi pod znak

³ U Kodeksu novinara Srbije navodi se da su „novinari, odnosno urednici profesionalno odgovorni javnosti (čitaocima, slušaocima i gledaocima) a ne izdavaču/vlasniku (državi i integrisanim grupama) i njihovim privatnim, ekonomskim, političkim i drugim interesima“ (2008: 8)

pitanja, jer „ko poseduje sredstva za proizvodnju, biće u mogućnosti da kontroliše proizvodnju ideja“ (Downey, 2006:17).

Istraživanje o nivou vlasničkog uticaja u 211 štampanih i radio-televizijskih medija, koje je sprovedeno u 32 evropske zemlje, pokazuje da je „viši nivo koncentracije vlasništva u vezi sa višim nivoom vlasničkog uticaja nad medijem i da je vlasnički uticaj veći ukoliko je snaga u okviru kompanije više koncentrisana u rukama pojedinca ili porodice, a ne kompanija“ (Hanretty, 2014:13). Henreti zaključuje i da će vlasnička grupa koja poseduje više medija na nacionalnom nivou imati veći uticaj od grupe čije se medijsko vlasništvo prostire u više zemalja. Najzad, „vlasnički uticaj je u klasičnom antagonizmu sa uređivačkom nezavisnošću“ (ibid.).

Dakle, prema ovom istraživanju, nivo vlasničkog uticaja može biti obrnuto proporcionalan nivou uređivačke nezavisnosti. Međutim da li to znači i da je niži nivo vlasničkog uticaja dovoljan uslov koji omogućava i „profesionalnu odgovornost prema javnosti“, a isključuje „zastupničku“ poziciju medija u odnosu na vlasničke, ili neke druge pojedinačne interese. Odnosno, da li trenutno u Srbiji, u kojoj postoje mediji čiji su vlasnici pojedinci (televizija Pink) i koji su u vlasništvu transnacionalnih korporacija (dnevni list Blic) možemo govoriti o tipu vlasništva kao dominirajućoj determinanti ostvarenog nivoa odgovornosti prema javnosti?

Cilj ovog rada je da pokuša da utvrdi u kojoj meri se medijski sadržaj koristi kao sredstvo za ostvarivanje javnih, odnosno vlastitih interesa u medijima sa različitim vlasničkom strukturom, odnosno da li se u medijima koji imaju različit tip vlasništva ostvaruje i različit nivo „medijske propustljivosti“ interesa koji nisu javni. Pretpostavka je da mediji čije je vlasništvo koncentrisano u rukama pojedinca „propuštaju“ sadržaj u koji su utkani interesi pojedinaca, tj. samih vlasnika. Takođe, pretpostavlja se da u tranzicionim sistemima disperzovano transnacionalno vlasništvo medija nije dovoljan uslov za društveno odgovorno, „fer“ izveštavanje, koje služi isključivo javnom interesu. To znači da je moguće identifikovati „medijsku propustljivost“ pojedinačnih interesa, koji ne moraju isključivo biti vlasnički, već njihovi nosioci mogu biti drugi pojedinci, npr. novinari ili urednici. Najzad, istraživanje treba da pokaže „neutralnu“, odnosno „zastupničku“ poziciju koju pojedini mediji u Srbiji danas zauzimaju.

Istraživanjem su obuhvaćeni prilozi emitovani na televiziji Pink i tekstovi objavljeni u dnevnom listu Blic u periodu od 25. jula do 30. avgusta 2013. godine. Tada je između ova dva medija eskalirao svojevrsni „medijski rat“, čiji je povod izveštavanje dnevnog lista Blic o saobraćajnoj nesreći u kojoj je sin vlasnika televizije Pink „usmrtio sedamnaestogodišnju Andreu Bojanić na pešačkom prelazu u Ustaničkoj ulici u Beogradu“⁴. Prethodno je od 11. do 25. jula 2013. godine „televizija Pink emitovala programske sadržaje koji sadrže nedozvoljeno prikazivanje jednostranih napada na ličnost (Dragana Đilasa) u vezi sa pojedinim ličnostima, odnosno na čiji je izbor, teme i način njenog predstavljanja diskriminatorno uticalo lično uverenje i mišljenje urednika ... ne poštujući obavezu da činjenično izveštavanje jasno

⁴ Blic: 20.jul 2013.

odvoji od stava, mišljenja ili komentara“⁵. NUNS je 25. jula izdalo saopštenje da je televizija Pink zloupotrebila frekvenciju povodom objavljivanja informacija o inicijativi grupe građana koja se zalaže da se ime dnevnog lista Blic promeni u „Smrdljive novine“⁶. Nakon toga televizija Pink počinje svakodnevno da prenosi saopštenja kolegijuma i vlasnika Željka Mitrovića upućena novinarima Blica, „neformalnom vlasniku Blica“ Draganu Đilas, RRA, NUNS-u. Već 27. jula u Blicu je objavljen tekst pod naslovom „Mitrović hoće da učutka Blic“ u kojem se poziva RRA da „hitno prekinu prljavu kampanju Pinka“.

Kako pokazuju podaci Agencije za privredne registre jedini vlasnik TV Pink je Željko Mitrović⁷. Još od svog osnivanja 1994. godine, ova televizija uspeła je da uspostavi pravila igre za komercijalne emitere u celom regionu. Jednostavna filozofija „nema vesti, nema sporta, samo zabava“ pokazala se kao nenadmašno uspešna. Posle 2000. godine, TV Pink je počelo da emituje kratke informativne blokove pokušavajući da se udalji od programske koncepcije zagušene reklamama i jeftinom zabavom. (Open Society Institute, EU monitoring and advocacy program, 2006: 74). Ipak, ova televizija je i danas zadržala prevashodno zabavni karakter, što joj je omogućilo lidersko mesto u gledanosti programa. Prema podacima ABG Nielsen-a za prvi kvartal 2013. godine televizija Pink je najgledanija u Srbiji sa udelom u gledanosti od 22 odsto (1.503.480 gledalaca) slede RTS 1 sa 21 (1.435.140 gledalaca) i Prva srpska televizija sa 17 odsto (1.161.780 gledalaca).⁸

Dnevni list Blic počeo je da izlazi 1996. godine, a njegovi osnivači bili su Piter Kelbel i Aleksandar Lupšić. Od 2004. godine ovaj dnevni list je u vlasništvu kompanije Ringier d.o.o, a od 2010. kompanija u čijem je Blic vlasništvu menja ime u Ringier Axel Springer d.o.o.⁹. Veselin Simonović je od 1998. godine glavni i odgovorni urednik ovog dnevnog lista¹⁰. Prema podacima ABC Srbija, dnevni tiraž Blica za 2013. godinu je prosečno 113.111 primeraka¹¹, što ga svrstava među najčitanije dnevne listove u Srbiji u toku 2013. godine.¹²

⁵ *Opšte obavezujuće uputstvo o ponašanju emitera* Saveta RRA (Nacionalni dnevnik u 18:30, TV Pink: 30.08. 2013.) povodom izveštavanja Pinka o navodnim zloupotrebama položaja Dragana Đilasa dok je bio gradonačelnik Beograda.

⁶ Nacionalni dnevnik u 18:30, TV Pink: 25.jul 2013.

⁷ Agencija za privredne registre

:<http://pretraga2.apr.gov.rs/enterprisepublicsearch/GenericError.html?aspxerrorpath=/EnterprisePublicSearch/Details/EnterpriseMembers/1041462>, posećeno 30. maja 2014.

⁸ Evropska opservatorija za novinarstvo,<http://rs.ejo-online.eu/tag/abg-nielsen> , posećeno 31. maja 2014.

⁹ Ringier je švajcarska, a Axel Springer nemačka kompanija

¹⁰ Ringier Axel Springer, <http://www.ringieraxelspringer.rs/company/istorijat-kompanije> , posećeno 31. maja 2014.

¹¹ Blic: <http://www.ringieraxelspringer.rs/oglasno-odeljenje/blic> , posećeno 30. maja 2014.

¹² Color press group: <http://www.color.rs/novosti111.html> , posećeno 30. maja 2014.

Metodologija

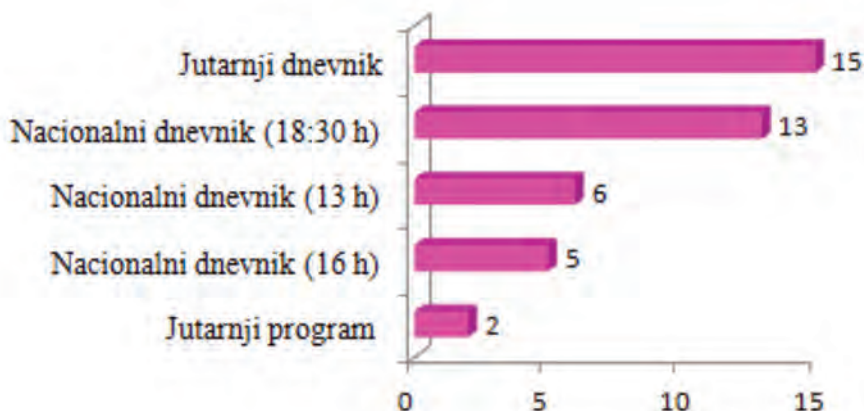
Medijski sadržaj predstavlja konačan medijski „proizvod“, pa su „neutralna“, odnosno „zastupnička“ pozicija medija vidljivi u sadržaju kojem pristupamo metodom analize. Takođe, „medijska propustljivost“ kada su u pitanju vlastiti interesi upravo se oslikava u medijskom sadržaju. Za potrebe ovog rada korišćena je kvantitativno-kvalitativna analiza sadržaja i geneološka analiza, kojim je obuhvaćen 41 prilog emitovan na televiziji Pink i 21 tekst u dnevnom listu Blic. Istraživane varijable su:

- broj objava
- površina teksta/dužina trajanja priloga
- emisija/rubrika
- frekvencija objava
- autori tekstova/priloga
- oblici novinarskog izražavanja (žanrovi)
- dominantni akter (glavni subjekt, sporedni subjekt samo pomenut)
- ton izveštavanja (pozitivan, neutralan, negativan)
- vizuelni format

Budući da je reč o jednom štampanom i jednom televizijskom mediju, te da je zbog toga i jedinica analize – tekst i TV prilog - različita, njihova komparacija je u izvesnoj meri ograničena. Stoga su rezultati kvalitativnog dela analize značajniji u poređenju stepena zastupanja određenih pozicija ova dva medija, pa su u istraživačkom postupku neizostavni deskripcija i eksplikacija.

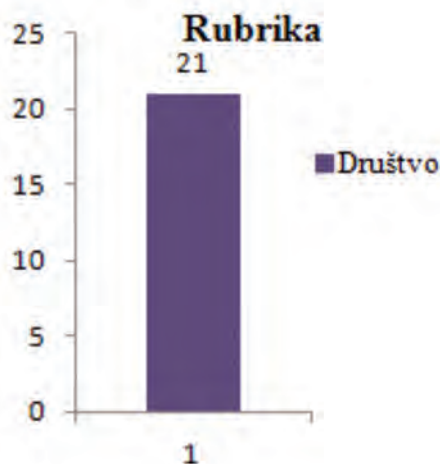
Rezultati istraživanja i diskusija

U analiziranom periodu ukupna dužina trajanja priloga koji su se ticali sukoba sa urednicima i novinarima dnevnog lista Blic, na televiziji Pink iznosila je 128 minuta i 17 sekundi. Od toga je 24 emitovano u informativnim emisijama Nacionalni dnevnik, 13 u Jutarnjem dnevniku i 4 u Jutarnjem programu. U okviru emisije Nacionalni dnevnik, najviše je emitovano u terminu od 18:30 – ukupno 13 priloga, u terminu od 16:00 – 5 priloga i u terminu od 13:00 – 6 priloga (grafikon broj 1). Dužina trajanja priloga je između 50 sekundi i čak 10 minuta i 52 sekunde (36,6% ukupnog trajanja emisije), koliko je trajao intervju sa glavnim urednikom dnevnog lista Informer, emitovan u Nacionalnom dnevniku 11. avgusta. Ovaj intervju repriziran je sledećeg dana u Jutarnjem programu televizije Pink.



Grafikon broj 1:

Ukupan broj analiziranih priloga na televiziji Pink (po emisijama)

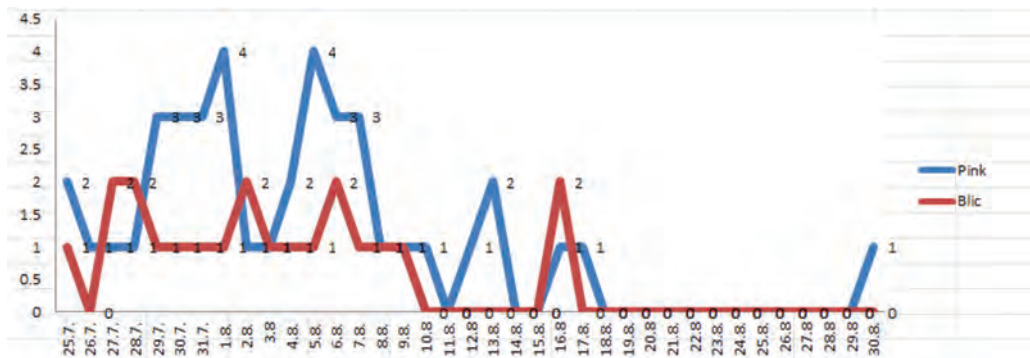


Grafikon broj 2:

Ukupan broj tekstova u Blicu (po rubrikama)

Blic je u istom periodu objavio 21 tekst u vezi sa istom temom na ukupnoj površini od 5632 cm², što je prikazano na grafikonu broj 2. To znači da su u proseku ovi tekstovi zauzimali 269 cm², što je blizu trećine površine stranice lista Blic. Ukupna površina jedne cele strane u ovom dnevnom listu iznosi 975 cm², što znači da je za vreme trajanja sukoba sa televizijom Pinkom objavljeno skoro šest celih strana. Svi su objavljeni u rubrici Društvo, najčešće na devetoj stranici. Kako je Volter Ljiman pisao pre gotovo jednog veka, „svake novine su rezultat cele serije odluka

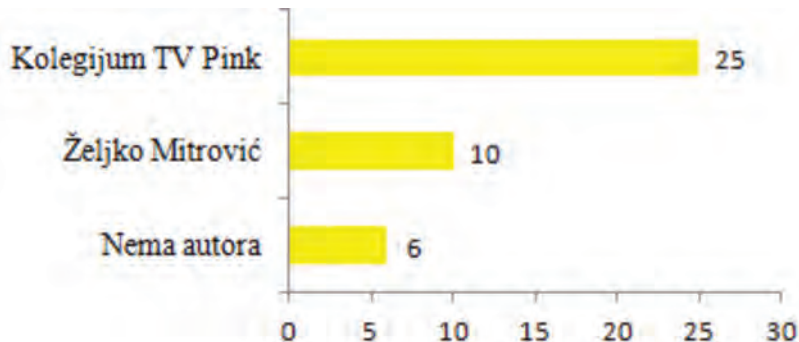
o tome šta da se uvrsti, na kojem mestu na stranici, koliko mesta koje da zauzme, kakvu važnost kojemu treba dati“ (Todorović 2013: 31). Dakle, određivanje agende u novinarstvu (na televiziji, kao i u štampi- S.B., I.M.), podrazumeva ne samo vrstu sadržaja, nego i koje mesto, koliko prostora tom sadržaju dati i koju formu kao najpogodniju u tom slučaju primeniti (ibid.).



Grafikon broj 3:

Frekvencija objava analiziranih tekstova i priloga

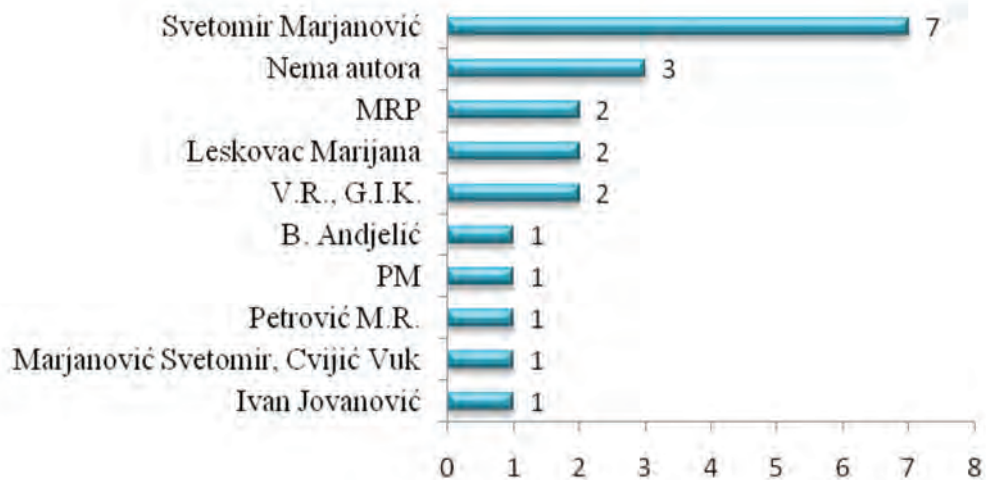
Grafikon broj 3 pokazuje da je televizija Pink od 25. jula do 10 avgusta svakodnevno u svojim emisijama emitovala priloge koji se ticali sukoba sa neistomišljenicima vlasnika tog medija. Emitovano je između jednog i četiri priloga. Na svojim stranicama Blic u istom periodu u samo dva izdanja nije imao tekst o ovoj temi. Desetog avgusta tekstem „Doviđenja do sledećeg rata“ Svetomira Marjanovića Blic se povlači iz medijskog sukoba sa Pinkom i ovim povodom objavljuje još dva teksta 10. avgusta, dok televizija Pink nastavlja sa sukobom do 30. avgusta emitovanjem još 7 priloga.



Grafikon broj 4 :

Autori analiziranih priloga na TV Pink

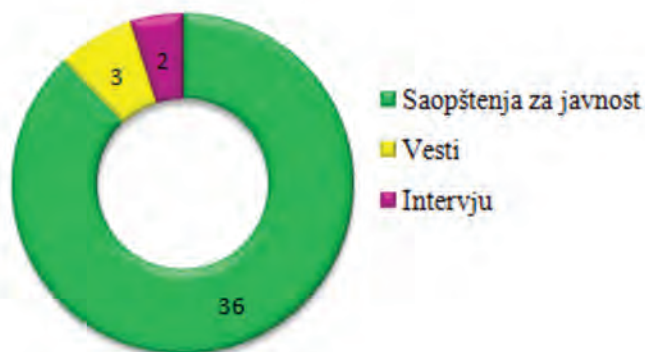
Kako je prikazano na grafikonu broju 4, od ukupnog uzorka 6 priloga nema potpisanog autora, dok je autor 10 priloga vlasnik televizije Pink Željko Mitrović, a 25 priloga potpisuje Kolegijum televizije Pink (uključujući i tri saopštenja Kolegijuma televizije Pink u Crnoj Gori).



Grafikon broj 5:

Autori analiziranih tekstova u Blicu

U Blicu, kako je prikazano na grafikonu broj 5, Svetomir Marjanović je autor 7 tekstova, tri teksta nemaju potpisanog autora, a po dva teksta potpisuju Leskovic Marijana, M.R.P., V.R., G.I.K. i po jedan tekst su napisali B. Andjelić, Ivan Jovanović, P.M., Petrović M. R., i zajedno Marjanović Svetomir i Cvijić Vuk.

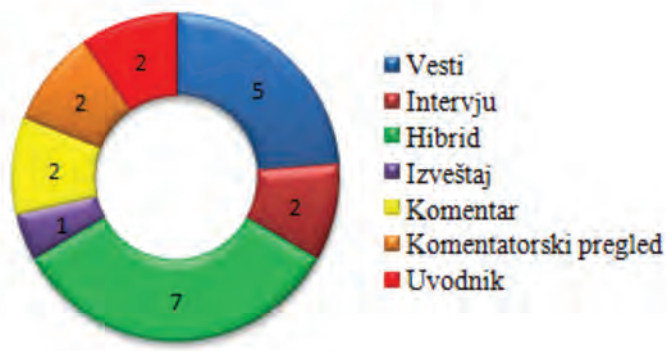


Grafikon broj 6:

Oblici novinarskog izražavanja (žanrovi) analiziranih priloga na TV Pink

Geneološka analiza pokazuje da je na Pinku saopštenje za javnost najčešći oblik (novinarskog) izražavanja, čak 36 od 41 priloga (87,8%), emitovane su 3 vesti (9.75%) i 2 intervjua (2,4%), što prikazuje grafikon broj 6. Saopštenja za javnost se ne mogu uvrstiti u red novinarskih žanrova, budući da je reč o sadržaju koji nije novinarska konstrukcija, već informacija koja se u celosti, direktno od izvora prenosi do publike. U tom slučaju novinar nema ulogu profesionalca koji, „pošto je prikupio sve dostupne činjenice, opisuje i analizira događaje (pojave, ljude) u težnji da ih publici što više i što bolje protumači“ (Todorović, 2002: 12).

Ako istovremeno uzmemo u obzir i varijablu- autor priloga, presek pokazuje da su Željko Mitrović lično i Kolegijum televizije Pink autori svih 36 saopštenja za javnost. Toliko puta je ovaj medij sa nacionalnom frekvencijom u informativnom programu emitovao sadržaj koji predstavlja direktnu poruku novinarima i urednicima dnevnog lista Blic. Izostaje novinarsko prikupljanje činjenica i njihova selekcija, analiza i interpretacija, prezentacija u vidu forme novinarskog izražavanja. Bez ovih zahteva novinarskog profesionalizma nema ni profesionalnog i odgovornog odnosa prema javnosti.

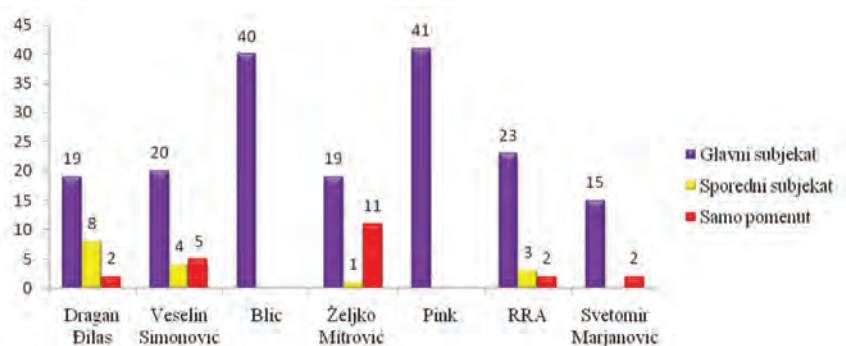


Grafikon broj 7:

Oblici novinarskog izražavanja (žanrovi) analiziranih tekstova u Blicu

U Blicu su najčešći hibridni oblici novinarskog izražavanja- u uzorku ih je ukupno 7; zatim 5 je vesti; 3 intervjua; po 2 uvodnika, komentara i komentatorska pregleđa i jedan izveštaj, što je prikazano na grafikonu broj 7. Dominacija hibrida pokazuje da ja autorima teksta sadržaj imao primat u odnosu na formu. Četiri analizirana hibridna teksta imaju elemente uvodnika, jer predstavljaju „gledište redakcije (kolegijuma, uredništva, vlasnika), kao izraz kolektivne ocene i procene“ (Todorović, 2002:98). Ipak nisu čist žanr zato što se npr. nalazi na devetoj strani („Mitrović hoće da ućutka Blic“), dok se uvodnik obično objavljuje na prvim stranama lista. Zatim, početak u prvom licu množine: „Nezadovoljan našim izveštavanjem...“ (Da li RRA sme da kazni Pink) ukazuje da je reč o uvodniku, ali se u tekstu nalaze i elementi komentara u vidu zaključka sa prognozom daljeg razvoja događaja. Nedostatak analize u vidu argumentovanja za i protiv ne dozvoljava da se ovaj tekst uvrsti u

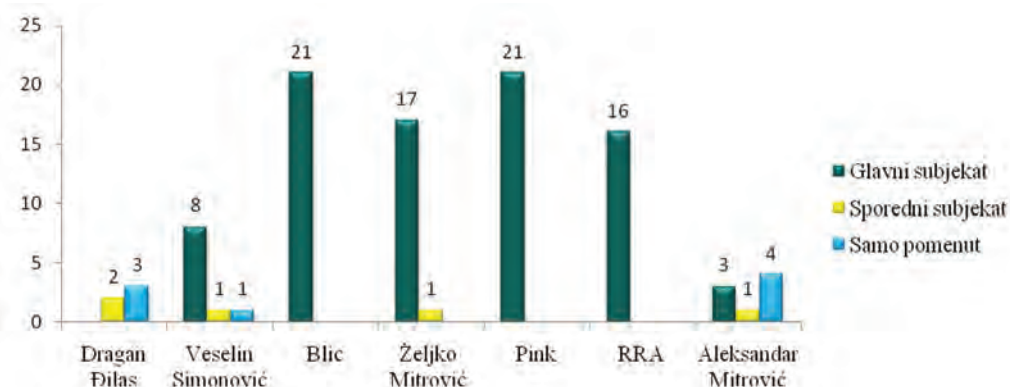
red čistih analitičkih žanrova. Dva puta uvodnički elementi se prepliću sa jednom, odnosno više vesti (*Blic: primitivne uvrede vlasnika Pinka neće nas zaustaviti* i *Mitrović hoće da učutka Blic*), a jedan tekst je mešavina elemenata uvodnika i dokumentarnog žanra komentatorski pregled (*Savet RRA na potezu*). Dva hibridna teksta (*Zašto RRA ćuti na prekršaje Pinka* i *Ko štiti Mitrovića da ne plaća porez*) na početku nagoveštavaju da je reč o članku, međutim površnost i izostanak sveobuhvatne analize ove tekstove udaljavaju od čistih analitičkih oblika izražavanja. Činjenica da u analiziranom uzorku ne nalazimo članak takođe ukazuje da Blic o ovoj temi nije ponudio interpretaciju koja bi obuhvatila više uglova i pogleda. Hibridni tekst *Mitroviću samo opomena zbog napada na Blic* u osnovi je vest-izjava člana Saveta RRA, uokvirena senzacionalističkom interpretacijom (*Verovali ili ne...*) i antrfileom, naslovljenim sa *Koliko zarađuju i troše u Savetu RRA*. Na jednostran pristup u sagledavanju problema ukazuju i dva udovnika (*Savet RRA na potezu* i *RRA mora da postupi po zakonu*), koji u čistim formama izražavaju stav ovog dnevnog lista. Sadržaj objavljenih intervjuova takođe je u saglasnosti sa pozicijom Blica. U jednom (*Mitrović ne plaća plate radnicima*) neimenovani sagovornik navodi činjenice optužuje Pink da ne izmiruje svoje obaveze, a u drugom (*Novac dobijen na sudu daćemo za obolelu decu*) sagovornica je generalna direktorka kompanije „Ringier Axel Springer“ u čijem je vlasništvu list Blic. Analiza uzorka pokazuje da je među čistim novinarskim žanrovima 5 vesti (*NUNS osudio vređanje Blica, Mitrović čeka nalaze veštačenja, Izbacio redakciju "Blica" u Podgorici mimo zakona, RRA o napadima Pinka sledeće nedelje* i *Tužbe protiv Pinka i Informera*), 2 komentara (*Umesto kazne dozvola za četiri porno kanala* i *Mitroviću uzimaju studio ukoliko ne plati porez*), jedan izveštaj (*Pink kažnjen, ako nastavi sa napadima, ode frekvencija*) i dva komentatorska pregleda (*Tri neistine u jednoj rečenici Željka Mitrovića* i *Mitrovićeva programska šema: zloupotrebe i uvrede*). Izražavanje u formi dokumentarnog žanra komentatorski pregled način je da se događaj interpretira „smeštanjem u širi kontekst sličnih događaja u sadašnjosti, prošlosti i naravno, predviđanjem šta će se dogoditi u budućnosti (Ricoeur, u Kljajić, 2011:59). U redu najzahtevnijih odlikanovinarskog izražavanja koji su dominantno zasnovani na građi koja već ima dokumentarni status, odnosno deo je arhive, selektivnost u njenom izboru ključna je za karakter sadržaja konačnog teksta. U oba teksta, Blic je nedvosmisleno koristio onaj deo građe koji je u saglasju sa pozicijom samog lista u odnosu na temu- medijski sukob, čiji je akter.



Grafikon broj 8 :

Dominantni akteri analiziranih priloga na TV Pink

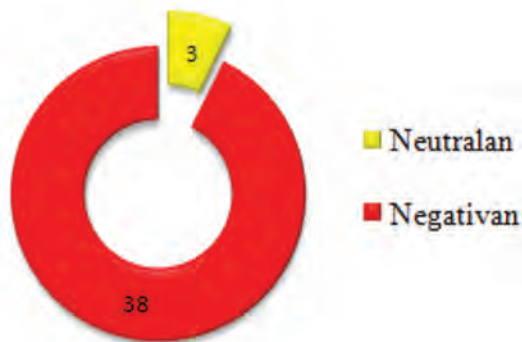
Analizirani uzorak emitovanog sadržaja na televiziji Pink pokazuje da su dominantni akteri, podeljeni u tri kategorije (glavni subjekt, sporedni subjekt, samo pomenut) bili televizija Pink i dnevni list Blic koji kao glavni subjekti dominiraju u gotovo svim priložima. Televizija Pink mesto glavnog subjekta ima u svim priložima (41), dok Blic nije u fokusu samo u jednom prilogu i to u saopštenju RRA o upozorenju izrečenom televiziji Pink zbog emitovanja nedozvoljenog programskog sadržaja. Pink i Blic mesto glavnog subjekta dele sa Željkom Mitrovićem u 19 priloga, koji je pored toga sporedni subjekt u još jednom prilogu, dok je u 11 samo pomenut kao vlasnik televizije. Glavni urednik Blica Veselin Simonović u 20 priloga je glavni subjekt, u 4 je sporedni, dok je u 5 priloga samo pomenut. U analiziranom periodu RRA je 23 puta bila glavni subjekt priloga, 4 sporedni, a 2 puta samo pomenut. Nakon nekoliko autorskih tekstova u Blicu, odgovorni i zamenik glavnog urednika Svetomir Marjanović je od 30. jula u 15 priloga bio glavni subjekt i u 2 samo pomenut, što prikazuje grafikon broj 8.



Grafikon broj 9 :

Dominantni akteri analiziranih tekstova u Blicu

U svim tekstovima glavni subjekti su televizija Pink i list Blic. Željko Mitrović je u 17 tekstova glavni subjekt, a u jednom sporedni, što prikazuje grafikon broj 9. U 16 tekstova RRA se pojavljuje kao glavni subjekt. Veselin Simonović je samo pomenut u jednom tekstu, u jednom je sporedni subjekt, a u 8 je glavni. Dragan Đilas se pominje 3 puta, a 2 puta je sporedni subjekt. Sin Željka Mitrovića koji je i bio povod za višenedeljni sukob ova dva medija je u tekstovima Blica 3 puta glavni, jednom sporedni subjekt i 4 puta samo pomenut.



Grafikon broj 10 :

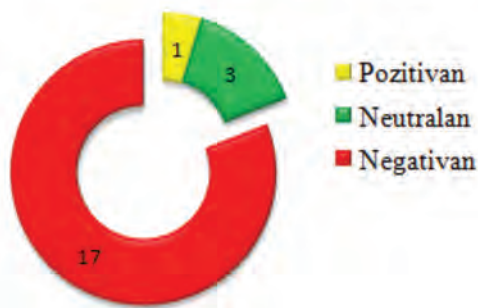
Ton izveštavanja emitovanih priloga na TV Pink

U ovom istraživanju analiziran je i ton izveštavanja, koji je podeljen u tri kategorije: pozitivan, neutralan i negativan, što prikazuje grafikon broj 10. „Biranje kako da se nešto kaže svodi se na biranje najefektnijeg tipa diskursa za onaj cilj koji neko ima na umu“ (Prajs, 1998:32). Ton izveštavanja na televiziji Pink je u 38 priloga izrazito negativan prema dominantnim akterima, dok je u 3 priloga ton neutralan, a odnosi se isključivo na odluke koje su donete na sednicama Saveta RRA.

Od kada je na stranicama Blica objavljen tekst u kojem je pisalo da je Aleksandar Mitrović, sin vlasnika TV Pink usmrtio na pešačkom prelazi Andreu Bojanić (17), da je pobegao sa mesta nesreće i da se kasnije sa svojim ocem pojavio i predao policiji, TV Pink počinje da prenosi inicijativu građana da se ime ovog lista preimenuju u „Smrdljive novine“. Osim ovog naziva, na televiziji Pink će se u daljem izveštavanju čuti različiti nazivi poput „posrnuli dnevni list“, „novine koje se mogu koristiti samo u krajnjoj nuždi“. Vrednosna neizbalansiranoost i odsustvo retoričke neutralnosti¹³ u prilog su izrazito negativnom tonu izveštavanja, kojem u elektronskim medijima posebno nije mesto, prvo zbog nemogućnosti da se kao odraz ličnog stava „odvoji linijom“ kao u štampi i drugo, kao što je analiza pokazala ovi prilozi su bili u sastavu glavnih Pinkovih informativnih emisija. Gotovo svakodnevno sa nekoliko ponavljanja u toku dana saopštenja na Pinku su takođe bila usmerena na

¹³ „Medijski iskazi obično su kratke forme, bliske faktografskom saopštavanju i uglavnom vrednosno izbalansirane i retorički neutralne“ (Milivojević i Matić, 1993: 31)

Dragana Đilasa, kojeg su nazivali „tapkarošem“, zatim Veselina Simonovića, kojeg su nazivali „Vesom rakijom“ novinara Blica Svetomira Marjanovića kome su Pink u saopštenjima obraća kao „Sveti iz Kučeva“¹⁴. Do sedmog avgusta kada je usledilo upozorenje RRA da je televizija Pink prekršila Zakon o javnom informisanju, Zakon o radiodifuziji i Kodeks o ponašanju emitera,¹⁵ na ovoj televiziji su neretko ponavljala ista saopštenja sa izuzetno uvredljivim sadržajem.¹⁶



Grafikon broj 11 :
Ton izveštavanja analiziranih tekstova u Blicu

14 „U naporima da se učutkaju Željko Mitrović i TV Pink , dvojac poznatiji kao „tapkaroš“ i „Vesa Rakija“ uključili su kao neophodnu pomoć i trećeg člana poznatijeg kao „Sveta iz Kučeva“ i pored toga što je do sada bio zadužen da tapkarošu, kao jahaču timari Vesu Rakiju i da mu donosi seno, ovoga puta našao se u ulozi nečeg što bi trebalo da liči na novinara. Ovaj gorostas srpskog novinarstva iz Kučeva koji kad piše levom ubija, a desne se i sam boji, odlučio je da se samo inicijativno nominuje za Pulicerovu nagradu. Onako, musav i znojav zbog preteranog napora da zadovolji tapkaroša i VesuRakiju usudio se da se dohvati olovke i da proba da učutka mene i TV Pink.“

¹⁵ Upozorenje RRA: „Upozorenje TV Pink izrečeno je zbog toga što je u svom TV programu pod A: u periodu od 11.do 25. juna 2013. godine emitovala programske sadržaje koji sadrže nedozvoljeno prikazivanje jednostranih napada na ličnost i vođenje dugotrajne kampanje u vezi sa pojedinim ličnostima, odnosno na čiji izbor, teme i način njenog predstavljanja je diskriminatorno uticalo lično uverenje i mišljenje urednika. Pod B: u periodu od 23.do 26.jula 2013.godine emitovala je programske sadržaje koji sadrže nedozvoljena prikazivanja jednostranih napada na ličnost i vođenje dugotrajne kampanje u vezi sa pojedinim ličnostima, društvenim grupama ili institucijama, ekstremizam i uvrede nepoštujući obaveze da činjenično izveštavanje i jasno odvoji od stava, mišljenja ili komentara i obavezu da svim stranama koje učestvuju u raspravi pruži mogućnost da u polemici učestvuju na načelno ravnopravan način. TV Pink je po prijemu ovog upozorenja uskladila svoj TV Program u skladu sa opšteobavezujućim uputstvom o ponašanju emitera“.

¹⁶ „Da je babi mило ono što joj se snilo, zapravo nije priča o babama i snovima, već i tri babe narikače uveliko javnosti poznate kao Vesa Rakija, Tapkaroš i Gorostat iz Kučeva. Za one koji su se tek sad uključili radi se o Sveti Stojanovću, udarnoj pesnici Vesi Rakiji i Tapkaroša, a koji nije razumeo da pismenost i novinarstvo nije isto što i poznavanje čvaraka i švargle, zbog Gorostata iz Kučeva kontinuirano mastan i prljav. Da je alkohol koji koristi Vesa Rakija veoma lošeg kvaliteta govori i jučerašnje izdanje „Smrdljivih novina“ koje je verovatno izašlo iz stanja visokog mamurluka i preterane količine malagina, čime se halucinira i gde im se priviđaju umestobelih miševa Hitler i Majn Kampf po Pinkovim kancelarijama. A da je Gorostat iz Kučeva polupismen i da se sa novinarstvom sreo samo na kiosku nije ništa novo, ali novo je da Gorostat iz Kučeva loše stoji samatematikom, posebno sa sabiranjem i oduzimanjem do 700.“

Analiza tona izveštavanja u Blicu pokazuje da je ovaj list imao u odnosu na Pink značajno manje tekstualnih jedinica sa negativnim tonom- ukupno 17, što je prikazano na grafikonu broj 11. Ovaj medijski sukob Blic počinje tekstem da je NUNS osudio vređanje Pinka¹⁷ jer je po njihovoj oceni došlo do zloupotrebe nacionalne frekvencije, kako bi se vlasnik ove televizije obračunao sa svojim neistomišljenicima. Sve do prve sednice Saveta RRA ovaj dnevni list pokušava da izvrši pritisak na ovo nezavisno regulatorno telo, kako bi se ovoj televiziji izrekla kazna. Objavljuju se tekstovi sa naslovima „RRA mora da kazni Mitrovića“, „Zašto RRA ćuti na prekršaje „Pink“, biografije članova Saveta RRA, čitaoci se podsećaju kako je u prošlosti kršen Zakon o radiodifuziji od strane ove televizije. Međutim, kada RRA nije kaznila televiziju Pink, već joj samo uputila upozorenje, ovaj dnevni list počinje sa napadima i optužbama na račun vlasnika televizije Pink¹⁸. Reč je o tekstovima u kojima se navodi da Željko Mitrović duguje radnicima plate, da nije izmirio poreske obaveze, ali i da radnici ove televizije ne podržavaju njegove poteze. Jedini tekst koji je imao pozitivan ton, pozitivno se odnosio upravo na Blic. U pitanju je intervju sa Jelenom Drakulić-Petrović, generalnom direktorkom kompanije „Ringier Axel Springer“. Ona je poslednjem tekstu koji se odnosi na sukob sa televizijom Pink, istakla da će novac koji ova kompanije bude dobila od tužbe protiv kompanije Pink dati za obolelu decu.¹⁹ Neutralne objave, 3 ukupno, kao i kod televizije Pink, odnose se na odluke koje su donete na sednici Saveta RRA.

Analiza vizuelog formata pokazuje da su od prvog dana u pozadini priloga TV Pink fotomontaže koje prikazuju konja sa Trga Republike, ali s glavom Veselina Simonovića, kojeg umesto Mihaila Obrenovića jaše Dragan Đilas. Zatim slika Facebook stranice grupe koja inicira promenu imena ovog dnevnog lista, tekstovi vulgarnih SMS poruka, navodno upućenih vlasniku Pinka od strane Veselina Simonovića, tekstualni podaci o izmirenim obavezama kompanije Pink i slika Željka Mitrovića. U Blicu su tekstovi u najvećoj meri praćeni velikim fotografijama Željka Mitrovića, na kojima je sam ili sa učesnicima reality show programa.

¹⁷ Blic: 25. jul 2013.

¹⁸ „Željko Mitrović, vlasnik „Pink“, trenutno je državi Srbiji dužan 705 miliona dinara za neplaćene poreze i doprinose u prethodnih nekoliko godina i on se nalazi na samom vrhu liste najvećih poreskih dužnika. Čak ni svojim zaposlenima ne izmiruje obaveze. Ko je Mitroviću dozvolio da godinama ne plaća porez, pitanje je na koje još nema pravog odgovor.“ Blic: 31. avgust 2013.

„Željko Mitrović ne govori istinu kada kaže da je uplatio više od (gramatički ispravnije od „preko“) 300 miliona poreza u prethodnih 40 dana“, Blic: 1 jul 2013.

¹⁹ „Na pitanje zašto kompanija nije odgovarala na poslednje optužbe, generalna direktorka kaže da civilizovan razgovor nije moguć sa onim ljudima koji znaju da „Ringier Axel Springer“ posluje zakonito. A i dalje nižu neistine i uvrede. Oni znaju da godišnje imamo više revizija - kako internih, tako i eksternih od strane najrenomiranijih revizorskih kuća. Verujemo da će sud odrediti visoku odštetu jcr uvredljiva kampanja traje dugo i do sada je bilo više od 310 neistinitih i uvredljivih priloga. Svaki dinar koji dobijemo na sudu, daćemo u humanitarnu svrhu - za lečenje obolele dece u Srbiji.“, Blic, 16. avgust 2013.

Zaključak

Analizom sadržaja dnevnog lista Blic i televizije Pink utvrđeno je da je u periodu od 25. jula do 30. avgusta 2013. godine medijski prostor u značajnoj bio u službi ostvarivanja vlastitih pojedinačnih, odnosno grupnih interesa. Zastupajući tezu da „samo izveštava o nesreći u kojoj je akter bio sin vlasnika televizije Pink“, odnosno da „izveštavanjem o inicijativi da se ime lista Blic promeni u „Smrdljive novine“, TV Pink ne napada novinare ovog lista, već samo radi za dobro građana“, oba medija su pokazala „zastupničku“ novinarsku poziciju. To se oslikava i kroz dominaciju sadržaja nad formom, odnosno odabir oblika novinarskog izražavanja koji se prevažno zasnovuju na stavovima, a ne na činjenicama.

Komparacija pokazuje da je intenzivniju aktivnost u ovom medijskom sukobu pokazala televizija Pink. Više medijskog prostora i izveštavanje koje je u većoj meri imalo izrazito negativan ton, kao i odabir (centralno-informativnih) emisija u kojima se bez novinarske selekcije objavljuju stavovi, odnosno saopštenja, mogu da se dovedu u vezu sa tim da veću „medijsku propustljivost“ određenih interesa imaju mediji čiji su vlasnici pojedinci, posebno kada je reč upravo o njihovim interesima. Drugačiji tip vlasništva lista Blic i činjenica da se vlasnik Pinka ne „obračunava“ sa depersonalizovanom kompanijom, već da je sukob na nivou ličnih relacija, u kojem, s druge strane, učestvuju novinarski poslenici pokazuje da sam tip vlasništva ne mora nužno da podrazumena i drugačija „pravila igre“ jednog medija. Reč je samo o drugim akterima. Najzad, kriza novinarstva u Srbiji može se u izvesnoj meri, smatrati posledicom „medijske propustljivosti“ za vlastite interese, koja je izražena kod medija čije je vlasništvo koncentrisano u rukama pojedinaca.

Ukoliko je „ideal objektivnosti“ zaista „nedostižan“, odnosno ako je „fer odnos“ u kojem odgovoran novinar „ne primorava činjenice da podržavaju njegovo gledište, ne skrivajući ni fakta koja potrepljuju suprotna gledišta“ (Todorović, 2002: 102, 112) ideal savremenog novinarstva, pitanje je koji su neophodni uslovi da se on i ostvari. Disperzovano vlasništvo, koje ima manji uticaj na uređivačku nezavisnost, kao što vidimo u ovom istraživanju, nije dovoljan uslov da jedan medij bude „profesionalno odgovoran prema javnosti“.

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Naum Trajkovski, MA student
Faculty of Law "Justinian I", "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" University in Skopje
(Republic of Macedonia)

Whose Crisis? Some aspects of the post 2010. Macedonian media scene

Abstract: The problem of democratic dialogue is the main focus of this text. As a specific case study the Republic of Macedonia and its media scene is set. The thesis of this paper is based on the idea that in such social and political constellations, the crisis of intellectuals and journalists in the Republic of Macedonia cannot be discussed. A brief theoretical introduction or terminological appropriation of intellectual concepts, journalism and the public sphere is offered at the beginning of the paper. Two realistic situations are offered as illustrations on the context of the Macedonian society. Confirmation of the main thesis consists of two arguments, institutional and argument of broader perspective. And at the conclusion part of the paper, the parallel is drawn with the last film achievements of the most famous Macedonian director Mančevski.

Key words: *crisis of journalism, Republic of Macedonia, institutional crisis*

Naum Trajkovski, magistrant

Pravni fakultet "Justinijan I", Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij" u Skoplju
(Republika Makedonija)

Čija kriza? Neki aspekti makedonske medijske scene nakon 2010. godine

Apstrakt: Problem demokratskog dijaloga je u glavnom fokusu ovoga teksta. Kao specifična studija slučaja je postavljena Republika Makedonija i njena medijska scena. Teza ovog teksta bazira se na ideji da se u ovakvim društvenim i političkim konstelacijama, o krizi intelektualaca ili novinarstva u Republici Makedoniji ne može diskutovati. Kratak teoretski uvod ili terminološko opredeljivanje o pojmovima intelektualac, novinarstvo i javna sfera ponuđen je na početaku rada. Dvije realne situacije su ponuđene kao ilustracije o kontekstu makedonskog društva. Potvrdu glavne teze čine dva argumenta, institucionalni i argument šire perspektive. Dok se u zaključnom dijelu izvodi paralela sa poslednjim filmskim ostvarenjem najčuvenijeg makedonskog režisera Mančevskog.

Ključne reči: *kriza novinarstva, Republika Makedonija, institucionalna kriza*

Introduction

The problem of the dialogue in the contemporary Macedonian democracy will be in the main research focus in this paper. Therefore, the dialogue is perceived as a crucial process and as an inherent value of every democratic society, namely, as a medium of the democracy. The crisis of the intellectuals, followed by the crisis of the journalism as a profession, or the malfunction of the public sphere, emphasize the critical dimension by which democracy is regarded in Republic of Macedonia in this particular case. A brief introduction on the concept of intellectual, along with its variety of formalities and different duties during the history will be provided, as a contribution to the operating with concepts and conclusion further in the text.

The changing of the idea and the concept of the intellectual was a case in the recent history, depending on the temporal and areal settings. By the end of the XIX century, as an intellectual was perceived a person who contribute with her knowledge in the public debate, beside her profession and specialization. In that context, the critique of this idea of intellectual is directed towards her neglecting of the fundamental values which the intellectual should stand for, namely, freedom and creativity (Benda, 1992). On the other hand, the intellectual critique in contemporary democratic context, must be factual rather than normative, which means that the intellectual should, uninvited and unasked, contribute with his knowledge, arguments and his professionally gained experience in the public sphere (Donev, 2011). The key characteristic of the intellectual in that manner, is the ability to recognize any democratic weakness and deficit, as a crucial condition for the following critique. This critique, should be processed from the person who is directly engaged with the democratic deficit mentioned before, and therefore, the critique must be inherent. This inherency means that the problem of the "offended intellectual" is the basic point from which the critique towards the democracy starts. Finally, an ideal type of democracy should enable and facilitate a room for public debate and critique, where these intellectuals will have a space for open and effective dialogue. The main goal of the critique is to become *public*, so the main objective of the ideal type of democracy is the state or momentum where it enables the room for this critique. In any other case, the lack of democratic critique demonstrates the disability and incapacity of the society to endure, or extinguish self-critique. The paper's focus will be directed to this particular self-critique democratic problem, in the vary particular context of Macedonian society and public sphere in the recent years (from 2010). Two scenes will be provided in the beginning, as an illustration for the recent and current states in Republic of Macedonia, and as a contribution to the further conclusion. Regarding the operating concepts in the text, a specific difference between the idea of intellectual and journalist will not be stressed, for a single contextual reason. Namely, these two categories, along with its various and different role in the society, share the same objective in the contemporary Macedonian case. That is a satisfying reason to level up these concepts for this text purposes.

Two Macedonian scenes

Scene 1: A group of journalists and one politician, submit a criminal charge towards a famous and popular journalist, accusing him for encouraging and fomenting violence. The group mentioned above, is directly referred as traitors in the weekly column of the famous journalist. Beside the typical antagonist's glossary and hate speech, the columnist calls for "exterminating the cancer of the nation" (every similarity with the famous case of professor Miguel de Unamuno and the Falangist general Jose Millan Astray is random and casual) and "a final encounter with the enemy journalists". The group of journalists handed the charge to the public ombudsman, asking for protection of theirs physical integrity and safety for their families. Their charge was kindly accepted by the ombudsman, who said that this is an extraordinary praxis, and they were decently directed to the police station to hand the charge once again. Namely, this popular journalist is famous within the European Federation of Journalists from 2010, when he called for encounter with the traitors-journalists once again and this call remained unrecognized by the officials, a situation on which EFJ reacted. The group of journalists submitted request for political asylum to the ambassador of the USA, motivated by protection of their integrity.

Scene 2: Journalists from Macedonia, as well as the every relevant journalistic organization, decided not to celebrate the World Press Freedom Day on 3th of May, 2014. Their revolt was directed towards the boundaries of the journalistic working atmosphere in the country, or as Muratov states, towards the situation where "journalists and media must work without fear of revenge, without threats and violence, without corruption and blackmailing, but in our state, journalists are being imprisoned, and the penalties for slander and insult are too high" (Muratov, 2014). This contrast between the actual situation and desired "normal" working conditions, emphasizes the gap which defines the current media scene in Macedonia. Journalist Association of Macedonia claimed upon this event, that this atmosphere is just a result of the wrong and inaccurate media policies in Macedonia from its sovereignty, asking for "radical changes" in this field in advance.¹

Macedonian media context

The media scene in Republic of Macedonia can be presented integrally only by the following order: from its legislative framework, to its current obstacles. The freedom of expression in Republic of Macedonia is guaranteed by the Constitution from 1991 (Article 16, paragraph 2, guarantees the freedom of speech, public address, public information and the free establishment of institutions for public

¹ ZNM (Здружение на новинари на Македонија) report on the World Press Freedom Day, 03. 05. 2014. <http://www.makdenes.org/archive/news/20140503/428/428.html?id=25371625>.

information).² The Law on Broadcasting, mostly adopted to regulate the media ownership, was firstly adopted in 1997. The broadcasting system was complete in 2005 when the new Law on Broadcasting was adopted, which is fully harmonized with the European Union legislative, with its latest changes from 2011.³ Moreover, Republic of Macedonia is among the small number of countries in South-Eastern Europe to have adopted the Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities, ratified in 1997, which refers to providing equal access for national minorities to the media.⁴ Although draft versions of the Law of Media are pushed in legislative procedure from 2010, as common praxis in some countries from the European Union, they remain non-adopted, in the sphere of internal politics.

Media pluralism in Republic of Macedonia, as *de jure* presented above, is stable and formally functional from this normative aspect. But, as most of the relevant agencies and international organizations, as well as domestic organizations claim, the situation with the media freedom, freedom of expression and media culture is aggravating from the year of 2010. So, *de facto*, “the freedom of the media is generally contaminated by the influence of the political parties in the editorial policy, which is more than obvious. Furthermore, the already provided recommendations in the European Commission Report are being brutally ignored, while the selective application of the Law on Broadcasting by the Broadcasting Council is the mode of work of this regulatory body.”⁵

The situation in 2013 is getting even worse, regarding these media freedom evaluating reports. Media culture, as a new coined term, is seen as a serious issue concerning the new European Commission Report on Republic of Macedonia.⁶ Reporters without borders’ World press freedom index for 2013, has also shown significant decrease in Macedonian media rating (with a single fall on the list by 22 places, currently placed 116th, along with Venezuela and Nigeria), *following the arbitrary withdrawal of media licenses and deterioration in the environment for journalists*.⁷ In this manner, the concept of ‘distorted freedom’, as introduced by Taskovska regarding these media occasions in Macedonia, and defined as “a situation in which the media are not free enough in the areas in which under a democratic society, the

² Устав на Република Македонија, Член 16, Параграфи (1)-(7). http://www.sfid.mk/comp_includes/webdata/documents/USTAV%20precisten%20tekst%20+.pdf

³ Република Македонија, Совет за Радиодифузија, Стратегија за развој на радиодифузната дејност за периодот од 2007-2012. http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/tech/OLD_TND_WEBSITE/digital-broadcasting_OLD/Bulgaria_Assistance_Transition/Macedonia/Strategija%20za%20razvoj%20na%20rd%20dejnost.pdf

⁴ <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuideMinorities8en.pdf>

⁵ Quartal Report for human rights in Republic of Macedonia, Helsinki Committee for human rights (2012). Available on: <http://www.mhc.org.mk/pages/reports#.UtB3SvRDv5g>. For further analysis, the updated reports from the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Macedonia can be consulted.

⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/mk_rapport_2013.pdf. EC Progress report on Republic of Macedonia. 1-29.

⁷ <http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html>.

media must be free, but on the other hand they are almost absolutely 'free' in areas in which other countries have certain legitimate restrictions (Taskovska, 2004)" is more than compatible.

Whose crisis?

A hypothesis, based on the current Macedonian media "affairs" and the scenes presented above, which took place several weeks ago, can be formulated in advance. Namely, if the facilitating of an "open space" for a debate was one of the primary task of the democracy as a system, than the momentum of usurping that space is a direct threat of system malfunctioning. In that context, if democracy usurps the institutions and subjects which should balance, discuss and critique, than the democratic system is suspending the very mechanisms of self-critique (or auto-control), as mentioned above. In brief, the democracy is censoring the self-censoring mechanisms. And therefore, whose crisis are we talking about when we discuss about current Macedonian media scene, considering all of the issues, ratings and affairs mentioned above?

Firstly, a general claim regarding the Macedonian society, as well as the intellectual "offer" in the public sphere can be made. There is no lack of intellectuals, professional journalists or experts in the Macedonian media scene, so we cannot talk about journalist crisis or crisis of the profession. The insufficiency or deficit of a functional "open space" is what the main problem regarding this issue is, a space which can be delivered only by the adequate institutions. For an illustration, sports analogy can be presented at this point. Namely, a single sport match cannot take place without clear set of rules, referees, defined sports court and specified institutions providing security, fair-play etc. Group of sportsmen, even if they are top-professionals, cannot manage to organize alone a sport match without previous conditions. That is in particular the same case as the journalists and media workers in Republic of Macedonia, in this current state of affairs. Group of journalists do not have a task to provide institutional mechanisms, same as the sportsmen, who do not have obligation to organize the sport event. Their only job is to play. Hence, intellectuals, journalists and experts do not have the power to influence on the institutional constellation in the society, especially in the Macedonian context, where the political impact and authority has a strong manifestation in the democratic institutions. We will not make a normative claim in this context, in a way which we will direct institutions to a specific path of behaving or progress. Moreover, it is typical democratic "syndrome" to blame institutions for any system malfunctioning (same as blaming the referee in the sports example). The popular journalist from the first Scene, accused for encouraging violence, also blames the institutions for dis-functioning in his infamous text.

Secondly, a brief interception towards the question of the crisis should be noted. Namely, we cannot perceive the journalistic, or intellectual crisis as an isolated phenomena in the society, especially not in the Macedonian context. The status of

these categories, as well as the status of the public domain, depends and relies on the political constellation of the society. Therefore, if problematization of specific crisis is not possible without problematizing “the whole and the bigger picture”, than we should address the critique to the very “whole picture or perspective”. This is the line of argumentation presented by Vlado Apostolov, member of the Independent Syndicate of Journalists and Media Workers (SSNM) in Macedonia, in his statement regarding the journalists boycott of the World Press Freedom Day 2014 in Skopje, as presented in the second Scene: “every single report from a relevant institution in this field, whether domestic or international, locate Macedonia on the bottom of journalist rights.. this statement can mean only one thing- Macedonia is far from a democratic society” (Muratov, 2014).

Conclusion, or the relation between fiction and non-fiction

In his latest film *Mothers*, Milcho Manchevski, the central figure in the Macedonian latest cinematography, explores the relation between truth and artistic expression. Hence, a story of the tragic death of a journalist in Macedonian prison conducts the main plot of the movie. Manchevski in his own manner, presents this real situation in a way that “truth is extremely important, and I (Manchevski) fulfilled my obligation to it in *Mothers* by trying to get to the bottom of what happened in this complicated series of events; the facts and the context... in addition, the feel of the documentary will depend almost entirely on the filmmakers, and this may remove the film one more step from reality- and sometimes even from the truth. Quite often the feeling we’d have when we walk out of a film, even if it is a documentary, will be very different from the feel we’d have if we were to observe reality instead of watching a film about reality” (Manchevski, 2014:3-4). Manchevski’s movie can be interpreted on two different levels for this conclusion purposes. Firstly, it can be viewed as a general critique of the contemporary Macedonian democratic institutions in general (prison, journalist as an institution). Secondly, and more important, it can be watched from this fiction- non-fiction relation perspective, which in some sense, emphasize the point of this paper. Namely, there is a great gap between what is happening and what should be happening in the Macedonian society as a normative assumption, as it was mentioned before. Journalism as a profession is by far mostly concerned from this gap. But, to conclude, we cannot research this gap-phenomena as an isolated event, so we must consider various different factor which influence on this particular situation. Till that moment, the phrase *crisis of intellectuals or crisis of journalism* does not refer to anything in specific in the Macedonian context. Or, in Manchevski’s terms, “this field of reality... it can’t be true” (Manchevski, 2014).

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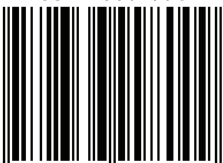
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