

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ „СВ. КИРИЛ И МЕТОДИЈ“
ПРАВЕН ФАКУЛТЕТ „ЈУСТИНИЈАН ПРВИ“ – СКОПЈЕ

ГОДИШНИК

НА ПРАВНИОТ ФАКУЛТЕТ
„ЈУСТИНИЈАН ПРВИ“ ВО СКОПЈЕ

ANNUAIRE
DE LA FACULTÉ DE DROIT
„JUSTINIANUS PRIMUS“ DE SKOPJE



ПО ПОВОД 40 ГОДИНИ ОД ОСНОВАЊЕТО
НА СТУДИИТЕ ПО НОВИНАРСТВО

СКОПЈЕ 2018

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L'UNIVERSITE "ST CYRILLE ET METHODE" – SKOPJE

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ГОДИШНИК	ТОМ 57	СКОПЈЕ SKOPJE	2018
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ANNUAIRE
DE LA FACULTE DE DROIT
"JUSTINIANUS PRIMUS" DE SKOPJE

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Лектура: Софија Чолаковска – Поповска

Печати: МАР-САЖ

Тираж - 150

Објавувањето на овој Годишник и подготовката на трудови чии што автори
се вработени на Правниот факултет „Јустинијан Први“ - Скопје е во рамки на
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М-р Лепосава Огњаноска*

ПОГЛАВЈАТА 23 И 24 ОД *ACQUIS COMMUNAUTAIRE* ВО КОНТЕКСТОТ НА ПОЛИТИКАТА НА УСЛОВУВАЊЕ ЗАРАДИ ИНТЕГРИРАЊЕ ВО ЕВРОПСКАТА УНИЈА: ПОЛИТИЧКИОТ И ТЕОРЕТСКИОТ КОНТЕКСТ

341.171.071.51:021.461]:32
Рецензија – Изворна научна статија

РЕЗИМЕ

Целта на овој труд е да ги согледа клучните карактеристики на и тенденциите во поглавјата 23 и 24 од *acquis communautaire* во контекстот на политиката на условување од страна на Европската унија. Појдовната претпоставка врз којашто понатаму konsekventно се развива трудот е дека условите за прием во членство непрестано стануваат сè потешки поради сè поопсежниот корпус на *acquis communautaire*, поради сè помалниот апсорпцијски капацитет на Унијата како специфичен субјект на меѓународното право и актер во меѓународната арена и сè подлабоките проблеми во однос на демократијата и на владеењето на правото во државите-кандидатки за членство. Следствено, извонредно значаен дел од предизвиците кои бараат сериозно справување е вграден во поглавјата 23 и 24 за кои, меѓу другите, односно, заедно со сите други (повеќе од дури 30 - бројките варираат бидејќи се *questio facti*, односно, може да се разликуваат од држава-кандидат до држава-кандидат) поглавја врз основа на кои се одвиваат преговарачките процеси со државите-кандидати на нивниот пат кон, за среќа, сеуште големото европско семејство.

КЛУЧНИ ИЗРАЗИ: *acquis communautaire* на ЕУ; политичка унија на ЕУ; Договор од Лисабон; политика на условување; Европска унија; владеење на правото; поглавја 23 и 24; европеизација; демократизација; трансформативна моќ.

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THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A UNIQUE KIND OF SOVEREIGNTY

SUMMARY

The article surveys the particular status of the European Union as a sovereign entity, scoping out the "state-like" aspects in the Union's institutional and legal set-up and placing them in the wider context of the dynamics of European integration. European integration is a process that is both quantitatively and qualitatively intensive thereby transforming the traditional notions of "state sovereignty" and "state autonomy". Being a Member State of the European Union entails a loss of a number of traditional state prerogatives since the former are being transferred to the supranational authority of the Union. Such a development sits uneasy with certain Member States' views regarding nation-state sovereignty and proves to be ever so challenging for the Union which has the duty to balance between keeping the European integration motors running while at the same time accommodating the different national attitudes towards the optimal pace and scope of the integration process.

Doc. d-r Katerina Shapkova Kocovska*

IS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION ASSOCIATED WITH ECONOMIC PROSPERITY? EVIDENCES FROM THE 21ST CENTURY

342.727:316.774]:330.34

Рецензија – Изворна научна статија

ABSTRACT

Freedom of expression is one of the basic human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights defines freedom of expression as the right of every individual to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Freedom of expression in the 21st century is unattainable without existence of free and independent media.

The main hypothesis tested in this paper is that countries where freedom of expression is nurtured present higher level of economic prosperity. As a measure of freedom of expression, we use the World Press Freedom Index, published by the Reporters of the World. This index presents the degree of freedom available to journalists. In 2017, the index was constructed based on answers of experts to a questionnaire answered in 180 countries around the world. The topics covered in this questionnaire include pluralism, media independence, media environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, transparency, and the quality of the infrastructure that supports the production of news and information.

Economic prosperity, on the other hand, is broad and heterogeneous concept. Here we assume different aspects concerning the economic wellbeing in the countries around the world. Our focus is on the production, employment, investment, exports and poverty. In our analysis we use different indicators that capture the above-mentioned areas. All of the indicators are published regularly on annual base in the World Development Indicators in the World Bank Database.

KEY WORDS: Freedom of expression; Economic prosperity; World Press Freedom Index

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IS FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION ASSOCIATED WITH ECONOMIC PROSPERITY? EVIDENCES FROM THE 21ST CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

Freedom of expression is one of the basic human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights defines freedom of expression as the right of every individual to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Freedom of expression in the 21st century is impossible without existence of free and independent media.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

The main research agenda in this paper is to examine the hypothesis that countries that have higher levels and scores of freedom of expression are manifesting higher levels of economic prosperity as well. Here we approximate that freedom of expression is a relevant exemplar of informal institutions. The list of economic literature explaining the influence of informal institutions on economic growth, or, economic prosperity, in general, is immense.

There are recent studies exploring the role of press freedom in the development of an economy. Thus, Alam and Ali Shah (2013), investigate the connection between freedom of the press, economic growth and foreign direct investment. The authors, by using a balanced panel of 115 countries, prove that there is bidirectional relationship between press freedom and economic growth foreign direct investment. Also, there are studies about the relationship between media freedom and social capital (Lee, 2017), amplifying that media freedom has a negative impact on bonding social capital and a positive effect on bridging social capital.

Moreover, in a recent study, Brooks and Dery (2018) discuss that expansion of economic freedom leads to better protection of journalists. Another research project presents robust evidences that 71% of countries with highest economic freedom also deliver a high and predictable degree of press freedom. The focus of this project is on openness to foreign markets and respect for property rights (Björnskov, 2018; Djankov, 2003). There are strong evidences in economic literature that greater economic control of the media by government is correlated with less freedom for journalists. (Gwartzney, Lawson, and Hall, 2017).

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Very often, measurement and quantification of informal institutions can be difficult due to the nature of these imposed constraints on human behavior. For the purposes of our research agenda, we have decided to use the World Press Freedom Index, as a proxy of freedom of expression.

The World Press Freedom Index captures the degree of freedom that is available to journalists. The latest published data for the freedom index are dating from 2017 and cover 180 countries. The data are collected by pooling the responses of experts to a questionnaire. This questionnaire includes 87 different questions covering various topics that are closely related to media expression. Both the questionnaire and the survey are developed by Reporters without Borders.

The World Press Freedom Index is concentrated on seven aspects regarding freedom of expression. These categories include pluralism (evaluating the degree to which opinions are presented in media), the independence of the media, (measuring the extent to which media are able to operate impartially without political, governmental, business or religious interference); environment and self – censorship; legislative framework (evaluating the institutions and procedures regulating production of news and information); infrastructure (quality of infrastructure) and

abuse. Each of these components is given a score between 0 and 100, where 0 stands for the best possible outcome, and 100 the worst.

Based on these data, two scores are calculated. Reporters without Borders use the terms: *ScoA* and *ScoB*. *ScoA* includes the first 6 of the above-mentioned components of the index. *ScoB* combines all of the seven categories. *ScoA* and *ScoB* are calculated by the following formulas:

$$\begin{aligned}
 ScoA &= \frac{1}{3} Pluralism \\
 &+ \frac{1}{6} (Independance + Environment + Legal Framework) \\
 &+ \frac{1}{12} (Transparency + Infrastructure) \\
 ScoB &= \frac{1}{5} Abuses + \frac{4}{15} Pluralism \\
 &+ \frac{2}{15} (Independance + Environment + Legal Framework) \\
 &+ \frac{1}{15} (Transparency + Infrastructure)
 \end{aligned}$$

The final score of a country is the higher value from *ScoA* and *ScoB*.

On the other hand, we assume that economic prosperity can be described by four core economic indicators: the national product, measured by the gross domestic product per capita, annual export of goods and services, gross domestic savings and unemployment rate. The data about the aforementioned economic categories are obtained from World Bank national accounts data, OECD National Accounts data files and International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database.

THE MODELS

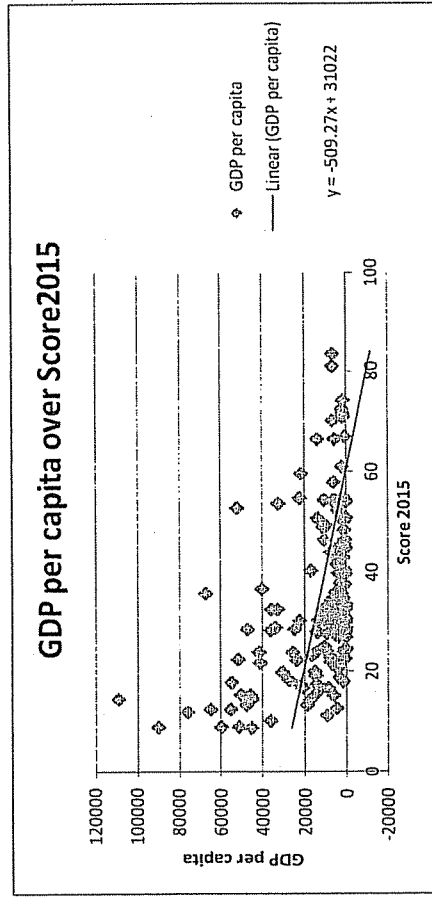
The score and the ranking of the countries are treated as dependant variables in simple linear regression models. As independent variables we use 4 different aspects of economic prosperity: level of economic development, international trade presented by export of goods and services, domestic savings and unemployment. All of the data, both dependant and independent, are dating from year 2015.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the beginning, we want to examine the relationship between the freedom of expression and economic development. In order to complete this task, we have constructed simple linear regression (OLS) models, and calculated the estimated coefficients. As a dependant variable we employ the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, calculated in constant 2012 US dollars. The data is collected from the World Bank national accounts database, and OECD National Accounts data files. This variable presents the gross domestic product of a country divided by midyear population, where GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes.

As an independent variable in the OLS models we use (1) the score of World Press Freedom Index in 2015 and (2) the ranking of the World Press Freedom Index. Figure 1 represents the relationship between WPF Score and GDP per capita. This model suggests that there is a negative relationship between the dependant and independent variable. On average, if the country lowers the WPF score by one units, the GDP per capita is expected to increase by 509.27 US 2010 constant dollars.

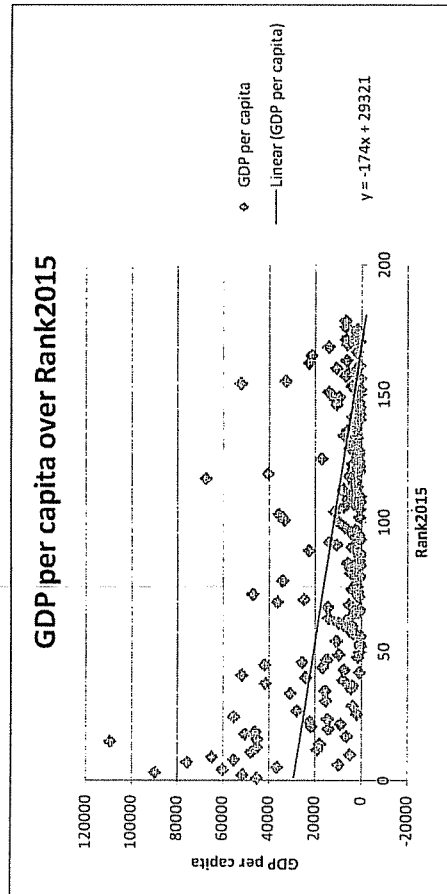
Figure 1. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependant variable: GDP per capita, independent variable: Country Score at WPF index).



Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

The second figure, describes similar relationship as in the first case, but here, instead of score, we use countries' rank as independent variable. The scatter plot suggests negative relationship between the two variables in this case as well. Countries that have lower rank, meaning better freedom of expression, have higher GDP per capita. On average, if country better its rank on the rank scale by one position, the GDP per capita will increase by 174 dollars.

Figure 2. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: GDP per capita, independent variable: Country Rank at WPF index)



Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Second, we are interested in the relationship between international trade and freedom of expression. The economic theory suggests that countries that have better results in international exchange, on average, presents higher economic prosperity. Consequently, we are interested if countries that trade more internationally, at the same time deliver better protection of freedom of expression.

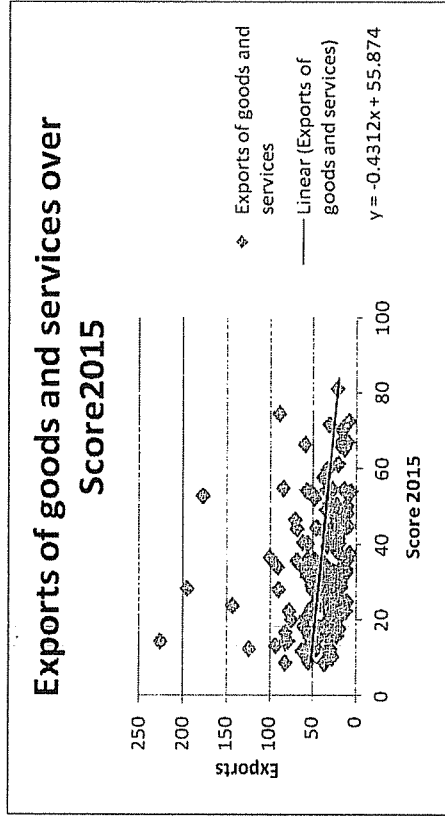
As a proxy for international trade we use the exports of goods and services. This variable represents the value of all goods and other market services provided to the rest of the world. This category includes the value of merchandise, freight,

K. Shapkova Kocevska; Is freedom of expression associated with economic prosperity? ...

insurance, transport, travel, royalties, license fees, and other services, such as communication, construction, financial, information, business, personal, and government services and excludes the compensation of employees and investment income and transfer payments. It is presented as a percentage of GDP of the country. The data refer to year 2015 and is collected from World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files.

The following figure presents the relationship between countries' WPF score and exports of goods and services as a percentage of GDP. We can notice the negative relationship in this case, meaning the countries with worse score (nearer to 100) have lower exports. If the score of a country is enhanced by one unit, in that case the exports will increase by 0.4 percentage points of GDP.

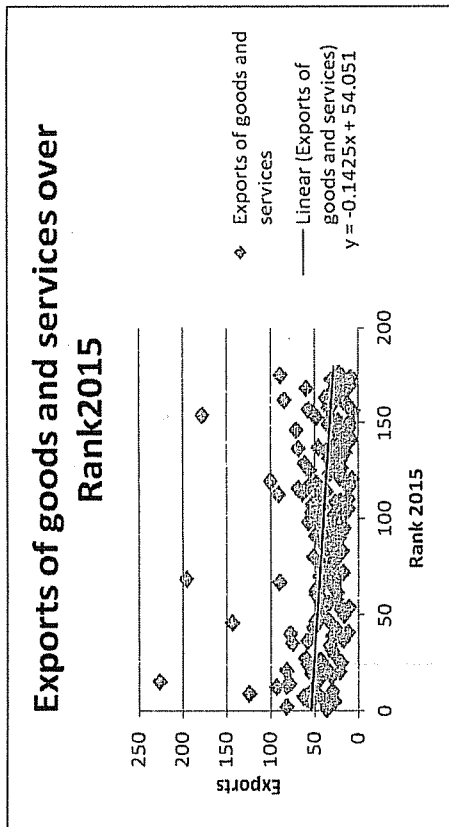
Figure 3. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Exports, independent variable: Country Score at WPF index).



Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

Second figure suggests that if a country improves its rank, it can lead to increase of the export of the goods and services.

Figure 4. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Exports, independent variable: Country Rank at WPF index)

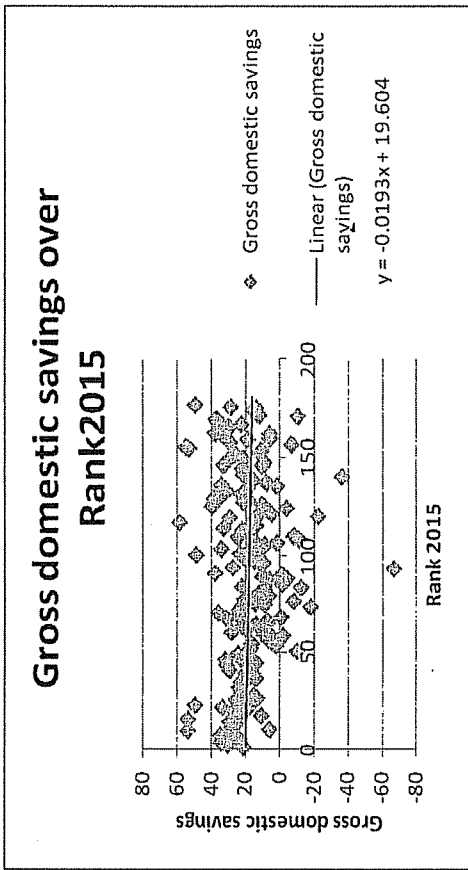


Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND SAVINGS

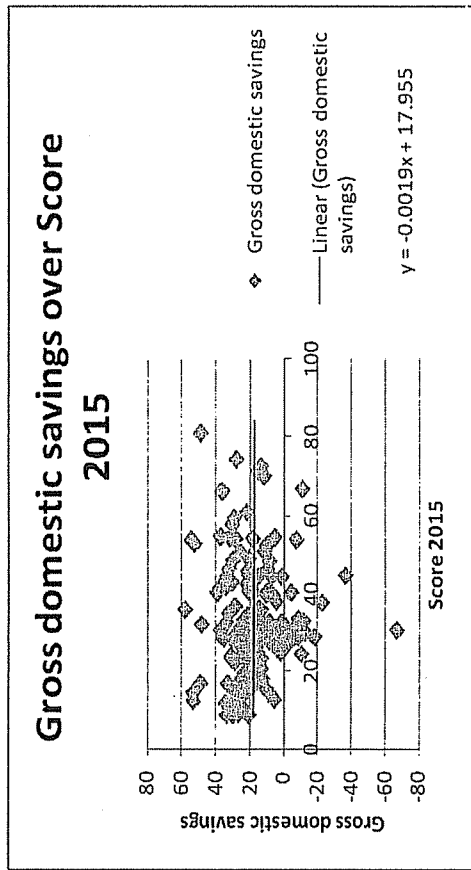
Another interesting question is the possible relationship between the savings and freedom of expression. By savings, here, we understand the gross domestic savings, calculated as GDP less final consumption expenditure (total consumption). The data are collected from World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files.

Figure 5. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Gross domestic savings, independent variable: Country Rank at WPF index)



Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

Figure 6. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Gross domestic savings, independent variable: Country Score at WPF index).



Source: World Bank national accounts data, and OECD National Accounts data files. Reporters without borders database.

Both regression models do not offer sufficient information about the relationship between savings and freedom of expression.

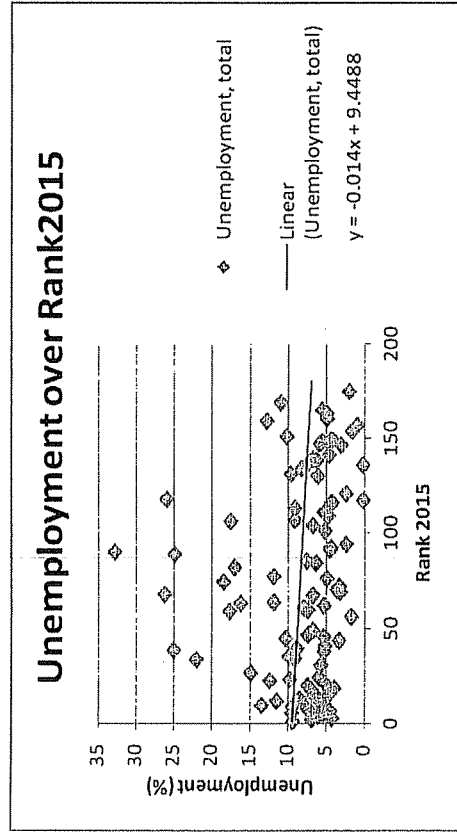
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND (UN)EMPLOYMENT

Finally, the last element of economic prosperity we assume to be the employment. The advantages and benefits of higher employment and lower unemployment rates are broadly acknowledged. In this paper, we are interested in the relationship between the unemployment and freedom of expression.

The unemployment is independent variable and refers to the hare of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment. The data are given as percentage of total labor force. They present national estimates and are collected from the International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database.

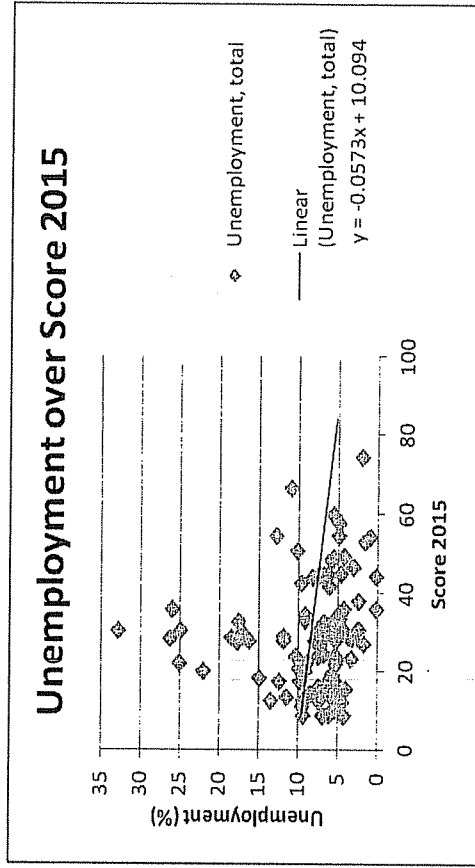
Both OLS modes presented in the two following figures suggest negative relationship between the WPF index (both score and rank) and unemployment. This conclusion is not in line with our expectations of positive slope of the regression curve in both of the models. The results suggest that if a country betters in protection of freedom of expression, then the unemployment, measured as a percentage of the total labor force will increase.

Figure 7. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Unemployment, independent variable: Country Rank at WPF index)



Source: International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database. Data retrieved in March 2017. Reporters without borders database.

Figure 8. Scatter plot of simple OLS model (dependent variable: Unemployment, independent variable: Country Score at WPF index).



Source: International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database. Data retrieved in March 2017. Reporters without borders database.

CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions emerged from the simple OLS regression models. Although these models have limited explanatory power about the relationship between economic prosperity and freedom of expression, they can offer valuable indications about the connection between these informal institutions. Our analysis has demonstrated that protection of freedom of expression i.e. press freedom can be stimulating for GDP per capita growth and export intensification. On the other hand, there were not enough evidences that suggest connection between savings and unemployment versus press freedom. However, general conclusion in that free societies require both freedom of expression and economic prosperity for ensuring quality of life and well-being of its citizens.

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ДЕКОНСТРУКЦИЈА НА МЕДИУМСКАТА МАНИПУЛАЦИЈА: ПОСТОЈИ ЛИ ВИСТИНСКА РАЗЛИКА МЕЃУ ОДНОСИТЕ СО ЈАВНОСТА И СПИНИНГОТ

316.654:316.774]:316.462

Рецензија –Изворна научна статија

Конструирањето на реалноста со помош на медиумска манипулација веќе подолго време е во центарот на интересирање на теоретичарите на комуникациските науки. Она што сите го забележуваат како континуиран сегмент од овој конструкт е обидот на медиумите да создадат информација што е пријатна или атрактивна за восприемање и која ќе треба да биде во функција на тој што ја испраќа информацијата. Некогаш причините се да се отргне вниманието од централната и најважна информација што од одредени причини не треба да ја забележи јавноста, но некогаш причините лежат во тестирањето одредни политики или одлуки што треба да се преземат и имплементираат во заедницата. Која и да е причината, манипулацијата и медиумите се тесно поврзани меѓу себе, бидејќи медиумите, сфатени во најширока смисла, се главните носители на манипулативните пораки до публиката. Кога на ова се надоврзуваат професионалните етички или неетички комуникатори претставени во лицето на специјалисти на односи со јавноста или популарните спин-доктори, тогаш ја добиваме сликата на современиот медиумско-политички конструкт. Во оваа изградена повеќеслојна релација, публиката најчесто има само епизодна улога, која комуникациските треба да биде „обработена“ за да го даде својот глас „за“, или, пак, да го смени својот став, кој треба да кореспондира со оној на елитата, која ја создава првичната информација, стратегиски ја пласира во јавноста преку медиумите и одлучува кога, што и со кого да изманипулира, со една цел - да добие согласност од својата целна јавност, односно публика.

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