# MEDIJSKE STUDIJE

# MEDIA STUDIES

# SADRŽAJ

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## MEDIJI I DRUŠTVO / *MEDIA AND SOCIETY*

## PRIKAZI KNJIGA / *BOOK REVIEWS*

Ovaj 16. broj *Medijskih studija* uređivala sam za vrijeme svog istraživačkog boravka u SAD-u, u Centru za istraživanja u društvenim znanostima (Social Science Research Center, SSRC) pri Sveučilištu Mississippi State. U jesen 2017. u SAD-u su mediji gotovo svakodnevno izvještavali o temama i događajima koji su najintenzivnije bili komunicirani na društvenim mrežama. Prva skupina tema odnosila se na objave američkog predsjednika Donalda Trumpa na Twitteru. Druga se tema odnosila na fenomen lažnih vijesti objavljenih na društvenim mrežama zbog čega su predstavnici iz Facebooka, Twittera i Googlea bili pozvani na saslušanje u Kongres SAD-a krajem listopada 2017. U obje društvene mreže identificirano je nekoliko desetaka tisuća lažnih korisničkih računa koje su koristili trolovi iz tzv. Agencije za istraživanje interneta (Internet Research Agency) sa sjedištem u Rusiji. Treći niz događaja bio je povezan uz #MeToo kampanju na društvenoj mreži Twitter koja je bila reakcija, odnosno podrška ženama koje su se ohrabrile javno progovoriti o pretrpljenom seksualnom nasilju ili uznemiravanju, a među zlostavljačima u SAD-u bili su i u javnosti poznati muškarci iz Hollywooda i američkih medija.

Društvene mreže – virtualan i javan prostor za komuniciranje različitih informacija i ideja – postale su nezaobilazna, globalna platforma za različite javne kampanje, pa i one subverzivne kojima je cilj pojačati podjele u društvu, poticati na ljutnju i mržnju usmjerenu prema različitim društvenim skupinama. Anonimnost koju društvene mreže omogućuju ohrabrila je mnoge i s dobrim i s lošim namjerama i ciljevima da se upuste u raznovrsne komunikacijske kampanje ili ratove.

Zbog intenzivne prisutnosti u svakodnevnom životu brojnih pojedinaca na globalnoj razini, društvene mreže sve su češće u fokusu znanstvenih istraživanja u području medijskih i komunikacijskih studija. Tako su i u ovom broju *Medijskih studija* dva rada usmjerena na istraživanje komunikacije (političke i privatne) na društvenim mrežama. Iako se tiskanim medijima već dugo predviđa kraj, oni su i dalje predmet interesa mnogih istraživačica i istraživača pa je jedan članak posvećen tome kako su žene predstavljene na novinskim naslovnicama, a drugi je posvećen analizi načina na koji su ovisnost i ovisnici o psihoaktivnim tvarima reprezentirani u dnevnim novinama. U članku autora iz Turske opisano je kako su novinari prikazani u turskim filmovima, a posljednji članak govori o sve prisutnijoj temi u komunikaciji – hrani, koja postaje sve zastupljenija i u diplomaciji pa govorimo o gastrodiplomaciji.

Ovaj 16. broj *Medijskih studija* ujedno je i moj posljednji broj u ulozi glavne urednice. Poslije osam godina (dva mandata) uređivanja časopisa mogu samo izraziti veliku zahvalnost i zadovoljstvo što sam 2010. godine zajedno s kolegicama i kolegama iz Uredništva pokrenula tada novi časopis u Hrvatskoj koji je već u sljedećih pet godina dobio potvrdu međunarodne prepoznatljivosti i akademske relevantnosti time što je prihvaćen za indeksiranje u dvije najveće svjetske baze znanstvenih časopisa Scopus i Web of Science. Predanim, volonterskim radom u časopisu izgradili smo akademski relevantnu platformu koja je u ovih osam godina omogućila mnogim kolegicama i kolegama iz područja medijskih i komunikacijskih studija, iz Hrvatske i iz inozemstva, da njihovi članci, ideje i rezultati istraživanja budu objavljeni i dođu do zainteresirane javnosti. Brojne suradnice i suradnici pomogli su nam u tome i ovo je prilika da im svima od srca zahvalim, a časopisu *Medijske studije* poželim još mnogo uspješnih godišta i izvrsnih članaka koji će poticati na rasprave i nova istraživanja te će tako doprinositi razvoju znanosti u području medijskih i komunikacijskih studija.

**Viktorija Car**
glavna urednica

It was during my research stay in the United States of America, at the Social Science Research Center (SSRC), Mississippi State University that I edited this issue of *Media Studies* – Number 16. In the autumn of 2017, the U.S. media reported almost every day on the topics and events that were communicated most intensely on social networks. The first group of topics concerned the U.S. President Donald Trump's tweets, while the second group was related to the phenomenon of fake news published on social networks – the reason why Facebook, Twitter and Google representatives were asked to appear at a hearing at the U.S. Congress at the end of October 2017. Thousands of fake user accounts run by trolls from the so-called Internet Research Agency, based in Russia, were identified on both social networks. The third series of events was related to the #MeToo campaign on Twitter which was a reaction, namely support to women who had mustered the courage to go public with their testimonies of sexual assault or harassment they had experienced. Among the sexual harassers and assaulters there were male celebrities from Hollywood and the American media.

Social networks – virtual and public space for communicating diverse information and ideas – have become an unavoidable, global platform for various public campaigns, even the subversive ones – those whose aim is to strengthen the divisions in society, to stir up anger and hatred towards different social groups. Anonymity provided by social networks has encouraged many people – be it with good or bad intentions and goals – to embark upon various communication campaigns or wars.

Due to their strong presence in many people's lives on a global scale, social networks are increasingly coming into the focus of scientific research in the field of media and communication studies. Thus, in this issue of *Media Studies* two papers focus on research of (political and private) communication on social networks. Although the demise of print media has long been predicted, these media still represent the matter of interest for a number of researchers. Consequently, one article is dedicated to the topic of how women are represented on newspaper front pages and yet another one to an analysis of the ways of representing drug addicts in daily newspapers. In the article written by our contributing author from Turkey the patterns of depicting journalists in Turkish films are described, while the last article deals with an issue which is becoming increasingly topical in communication – food. Namely, food is getting more and more represented even in diplomacy; therefore, we can talk about 'gastro diplomacy'.

Moreover, *Media Studies*, Number 16 is coming out as my last issue as Editor-in-Chief. After eight years (two mandates) of editing the journal, it only remains for me to express my profound gratitude and great satisfaction for the fact that, back in 2010, I launched, together with my colleagues from the Editorial Board, a new journal in Croatia – the same journal that would receive, within only five years, the acknowledgement of international recognisability and academic relevance by being accepted for indexing by the two world's largest databases of scientific journals: *Scopus* and *Web of Science*. It was through our committed and voluntary work for the journal that we managed to build an academically relevant platform – the one that made it possible for a great number of our colleagues in the field of media and communication studies – both Croatian and foreign – to have their articles, ideas and research results published, thus getting them across to the interested public. As numerous collaborators helped us to achieve this goal I will take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to all of them and to give *Media Studies* my best wishes for many more successful publishing years, invariably marked by excellent articles and new research and always with a view to contributing to the field of media and communication studies.

**Viktorija Car**
Editor-in-Chief

# MEDIJI I DRUŠTVO

*MEDIA AND SOCIETY*

# THE PRESENCE AND DEPICTION OF WOMEN ON THE FRONT PAGES OF CROATIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS: IN THE SERVICE OF PROMOTING GENDER STEREOTYPES?

**Dunja Majstorović :: Gordana Vilović**

**ABSTRACT** *In accordance with its traditional role of creating and cultivating public opinion, one should not neglect the fact that the media also serves as a tool in promoting or eradicating prejudices and stereotypes. In terms of the representation of women (their presence and the way they are portrayed) in the media, this paper presents the results of a study focused on the portrayal of women on the front pages of two of Croatia's national daily newspapers –* Jutarnji list *and* Večernji list. *The results show that men overwhelmingly dominate the fold, both as the subjects of texts and the subjects of photographs. Women, though rarely present, appeared more often than men as subjects in texts related to "lighter topics", e.g., entertainment. Both newspapers promoted stereotyped depictions of women such as their depiction only through the lens of motherhood, family and home, the division of "feminine" and "masculine" labor, women as the weaker sex, and an emphasis placed solely on their bodies.*

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# INTRODUCTION

There is perhaps no more important industry in promoting the image of women than mass media outlets, but the image of women, produced and reproduced in major daily newspapers, is rarely favourable. The many negative aspects in terms of how the media report on women were emphasized in the UN Report of the Fourth World Congress on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. The report included a warning about "the continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in the media" and asked for increase in "the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media" (UN Report, 1995: 99-100). Similar conclusions were presented in the guidelines of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, adopted in April 2002. The Assembly concluded that women in the media are inadequately represented, and that their image is often stereotyped and sexist as they are either primarily associated with or seen solely through their private lives (household and family life), or often portrayed simply as sex objects (Parliamentary Assembly, 2002).

Nevertheless, and in spite of the constant warnings of media activists across various organisations (governmental and non-governmental), and the introduction of progressive legislation, the overall image and position of women in the media has not changed considerably. *Getting the Balance Right: Gender Equality in Journalism,* a report issued in 2009 by the International Federation of Journalists in collaboration with UNESCO, pointed out a number of concerning results from their study, most significantly the overall paltry presence of women in the media, ranging from 15 % in the Middle East, to 26 % in North America and the Pacific. In terms of topics featuring women, most fell within the prism of celebrities, arts, and sports (28 %), whereas they were least present in the category of politics (14 %) (IFJ, 2009). In addition, the language in the media was full of bias against women. Further, the results of 2015 *Global Media Monitoring Project* (GMMP), the largest international study on the representation of women in the news, conducted every 5 five years beginning in 1995, demonstrated that women are rarely presented as the subjects of news– among all subjects in newspaper texts, 24 % were women, while 76 % were men. Despite the fact that women are more frequently featured in photographs (30 %), there is "evidence of [their] objectification and sexualisation", as they are "photographed in various stages of undress" as well as "in helpless, hopeless victim poses", in contrast to the far more common "profile shots of stoic, strong, authoritative male figures" (Macharia, 2015: 44).

These global studies have been confirmed by research conducted in individual countries, which it should be noted often differ in terms of the types of media present, as well as the subtopics related to women in the media (politicians, athletes…); however, the results are similar. Across the globe, women in the media are underrepresented, often portrayed in a sexualised and in subordinated way, and shown in stereotyped feminine roles (Collins, 2011).

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH

This article begins with two characteristics of female representation in the media: the underrepresentation of women, and the stereotyped depiction. Underrepresentation is perhaps best described with the term "symbolic annihilation," first used by George Gerbner, which signifies how "representation in the fictional world signifies social existence; absence means symbolic annihilation" (Gerbner and Gross, 1979: 375). In 1978, the term was modified by Gaye Tuchman, who added condemnation and trivialisation to the equation, as a means to argue that out of the relatively few women in the media, those who are working are condemned, while the "others are trivialised, symbolised as child-like adornments who need to be protected or they are dismissed to the protective confines of the home" (Tuchman, 2000: 154). Margaret Gallagher explains further how the term itself has become "a powerful and widely used metaphor to describe the ways in which media images make women invisible," noting that,

[t]his mediated invisibility ... is not achieved simply through the non-representation of women's points of view or perspectives of the world. When women are 'visible' in the media content, the manner of their representation reflects the biases and assumptions of those who define the public – and therefore the media – agenda. (Gallagher, 2014: 23)

Eran Shor et al. cite numerous studies to show "that women's marginalisation in the media is due not only to their underrepresentation, but also to the stereotypic and often subordinating, belittling, and demeaning ways in which they are portrayed." (Shor et al., 2014: 768) Numerous studies support these findings in various types of media, from including both printed (Shor et al., 2014) and online newspapers (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2014), as well as analyses of photographs (Stanley, 2012; Len-Ríos et al., 2005; Price-Rankin, 2001), and specialised studies of front pages (Potter, 1985). In addition, various studies have been conducted on more specific topics related to the representation and the image of women in newspapers such as, including the depiction of female offenders (Brennan and Vandenberg, 2009; Collins, 2014); coverage of male and female athletes (Godoy-Pressland, 2014; Weber and Carini, 2012) and how it pertains to the Olympic Games (Vincent et al., 2002; Crolley and Teso, 2007; King, 2007); and the depiction of female politicians (Ibroscheva and Raicheva-Stoverb, 2009; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; O'Neill and Savigny, 2014), among others. Studies at the national level, and in particular two in Spain, reveal the more frequent presence of men not just in texts, but as well as in photographs and advertisements (Matud et al, 2011). On the other hand, these studies reveal that women are far more present in sections related to society and culture, or shorter news items, and in Sunday editions (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2014). Sen Jia et al. further confirm this trend in a large study whose results show that "the domains where women are more present include fashion and entertainment, while men are more associated with business and politics." (Jia et al., 2016: 8) Even though women were more present in images than in text, their conclusion is that the news media are still male-dominated "with an overall probability of 77 % that an entity mentioned in the text is male, or 69.6 % that a face image is male." (Jia et al., 2016: 8) Longitudinal studies have also confirmed much of the above-noted results, including one analysis of more than a

thousand photographs published in *The New York Times* and *The New York Daily News* from 1966 to 2006, which corroborated the overall dominance of men, despite the differences in the profiles of the two newspapers (Stanley, 2012). Another study of thirteen newspapers spanning 1880 to 2008 showed that women have been poorly represented all through modern history with only a modest uptake being registered in recent decades (Shor et al., 2014) while Karen Ross points out how the last 20 years "have seen scant improvement in the ways in which women are regularly represented in the media." (Ross, 2017: 31)

In Croatia there are relatively few analyses concerning women's representation in the media, among them only several were conducted in the last ten years. Irena Sever and Alen Andraković (2013), as well as Svjetana Knežević and Viktorija Car (2011), focused on the representation of women on television while Nirman Bamburač Mornjak, Tarik Jusić, and Adla Isanović (2006) conducted a large study that included nine daily newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. The results of their research have shown conclusively that men dominate nearly all media outlets and are associated with important and serious subjects, such as politics and economics, while women are more exclusively associated with entertainment, culture and art. In terms of social roles, men are more evenly distributed across different professions and occupations, in contrast to women, who are far more often displayed as either household figures, i.e., as mothers, or instead associated with the sex industry. (Bamburać Mornjak et al., 2006) Crime, entertainment and lifestyle were the most frequent sections female characters appeared in according to the analysis by Inga Tomić-Koludrović and Mirko Petrić (2004). They also found that "in the total of the verbal text, there were 81.1 % of male characters and only 18.9 % of female characters" as well as that "there are far more female characters in the visual than in the verbal texts" since there were 31 % of visual appearances of female characters (Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić, 2004: 812-813). That men are far more often the subjects of photographs, and worse, that photographs of women put more emphasis on their physical and sexual characteristics was also concluded by the above-mentioned study by Bamburać Mornjak, Jusić, and Isanović, whose overall conclusion was that there were no significant differences among the analysed newspapers across three countries, since the "daily newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia construct a gender-biased and discriminatory discourse." (2006: 77)

Although the journalism profession in Croatia "has gone through a process of feminisation with the majority of journalism students now being female" (Vozab and Zember, 2016: 79) this seems not to be reflective in the way the media report on women[1]. In accordance with these results, the overall purpose of this study is to ascertain whether Croatian daily newspapers, in terms of texts on front pages, continue to either underrepresent women, or overly stereotype more classic and historically fraught feminine roles.

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[1] Even though majority of journalism students in Croatia are women, majority of employed journalists are still men. Out of all unemployed journalists, 65 % are women, „and the salaries of those who are employed are around 87 percent of those of men in comparable positions." (Vozab and Zember, 2016: 76)

## METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The following research aims to answer four questions:
1) Is there a difference in the presence of women and men as text subjects (years and papers combined)?
2) Is there a difference in the presence of women and men as text subjects between the analysed newspapers (JL and VL; years combined) and between analysed years (2011 and 2014; papers combined)?
3) Is there a difference in the presence of women and men as text subjects according to thematic areas in which they appear (years and papers combined)?
4) What stereotypes, if any, persist when women are the subjects of texts and photographs?

Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis research methods were conducted by the authors. We selected all of the texts (and the accompanying photographs) whose titles appeared on the front pages of the Croatian daily newspapers *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list* and analysed them in terms of: 1) determining the gender of the text subjects: women, men, no gender[2], and joint appearance[3]; 2) classification of texts with women and men as subjects according to the following thematic areas in which they appear: crime chronicle[4]; the European Union and foreign politics; the economy; crime[5]; entertainment[6]; sports; domestic politics; education[7], science and health; other.[8]

As a means to determine whether or not women have been portrayed by traditional stereotypes, this study performed a qualitative content analysis of all the texts and the accompanying photographs where women were deemed the subjects. These texts were subsequently segmented into six categories concerning the presentation of women (and based on the frequency of examples): 1) the presentation of women solely in the function of motherhood, or rather, their role within the family and home; 2) the portrayal of women as the weaker sex; 3) women engaged in traditionally 'male' jobs; 4) women's professional life is not separated from her private life; 5) woman's appearance as the dominant factor (i.e., emphasis on her physical characteristics) and marriage as a woman's sole ambition; 6) the use of the female body to attract attention (category for photographs).

The content analysis was performed on 1,552 front page texts from the print editions of *Jutarnji list* (JL) and *Večernji list*[9] (VL), published in two separate periods from March through May 2011 (335 texts in JL and 328 in VL); and from March through May 2014 (409 texts in JL and 480 in VL). The use of two three month-periods several years apart (2011 and 2014) was purposefully chosen so as to include two different governments/two

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[2] 'No gender' refers to texts with no human subjects, or texts with human subjects in general (including children).
[3] Joint appearance refers to texts with both women and men as subjects (Table label W+M).
[4] Category "crime chronicle" includes texts about: accidents and traffic accidents, smaller robberies, etc.
[5] Category "crime" includes texts about: war crimes, economy crimes and crime in general (robberies, drugs, prostitution, etc.)
[6] Texts on celebrities: singers, actors, TV hosts, models, etc.
[7] All levels of education: elementary and secondary schools, college, etc.
[8] Category "other" includes texts about: culture, law, natural disasters.
[9] *Večernji list* is translated as "The Evening Paper", while *Jutarnji list* is translated as "The Morning Paper".

different political options, as well as two different prime ministers, one female in 2011, and one male in 2014.[10]

Both *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list* are characterised as semi-tabloids;[11] as defined by Dick Rooney (2000): both feature an attractive front page, utilise emotional language over objective language, present large headlines, and make extensive use of photographs, graphics and colours (Rooney, 2000: 91).

## RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The number of texts with women as the subject on the front pages of both analysed newspapers (*Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*) and both analysed years (2011 and 2014) was 209 (13 % of all front page texts) while the number of texts with men as the subject was 852 (55 % of all front page texts). As expected the difference in the number of female and male subjects in both newspapers is statistically relevant ($\chi2$= 389.68, $p$=.000)[12] Such results correspond to various studies mentioned in theoretical background of the paper (e.g. Shor et al., 2014, Matud et al., 2011, Bamburać Mornjak et al., 2006) and clearly demonstrate the marginalisation of women on the front pages of the selected Croatia's daily newspapers.

Out of 1,281 photographs, in total there were 225 portraying women (17.5 % of all front page photographs) while the number of male subjects in photographs was 843 (66 % of all front page photographs).

### Text and photograph subjects by analyzed newspapers and years

The content analysis of the front page texts of *Jutarnji list* established that men were the sole subjects in 48 % of texts in 2011, and in 60 % of texts in 2014. In contrast, women were the sole subjects in only 16 % of texts in 2011, and a paltry 12 % in 2014.

In *Večernji list*, the research determined that men were the sole subjects of 60 % of front page texts in 2011, and in 52 % in 2014. Likewise, women were the sole subjects in 14 % of texts in 2011, and 12 % in 2014. (Table 1)

The results also show that the differences in the representation of genders in the analysed years (2011 and 2014) ($\chi2$=3.37, $p$=.066), or by newspapers (JL and VL) ($\chi2$=0.13,

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[10] In 2011 the ruling political party was the Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (the Croatian Democratic Union) and the prime minister was Jadranka Kosor (in office from 1 July 2009 to 23 December 2011). In 2014 the government was a coalition of the left-wing political parties led by the Socijaldemokratska partija Hrvatske (the Social Democratic Party) and the prime minister was Zoran Milanović (in office from 23 December 2011 to 22 January 2016). A list of all governments is available online (Vlada RH, 2017).
[11] The tabloidisation of newspapers as defined by Frank Esser (1999: 293) in Croatia took place in the early 1990s along with the democratic changes, privatisation and the entry of foreign capital in the media (Vilović, 2004). Characteristics of tabloidisation such as, relevant news presented in a lighter way, more illustrations and photographs, shorter texts of marginal social value, but attractive to the widest audience, extremely long titles (up to thirty words) containing all the relevant information in the texts, lack of journalism ethics, etc. (Vilović, 2003) became visible at that time but continued to flourish in the past 25 years thus resulting in the lack of serious newspapers in the media market.
[12] In the analysis of differences in the study, a significance level of 5 % (p<0.05) was used and the p-value was calculated for each test.

$p$=.718) are not statistically relevant so the derived conclusion is of no differences between the analysed newspapers or analysed years in terms of the presence of women as subjects. In both newspapers, in both analysed time periods, women are barely visible in texts on front pages (Table in the appendix).

Table 1. **Subjects of texts by gender in the analysed newspapers (*Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*) and by the analysed years (2011 and 2014)**

| Newspaper | Analyzed year | Text subjects by gender | | | | Total number of texts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | M | W | M+W | No gender | |
| Jutarnji list | 2011 | 48% | 16% | 13% | 23% | 335 |
| | 2014 | 60% | 12% | 10% | 18% | 409 |
| Večernji list | 2011 | 60% | 14% | 8% | 18% | 328 |
| | 2014 | 52% | 12% | 13% | 23% | 480 |

The number of photographs portraying women was higher than the number of texts – in *Jutarnji list* 23 % in 2011 and 14 % in 2014; in *Večernji list* 16 % in 2011 and 18 % in 2014. Nevertheless, men dominated front page photographs. In 2011, they were the subjects of 54 % of all photographs in *Jutarnji list* and 70 % in *Večernji list*; in 2014, 73 % of photographs had male subjects in *Jutarnji list* and 65 % in *Večernji list*.

### Analysis of text subjects according to thematic categories

In terms of thematic categories in both analysed newspapers and time periods, women were most commonly the subjects of texts as follows: entertainment (52 texts), domestic politics (37 texts) and crime (33 texts). It is important to mention that the relatively high number of women as the primary subject of domestic politics in texts in 2011 is certainly due to the fact that the prime minister was a woman (Jadranka Kosor), while in 2014, there were several prominent female ministers in the Government, including the deputy prime minister and later minister of foreign affairs (Vesna Pusić). Regarding the relatively high number of women as the primary subject in crime-related stories in 2014, and for men in 2011, it is relevant to mention the charges brought against former Deputy Minister of Tourism Vinka Cetinski, and former Prime Minister Ivo Sanader, both of which were major media stories.

Men were most frequently the subjects of texts in the following categories: domestic politics (178 texts), crime (158 texts) and sports (134 texts). (Table 2) In 2014, the high number of male subjects in sports stories was in fact due to the Croatian men's national football team's upcoming performance in the World Cup in Brazil, a topic covered extensively in the months leading up to the first matches in June 2014.

From this data, it is apparent that women are more often the primary subjects in texts considered to be "less serious", a fact which is particularly evident in the data from 2011 since both newspapers most frequently featured women as the subjects in entertainment-

related texts. The differences between the presence of women and men as subjects are statistically significant ($\chi2$=154.12, $p$=.000) (Table in the appendix) and are again consistent with other studies, for instance by Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić (2004); Bamburač Mornjak et al., (2006) and Jia et al. (2016).

Table 2. **Women and men as subjects in texts according to thematic categories in which texts appear in both analysed newspapers (*Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*) and analysed years (2011 and 2014)**

| Thematic categories in which texts appear | Text subjects in JL | | | | Text subjects in VL | | | | Total (JL + VL, 2011 + 2014) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2011 | | 2014 | | 2011 | | 2014 | | | |
| | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M | W | M |
| Domestic Politics | 12 | 36 | 7 | 40 | 8 | 24 | 10 | 78 | 37 | 178 |
| Crime | 4 | 39 | 15 | 36 | 5 | 62 | 9 | 21 | 33 | 158 |
| Sports | 1 | 17 | 0 | 47 | 0 | 36 | 2 | 34 | 3 | 134 |
| Economy | 1 | 7 | 2 | 27 | 2 | 18 | 6 | 39 | 11 | 91 |
| Other | 10 | 15 | 6 | 32 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 20 | 30 | 70 |
| Eu And Foreign Politics | 1 | 18 | 2 | 19 | 1 | 16 | 8 | 19 | 12 | 72 |
| Entertainment | 22 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 14 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 52 | 31 |
| Crime Chronicle | 1 | 10 | 6 | 14 | 10 | 13 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 39 |
| Education, Health And Science | 2 | 2 | 0 | 16 | 2 | 4 | 9 | 17 | 13 | 39 |
| Church | 0 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 40 |
| Total | 54 | 162 | 49 | 246 | 48 | 196 | 58 | 248 | 209 | 852 |

## Stereotyped texts and photographs portraying women

A qualitative content analysis was performed on both texts and photographs as a means to analyse any and all stereotypical portrayals of women. The texts found to contain such depictions were later categorised (as noted above in the research methodology).

In total, there were 30 texts containing stereotypes found in both newspapers in both analysed time periods (JL: 7 in 2011 and 6 in 2014; VL: 6 in 2011 and 11 in 2014) which marks 14% of all texts with women as subjects and 23 stereotyped photographs (JL: 4 in 2011 and 9 in 2014; VL: 4 in 2011 and 6 in 2014) or 10% of all photographs with women. Regarding the differences in stereotyped portrayals of women between the analysed newspapers, the research finds that the differences in the results are not statistically significant ($\chi2$=0.50, $p$=.481), as well as the differences between the analysed years ($\chi2$=0.42, $p$=.517). In terms of the photographs, there are again no statistically significant differences in the stereotypical portrayal of women between the analysed newspapers ($\chi2$=0.60, $p$=.440), nor between the analysed years ($\chi2$=0.97, $p$=.325) (Table in the appendix). These results serve as a further demonstration that there are no statistically significant differences between *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list* in all the analysed categories (subject gender, thematic categories of texts the subjects appear in, and stereotypical depiction). Since there were no statistically relevant differences between the analysed years as well, the

results show no change in the period of three years regarding the presence and portrayal of women on the newspapers' front pages.

Overall, the discovery of a varied and considerable amount of stereotyped portrayals of women on the front pages of both *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list* is cause for alarm, particularly given that only one such article is enough to propagate certain perceptions of women.

The presence of gender stereotypes in Croatia can be explained by the fact that the discrimination of women is deeply rooted in the country's patriarchal culture (Barada et al., 2004: 9-10). When they first emerged in Croatia in the 1990s, studies conducted on the national level (Vozab and Zember, 2016: 74) demonstrated how the "media were active together with dominant cultural politics of retraditionalisation in shaping and promoting traditional gender roles and stereotypes." (Kunac and Sarnavka, 2006: 18 cf. Vozab and Zember, 2016: 74). For Tomić-Koludrović and Petrić the specificity of Croatian society in the 1990s was the "reemergence of traditional patriarchal structures" that resulted in a "dramatic increase of national and gender stereotypes in the public discourse." (2004: 804) The data we obtained through the research suggests that this gender biased discourse continues to date.

As a part of our study's qualitative content analysis, stereotypical texts were grouped into several categories corresponding to some of the common and preexisting stereotypes about women and male-female relations. In accordance with the established categories, some representative texts from both newspapers were selected and analysed.

## THE PRESENTATION OF WOMEN SOLELY IN THE FUNCTION OF MOTHERHOOD, THEIR FAMILY AND HOME

This category mainly referred to successful (business) women who were portrayed as selfish careerists, who chose to subordinate family life to either work or their lifestyle choices, and were subject to a wide-array of criticism. One representative example referred to female television presenters where, in the mere headline, it was possible to detect a prejudicial tone regarding their lifestyle choice – "Lonely and beautiful: Without family and children, their private life is a hobby, and their work their life" (JL, 9 March 2011). Since women are still "expected to perform duties as wife and mother, in addition to fulfilling their professional responsibilities" (Domenico and Jones, 2006: 1) when women choose a career that is as challenging as professional politics, this is often regarded as incompatible with family life. In the text entitled "Two politicians, two careers" (JL, 31 March 2011) this notion is underlined since two choices made by two female Croatian politicians were deemed as "different and inconsistent careers" – Kolinda Grabar Kitarović became the new Assistant of NATO Secretary General, and Bianca Matković became a mother. Again, in terms of women's family duties, one text questioned the responsibility and morality of mothers who participate in the reality show Big Brother – in the same tone present in the headline, much like the first example – "New Big Brother: Mom is in the BB house, a child in front of the TV? Negligence..." (VL, 15 March 2011).

## PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN AS THE WEAKER SEX

One analysed text used the outdated classification of women as the weaker sex. The text entitled "State saves on the weak: children, the disabled and women remain unprotected" (JL, 24 April 2011) warns of the possible abolition of the Ombudsman for Children, Gender Equality, and the Disabled, respectively (or the potential merger of these three institutions within the Office of the Ombudsman), but suggests that women, as two others frequently discriminated and unprotected groups (children and the disabled) can be characterised as "weak".

## WOMEN ENGAGED IN TRADITIONALLY "MALE" JOBS

The division of professions into "male" and "female" is visible in several of the analysed texts. The text entitled "Croatian premier: For the first time the head of the state is being guarded by a woman. And she is dangerous" (JL, 7 May 2011) underlines that this division remains particularly orthodox in some professions like bodyguards. It too is consistent with the image of for instance female police officers who are still "confronted with the 'traditional view that women do not belong on patrol because of their lack of physical strength and ability to maintain an authoritarian presence in the face of challenges that the public can present to police" (Grennan, 1987 cf. Ffrench and Waugh, 1998: 260). This again is visible in another text "Vjekoslava Goričanec from Zadar: I am a single mother who earns by clearing fields of landmines" (VL, 27 March 2011) that too serves as an example of how a woman's private life is not separated from her work even though the text's focus was the work itself. Another analysed text "Croatia's 11 most accomplished female chefs" (VL, 13 April 2014) referrers to women chefs that have "managed to win the (male) world of cuisine" and how they have succeeded despite their femininity, thanks to some "masculine" characteristics.

## A WOMAN'S PROFESSIONAL LIFE IS NOT SEPARATED
## FROM HER PRIVATE LIFE

This category is not strictly a stereotype but rather a way in which the analysed newspapers have reported on successful women. Even though the main motives for the texts themselves was the accomplishment of women in terms of their work/career, as indicated in each headline, the main focus of the texts in fact was their private life. In the text "Women in Science: Four young winners of UNESCO scholarship" (VL, 5 March 2014) the entire first paragraph was solely about the private lives of young and successful Croatian scientists:

*Four young women – four scientists. Two from Zagreb, one from Slavonski Brod, the fourth is from Stari Grad; three are married. One has two sons, and is currently on maternity leave, the other says that she must carefully plan having children since there is a two-year specialisation abroad awaiting her and her husband... The third one told us that she was in a stable relationship, but that there was still enough time for children, and the fourth delighted us with the news that at the time she learned about winning her scholarship, she also discovered that she was pregnant. Her twins arrive in the fall.*

The same tone was noticed in the text "Among the 40 best biologists worldwide / Iva Tolić: I hope to decipher the secret of ageing" (VL, 18 May 2014) where a piece of text devoted to a scientist's family life is put in the same sentence with work responsibilities and achievements: "Between the obligations she still has at the Max Planck Institute and the Institute Ruđer Bošković, thirty-nine-year-old Iva Tolić is preparing her wedding and looking forward to the arrival of her first child, a son." In addition, the analysed text often referenced her appearance and looks, which again only reduces the space dedicated to career or personal accomplishments: "Paris blue dress, shoes, bag and coat full of flowers, loose hair and pregnant belly revealed a content woman who, after fifteen years of living in four different countries and two continents, came home." (VL, 18 May 2014). This is consistent with the conclusions of the Annual Report on the Women in Croatia by the Ombudsperson for gender equality about the large number of media that still use the

*female body as an object to attract attention of readers or viewers to other media content or for the purpose of evaluating women primarily on the basis of their looks, regardless of whether they are models, celebrities, politicians, scientists or the President of Croatia.* (Ombudsperson for Gender Equality, 2017: 22)

One of the analysed texts entitled "Oncologist Ljerka Eljuga: the hardest part is when I have to tell a girl before her wedding that she has cancer" (VL, 19 March 2014) serves not only as the example of how a woman's professional life is not separated from her private life, but also as the mentioned reference of the expectation that women should, apart from fulfilling their professional responsibilities, perform duties as wives and mothers (Domenico and Jones, 2006: 1). In that terms, the doctor in the analysed text is described as a "superwoman," who somehow managed to achieve and maintain both a career and motherhood: "... a doctor, a mother of four, was one of the best students in her class who managed, with all four pregnancies and the status of a young wife of a traditional and temperamental southerner, to graduate on time." (VL, 19 March 2014)

## WOMAN'S APPEARANCE AS THE DOMINANT FACTOR / MARRIAGE AS AN ONLY WOMAN'S AMBITION

The qualitative analysis shows that women "still remain in stereotypical media roles which perceive women as objects to be looked at" (Vozab and Zember, 2016: 78). For instance, a text "Kolinda shone in the USA: Ambassador's appearance overshadowed young Miss contenders" (VL, 30 March 2011) demonstrates how a woman's appearance is crucial, even when she obtains a particularly noteworthy public office, like the Ambassador to the United States. References to a politician's appearance, particularly female politicians, is a common phenomenon in the Croatian media, but moreover, it is noteworthy that the Ambassador is addressed only by her first name, a far less frequent phenomenon for her male colleagues, and a fact which continued even after she became the President of Croatia (her current function). The perception of women as objects is visible in another example –the text entitled "Daniela: I weigh 7.5 kilograms less and 100,000 kuna more: Two months-ago it all seemed hopeless, now I'm getting married and I'm going to Italy" (JL, 19 April 2011) suggests this woman's moving abroad and marriage is directly associated with her new and more attractive physical appearance.

## THE USE OF A WOMAN'S BODY TO ATTRACT ATTENTION (PHOTOGRAPHS)

Using an attractive female body in order to obtain attention from the reader was especially visible on photographs in the analysed newspapers. In a study about gender stereotypes of female and male artists in Taiwanese tabloids, Hung-Chung Wang concluded how the analysis "demonstrated that at least seven entries conveyed a stereotypical preconception of female celebrities using physical attractiveness to put themselves in the spotlight" (Wang, 2009: 757). This was visible is one of our sample in texts "Naked Nika Fleiss" (JL, 7 April 2011) about the Croatian skier who reached the front page of the newspaper because she had posed for Playboy.

Other examples used naked or barely dressed women in photographs accompanying texts whose content did not justify the use of such photographs – the text "A scandal in a super museum" (JL, 21 April 2011) about the decay of art in the Museum of Contemporary Art was accompanied by a photograph of a naked female statue; the text "Scarves and shirts for naked tourists" (VL, 26 May 2011), which referred to a new dress code when entering a church in Vodnjan was accompanied by a large and totally inadequate photograph of a model at a fashion show wearing only underwear.

## CONCLUSION

In this study we analysed a total of 1,552 texts on the front pages of two Croatian national daily newspapers, *Jutarnji list* (740 texts) and *Večernji list* (812 texts) over the course of two three-month periods, March to May 2011, and March to May 2014. Each front page text was analysed by the subject's gender, and later grouped into different thematic categories. A separate analysis of both texts and photographs was performed in order to ascertain whether women were predominantly described through the lens of various stereotypical norms.

In terms of results, men are the primary subjects on the front pages of Croatian dailies. They were the subjects of 55 % of all published texts in both newspapers in both time periods. Correspondingly, women were featured far less often and accounted for only 13 % of all published texts. Similarly, women were underrepresented on photographs as well – they were the subjects of 17.5 % of all published photographs, while 66 % of all published photographs had male subjects. Further, when women were the primary subjects of texts and photographs, it was much more likely that the text centred on a "less serious" thematic areas, e.g., entertainment. Of particular concern, women were also very likely to be given a stereotypical portrayal. More specifically, it was found that 13% of texts and 12 % of photographs in *Jutarnji list* and 16 % of texts and 9 % of photographs in *Večernji list* showed women stereotypically.

Stereotypical texts tend to show women exclusively as mothers, through the prism of their family and home life; in them they are regarded as the "weaker" sex; their physical attributes and appearances are given significant attention; and they too often attain headlines only when found to be doing work outside of the pre-programmed norms of what constitutes male and female jobs. Photographs too often show women in "various stages of undress" (Macharia, 2015: 44), thus contributing to their objectification and the idea that they are desirable only when they are young and beautiful.

The overall findings of the research regarding the presence of women on the front pages of Croatia's daily newspapers are consistent with studies at the international level that show the marginalisation of women in newspaper (both online and traditional) texts (Jia et al., 2016; Shor et al., 2017; Stanley, 2012; Matud et al., 2011). Regarding their portrayal, the stereotypical depiction of women found in the analysed texts in numbers that cannot be neglected show how that "re-traditionalisation and the retrograde domestification of women, which took place in the 1990s [in Croatia], seem to have continued into the 2000s and now the 2010s, mixing with the media's commercial logic." (Vozab and Zember, 2016: 80).

This study took specific aim at the representation (presence and portrayal) of women on the front pages of newspapers. They are the most important features of newspapers since they are primarily intended to sell the rest of the paper to the buying public. Since journalists and foremost editors make great efforts to create attractive headlines and accompanying photographs, one could argue that there could be differences in the presence (and maybe sporadically in the portrayal) of women inside the newspapers, and not just in the texts with headlines announced on the front page. Therefore, these results should call for another, more comprehensive study that would include a content analysis of all the content within a set of newspapers.

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**Appendix**
>An overview of the main conclusions of the research with calculated significant differences for tested variables

| Tested variable | $x^2$ | $p$ value test | Decision |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men and women in the texts on the front pages of JL and VL. | 389,68 | 0 | There is a significant difference |
| Differences in the presence of men and women subjects in the analyzed years (2011 and 2014). | 3,37 | 0,066 | There is no significant difference |
| Differences in the presence of men and women subjects in the analyzed newspapers (JL and VL). | 0,13 | 0,718 | There is no significant difference |
| Differences in presence of women and men subjects by thematic areas in which they appear. | 154,12 | 0 | There is a significant difference |
| Stereotyped representation of women in texts according to analyzed newspapers (JL and VL). | 0,5 | 0,481 | There is no significant difference |
| Stereotyped representation of women in texts according to analyzed years (2011 and 2014). | 0,42 | 0,517 | There is no significant difference |
| Stereotyped representation of women in photographs according to analyzed newspapers (JL and VL). | 0,6 | 0,44 | There is no significant difference |
| Stereotyped representation of women in photographs according to analyzed years (2011 and 2014). | 0,97 | 0,325 | There is no significant difference |

Note: χ2 - chi-square; p<0.05

# ZASTUPLJENOST I NAČIN PRIKAZIVANJA ŽENA NA NASLOVNICAMA HRVATSKIH DNEVNIH NOVINA: U SLUŽBI PROMICANJA RODNIH STEREOTIPA?

**Dunja Majstorović :: Gordana Vilović**

**SAŽETAK** *Osim što sudjeluju u oblikovanju javnoga mnijenja, ne smije se zanemariti da su mediji i alat za promicanje ili brisanje predrasuda i stereotipa. U tom kontekstu ovaj rad prikazuje rezultate istraživanja reprezentacije (zastupljenosti i načina prikazivanja) žena na naslovnicama hrvatskih dnevnih novina – Jutarnjeg lista i Večernjeg lista. Rezultati pokazuju da muškarci dominiraju kao subjekti tekstova i fotografija. Iako su rijetko prisutne, žene se češće od muškaraca pojavljuju kao subjekti u tekstovima koji se mogu okarakterizirati kao „laganije teme", poput zabave. Uz to, navedene dvoje novine promiču stereotipno prikazivanje žena, što je vidljivo u prikazivanju žena isključivo kroz prizmu majčinstva, obitelji i doma, ali i podjele poslova na „ženske" i „muške", u doživljavanju žena kao pripadnica slabijeg spola te u stavljanju naglaska isključivo na njihova tijela.*

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# MEDIJSKE REPREZENTACIJE OVISNIKA I OVISNOSTI O PSIHOAKTIVNIM TVARIMA U DNEVNOM TISKU U HRVATSKOJ

**Ljiljana Kordić :: Hajrudin Hromadžić :: Jurica Karlić**

**SAŽETAK** *Ovaj članak pokušaj je artikulacije problema i provedbe analize načina reprezentiranja ovisnika i ovisnosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima u medijskim sadržajima. Provedena je kvantitativna i kvalitativna analiza sadržaja odabranih dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj (Jutarnji list, Večernji list i 24 sata) tijekom 2015. godine te podanaliza u ciljanom razdoblju (Mjesec borbe protiv ovisnosti), što je poslužilo za usporedbu dva različita ciklusa. Analizirana je medijska zastupljenost ovisnika i ovisnosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima, konotacija takvih medijskih sadržaja te pristup toj problematici. Dobiven je uvid u načine na koje su ovisnost i ovisnici o psihoaktivnim tvarima reprezentirani u odabranim medijima; otkriveno je koje implikacije i posljedice takve reprezentacije nose sa sobom, zbog čega do takvih reprezentacija uopće dolazi te čiji su interesi zastupljeni u takvim reprezentacijama.*

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## UVOD

Ovisnost je problem koji seže u sve pore društva, a uzroci i posljedice mogu se iščitavati u različitim kontekstima: medicinskom, kriminalističkom, sociološkom, psihološkom, ekonomskom i politološkom. Izvješće Vladina Ureda za suzbijanje zloporabe droga (Vlada RH, 2015) procjenjuje kako mediji nisu posvetili dovoljno pozornosti toj temi, da je način na koji mediji pristupaju temi ovisnosti negativan i senzacionalistički (Vlada RH, 2015: 37) te kako postoji nedovoljno zanimanje medija za teme resocijalizacije ovisnika (Vlada RH, 2015: 33).

Ovaj rad pokušaj je artikulacije problema i provedbe analize načina reprezentiranja ovisnika i ovisnosti s ciljem ispitivanja obrazaca medijskog izvještavanja o ovisnosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima i ovisnicima u hrvatskim dnevnim novinama tijekom 2015. godine i posebno tijekom Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti (svake godine od 15. studenog do 15. prosinca) (Vlada RH, 2017), kao i eventualne razlike u izvještavanju s obzirom na medijskog nakladnika. Provedena je kvantitativna i kvalitativna analiza sadržaja odabranih dnevnih novina u Hrvatskoj (*Jutarnji list*, *Večernji list* i *24 sata*) tijekom 2015. godine, korištenjem slučajnog sustavnog uzorka te podanalizom u ciljanom razdoblju (Mjesec borbe protiv ovisnosti), što je poslužilo za usporedbu dva različita ciklusa. Dobiven je uvid u načine na koje su ovisnost, kao i ovisnici o psihoaktivnim tvarima, reprezentirani u odabranim medijima; otkriveno je koje implikacije i posljedice takve reprezentacije nose sa sobom, zbog čega do takvih reprezentacija uopće dolazi te čiji su interesi zastupljeni u takvim reprezentacijama.

## TEORIJSKA POLAZIŠTA

### Ovisnost iz perspektive društvenih znanosti

Ovisnost o psihoaktivnim tvarima kao društveni fenomen moguće je i potrebno sagledavati iz sociološkog, psihološkog i pedagoškog rakursa. Erich Goode (2014) primjećuje da se načini definiranja ovisnika i ovisnosti o drogama radikalno razlikuju ne samo među različitim društvima već i među partikularnim grupama i supkulturama unutar istog društva. To znači da različite društvene skupine i kulture, u različitim epohama, različito definiraju koje su droge prihvatljive, a koje ne, kao i tko i kada, pod kojim uvjetima i u kojim kontekstima, može konzumirati određene droge. Na tragu toga Goode nudi vrlo općenitu, tipično sociološku definiciju droge kao određenog tipa supstanci koje su od određenih segmenata društva arbitrarno definirane kao droge (Goode, 2014).

Sociološki, ovisnost tretiramo polazeći od tri koncepta (prema Lalić, 1995). Prvi je koncept totalnog društvenog fenomena, koji je inaugurirao Marcel Mauss, a dodatno razradio Georges Gurvitch, u okviru kojeg ovisnost ima svoj zatvoren i strukturirani društveni svijet koji se zrcali na više razina – kulturalnoj, fiziološkoj, ekonomskoj itd. Ovisnost u tom kontekstu isključuje vanjski društveni svijet, to jest norme karakteristične za vanjski svijet i njegovu kulturu. Drugi je koncept društvenog problema, karakterističan za funkcionali-

stičku teorijsku orijentaciju. Većina sociologa koji koriste taj koncept fenomen ovisnosti promatraju kroz tri obilježja: 1. nepoželjan je sa stajališta javnosti i(li) dominantne skupine; 2. karakterističan je za veliki broj ljudi; 3. može se ublažiti ili spriječiti organiziranom društvenom akcijom (*ibid.*). Naknadno se pridodaje i četvrto obilježje, a to je šteta koju taj fenomen donosi na općedruštvenoj i individualnoj razini (*ibid.*). Treći sociološki koncept na fenomen ovisnosti gleda kao na društvenu devijaciju, ponašanje koje odstupa od onoga što se u društvu smatra normalnim i poželjnim. Kontroverze oko takvog koncepta uporište imaju u dvojbenosti ocjenjivanja određenog ponašanja kao nenormalnog i nepoželjnog. Takav tip kontroverzi zorno se manifestira u sklopu teorijskog koncepta etiketiranja kojim se, primjerice, koriste predstavnici interakcionističke orijentacije (sve prema Lalić, 1995). Sociološka istraživanja ovisnosti često se baziraju i na proučavanju života mladih i saniranju patologije među mladima, osobito aspekata ovisnosti, s ciljem obogaćivanja socijalnih interakcija s mladima i uspostavljanja društvenog reda u tim skupinama (Leburić i Relja, 2001).

Iz perspektive psihologije ovisničko ponašanje, zloupotreba psihoaktivnih tvari i ovisnost nose značajan socijalni i zdravstveni rizik. Ovisničko se ponašanje u psihologiji definira kao skup obrazaca ponašanja koji su autodestruktivni, koji imaju apetitivnu prirodu, opsesivno-kompulzivnu kvalitetu, značajnu fiziološku ili biološku komponentu, a koji se doživljavaju teško prilagodljivim i gotovo nezaustavljivim (Pačić-Turk i Bošković, 2008). Suvremena psihologija ističe kako svatko može postati ovisnik. Pored „klasičnih" psihoaktivnih tvari, heroina, morfija, amfetamina, tableta za smirenje i kokaina, navode se i nikotin, kofein, šećer, steroidi te se uvodi problematika novih ovisnosti – o internetu, poslu, vježbama, pa čak i o seksu (Grant i sur., 2010). Na ovisnost se gleda primarno kao na kompleksan fenomen, za čije je razumijevanje potreban interdisciplinarni pristup.

Sa stanovišta pedagogije ovisnost se proučava kroz prizmu prevencije ovisnosti o drogama (Bognar, 2005). Analizirana je zloupotreba opojnih droga među adolescentima te je ispitano kakav utjecaj takvo ponašanje ima na školovanje i odrastanje. U sklopu pedagoških studija naglasak je često stavljen na zloupotrebu droga i fizičko nasilje kod srednjoškolskih učenika te na zastupljenost maloljetnika i mlađih punoljetnika u strukturi prijavljenih počinitelja kaznenih djela zloupotrebe opojnih droga (Nenadić Bilan, 2012). Nadalje, kada je riječ o odnosu medija i mladih, koji čine pretežit dio populacije ovisne o drogama, analizirana je kvaliteta korištenja masovnih medija, vrijednosni sustav djece, njihov odnos prema društveno neprihvatljivim ponašanjima u korelaciji sa sociodemografskim obilježjima poput obiteljske situacije djece, školskog okruženja i načina korištenja slobodnog vremena (više o rezultatima tog istraživanja u Ilišin i sur., 2001).

### Ovisnost iz perspektive medijskih studija

Posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća na medije se, istraživački i teorijski, ne gleda više kao na puke čimbenike prijenosa informacija, već kao na ključne faktore prilikom kreiranja društvene realnosti. Riječima Tonyja Bennetta, „mediji nisu odvojeni od društvene realnosti, u smislu da pasivno reflektiraju i vraćaju svijetu njegovu vlastitu sliku", već upravo suprotno, „oni su dio društvene realnosti, doprinoseći njezinim obrisima, logici i smjernici

njezina razvoja pomoću socijalno artikuliranog načina putem kojeg mediji oblikuju naše percepcije" (Bennett, 1982: 286). Stuart Hall, za razliku od Bennettova funkcionalističkog smjera, zauzima više ideološki pristup ovim pitanjima – on će ustvrditi da su „masovni mediji kolonizirali kulturalnu i ideološku sferu te da reproduciraju slike, reprezentacije i ideje oko kojih društvena realnost, sastavljena od odvojenih i segmentiranih dijelova, može biti koherentno obuhvaćena kao cjelina" (prema Hromadžić, 2013: 64).

Analizom medijskih reprezentacija dolazimo do saznanja o uvjetima i modelima putem kojih se društvena realnost konsolidira u one oblike koje poimamo kao okvire naših općih realnosti i koje zajednički dijelimo. Ta teza, primijenjena na stavove o marginaliziranju i demoniziranju ovisnika u medijskim sadržajima, upravo je bliska zaključima istraživanja Tonyja Bennetta. Označavanjem marginaliziranih skupina – ovisnika o drogama, kriminalaca, nogometnih huligana, homoseksualaca – „otpadnicima koji ugrožavaju društvo", mediji pridonose jačanju dominantnih društvenih normi, stvarajući time povoljniju klimu – moralnu paniku – za podršku djelovanju zakonodavnih institucija kojima je tako delegirana još veća moć (Bennett, 1982: 295). Na taj način, ideološkim kodiranjima, mediji kreiraju slike društvene zbilje.

Takvim uvidima dolazimo do jednog od važnih okvira koji određuje i naš pristup u analizi teme kojom se bavi ovaj rad. Radi se o senzacionalističkom medijskom izvještavanju prilikom obrade problema ovisnika i ovisnosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima. Pojam senzacionalizam, u medijskom smislu, označava trendove pojačanog uredničkog i novinarskog tretiranja društvenih događaja u vidu izvještavanja i priča koje će prema procjeni medijskih radnika – ali prije svega vlasnika medija! – uzrokovati povećan interes javnosti, odnosno medijskih publika, a time će biti zanimljive i za glavne poslovne suradnike većine današnjih medija srednje struje (engl. *mainstream media*) – oglašivače, to jest korporativne subjekte. Prilozi takvog tipa u medijima intonirani su bombastično, spektakularno, apokaliptično ili katastrofično, svakako s adrenalinskim nabojem. Često su temeljeni na intrigama, tračevima, spletkama i „malim ljudskim pričama", odnosno za javnost irelevantnim trivijalnim tabloidnim naracijama koje provjereno prouzrokuju emocionalne efekte među publikama, poput straha ili ushićenosti. Pritom se nerijetko zanemaruju čak i minimumi klasičnih novinarskih profesionalnih standarda u vidu provjerenih podataka, tvrdih argumenata, racionalnih, trezvenih prosudbi i zaključaka na temelju obrađenih i utvrđenih činjenica, a ne dojmova ili laži, sve s ambicijom poslovno-profitnog profila: biti ekskluzivniji, brži, zanimljiviji, zabavniji... od konkurencije na tržištu.

Premda nam neke istraživačke studije nude saznanja da su takvi trendovi puno starijeg datuma, da sežu sve do starorimskih *Acta Diurna*, dnevnih oglasnih objava u starome Rimu koje su, među ostalim, sadržavale i elemente senzacionalizma, pa preko određenih tipova književnih uradaka iz 16. i 17. stoljeća (više u Stephens, 2007), uznapredovale trendove medijskog senzacionalizma bilježimo tijekom posljednjih pola stoljeća u masovnoj medijskoj produkciji, bez bitnih razlika kada su u pitanju javni ili komercijalni mediji. Na kritike takvih trendova često se odgovara frazom „ali ljudi takve sadržaje jednostavno žele", i to se onda potkrepljuje navodno objektivnim statistikama o rejtinzima gledanosti, posjećenosti mrežnih stranica, čitanosti... Ono što se pritom „zaboravlja" jest da su ljudi

bića koja se uče nešto željeti, educiraju se o onome „što žele" i socijaliziraju se. Odnosno, želja je sociološka, a ne biološka kategorija, no potrošačko-medijska kapitalistička kultura 20. i 21. stoljeća tretira je kao nešto prirodno iz financijsko-profitnih razloga.

Otprilike u isto vrijeme, 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, medijski su studiji sve više istraživačkih interesa započeli pridavati spomenutim trendovima, svodeći ih pod obje-dinjujuću konceptualnu sintagmu „kreiranje moralne panike". Ključni autor koji je posta-vio temelje za proučavanje odnosa medija i moralne panike jest Stanley Cohen. U već klasičnoj studiji *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, prvi put objavljenoj 1972., Cohen je postavio tezu po kojoj do kreiranja stanja moralne panike dolazi u situacijama kada pojedinci ili čitave društvene skupine bivaju etiketirani kao prijetnja normativnom poretku zajednice, u čemu mediji imaju nezaobilaznu ulogu i odgovornost (prema Cohen, 2002). Taj će kon-cept doživjeti široku prihvaćenost i poslužit će kao platforma za istraživanja brojnih su-vremenih fenomena ovog tisućljeća poput terorizma, školskog nasilja vatrenim oružjem u SAD-u, reafirmiranih strahova oko seksualnog ropstva, trgovine ljudima i tomu slično (više u Goode i Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Uloge „pučkih demona" (engl. *folk devils*), na različite načine kreirane i potom mehanizmima medijskog *spina* naširoko distribuirane u stilu svojevrsne moralne panike, redovito pripadaju ovisnicima o narkoticima, što ćemo u nastavku članka potkrijepiti konkretnom analizom.

Na kraju ovog kraćeg teorijskog okvira iz perspektive medijskih studija za analizu fenomena prikaza ovisnosti i ovisnika o narkoticima u medijima, konkretno u dnevnim novinama u Hrvatskoj, a na osnovi svega prethodno iznesenog, nameće se pitanje koje se nalazi u temeljnim postavkama ovakvog istraživanja, a to je pitanje vjerodostojnosti medija. Možemo li, i pod kojim uvjetima, uopće još povezivati kvalitativnu odrednicu vje-rodostojnost s današnjim prevladavajućim medijima?[1]

## METODE ISTRAŽIVANJA

Svrha ovog rada jest potaknuti raspravu o medijskim reprezentacijama ovisnika i ovisnosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima. Cilj je ispitati obrasce medijskog izvještavanja o ovi-snosti o psihoaktivnim tvarima i ovisnicima u hrvatskom dnevnom tisku tijekom 2015., a posebno tijekom Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti (koji se obilježava svake godine od 15. studenog do 15. prosinca), kao i eventualne razlike u izvještavanju s obzirom na medijskog nakladnika. Osnovno istraživačko pitanje jest u kolikoj je mjeri i na koji način zastupljena tema ovisnosti o drogama u odabranim dnevnim novinama u Hrvatskoj.

Kao izvori analize odabrane su dnevne nacionalne novine *Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list* i *24 sata*. *Jutarnji list* i *Večernji list* su danas, uz *24 sata*, jedine novine s nacionalnim dosegom te su pritom i najčitanije dnevne novine. Prema podacima agencije Ipsos Puls o čitanosti ti-skanih medija u 2015. godini, a koje je objavio *Jutarnji list* na svom portalu, *Jutarnji list* bilježi rastući trend, dok je *Večernji list* pao s 8,6 % po broju u siječnju 2015. na 7,4 % u srpnju 2015. *Jutarnji list* u istom periodu drži stabilnu prosječnu čitanost od 8,2 %. Ako pak govorimo o

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[1] Za potpuniji uvid u koncept vjerodostojnosti medija, odnosno vjerodostojnosti novina u regionalnom kontekstu, pogledati Malović (2007).

dosegu novina, u srpnju 2015. *Jutarnji list* bilježi je 20,3 %, a *Večernji list* 18,2 %. Novine *24 sata* prednjače u dnevnom dosegu s 22,8 % (Bratić, 2014). *Jutarnji list* i *Večernji list* naizgled su slične vizualne prezentacije, pripadaju različitim vlasnicima i karakterizira ih drukčija uređivačka politika, dok je list *24 sata* manjeg formata, niže cijene i tabloidnog karaktera.[2]

Zašto pristupamo analizi sadržaja dnevnog tiska, a ne sve utjecajnijih internetskih portala i društvenih mreža? Dnevni je tisak, iako mu je, statistički gledano, čitanost u konstantnom opadanju[3], i dalje jedan od glavnih izvora informacija. Mlađe populacije, koje su najčešće zahvaćene problemom ovisnosti, preferiraju *online* informiranje i zabavu[4], no internetski preglednici i pretraživači najčešće preusmjeruju čitatelje na internetska izdanja nacionalnog dnevnog tiska i njihove internetske portale. Nadalje, demografska slika stanovništva u Hrvatskoj pokazuje trend rasta stanovništva starije dobi[5], dakle populacije koja tradicionalno svoje informiranje u značajnoj mjeri bazira i na čitanju dnevnog tiska. Vođeni činjenicom da dnevni tisak u hrvatskom društvu gaji tradiciju i učestalost u informiranju javnosti, možemo pretpostaviti zbog čega je analiza sadržaja dnevnog tiska o temi ovisnosti relevantnog karaktera.

Pored toga, prethodno smo već spomenuli kako u medijskoj teoriji postoji konsenzus o tome da vijesti nisu kopija stvarnosti ili logična posljedica događaja koji je po sebi vrijedan da se objavi, nego društveni proizvod (više o tome u Hromadžić, 2014). Prikaz stvarnosti koju nudi vijest nije sama stvarnost, nego je to stvarnost generirana putem sustava znakova koji se odnose na društvene strukture. Vijesti su primjer „jezika-u-uporabi" socijalno strukturiranog smisla (Harley, 2007). One podjednako i oblikuju i odražavaju glavnu predodžbu o tome što je značajno i stoga doprinose aktualnom procesu izgradnje dominantnih ideologija putem kojih publika percipira realnost.

U ovom istraživanju provedena je kvantitativna analiza sadržaja članaka koji su objavljeni u odabranom hrvatskom dnevnom tisku, koja je potom nadograđena i kvalitativnim

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[2] Vlasnička struktura analiziranih novina, iz koje bi se mogla iščitati svjetonazorska i uređivačka politika, zamršena je i netransparentna. Hrvatska gospodarska komora na svojim mrežnim stranicama omogućuje pristup dokumentu koji sadrži popis novinskih nakladnika, ali navodi samo ime tvrtke koja je vlasnik naklade. Ukratko, što se tiče cirkulacije i čitanosti, dominira austrijska kompanija Styria s izdanjima *24 sata* i *Večernji list*, a slijedi EPH (Europapress holding) sa svojim izdanjem *Jutarnji list*. No premda je Styria pronašla način uspješnog približavanja čitateljima sa svojim tabloidom *24 sata*, najjeftinijim dnevnim novinama u Hrvatskoj, EPH je dugo bio dominantan igrač na tržištu jer je, uz druge tjednike i mjesečnike, izdavao i dnevni list *Slobodna Dalmacija*, najuspješniji tjednik za žene *Gloriju* te politički magazin *Globus* (sve prema Popović, 2014: 76). EPH je doživio preustroj vlasničke strukture u posljednjih nekoliko godina te je nakon predstečajne nagodbe i sudskog procesa protiv bivšeg suvlasnika Ninoslava Pavića EPH kupio zagrebački odvjetnik Marijan Hanžeković. EPH se potom reorganizira, a Hanza Press Marijana Hanžekovića 2015. godine postaje vlasnik 99 % vlasničkog udjela. Novo vodstvo najavilo je kako bi *Jutarnji list* koncepcijski trebao biti glasilo liberalnog, socijaldemokratskog usmjerenja, s težištem na točnosti i relevantnosti (PoslovniPuls, 2015). Vlasnik *Večernjeg lista* i *24 sata*, austrijski medijski koncern Styria Medien AG, u Hrvatskoj ima u vlasništvu još dva dnevna lista, *Poslovni dnevnik* i *TV tjedan*, portal Njuskalo.hr, a vlasnik je i Tiskare Zagreb, jedne od najvećih i najmodernijih tiskara u Hrvatskoj.

[3] Podaci pokazuju da je u razdoblju od 2009. do 2014. tržište postalo siromašnije za troje novina, dok je ukupna naklada od 2008. do 2014. pala za čak 53 % (Vozab, 2014: 140).

[4] Prema istraživanju koje je proveo Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu u suradnji sa Zakladom Friedrich Ebert Stiftung u Zagrebu, a kojim je rukovodila Vlasta Ilišin, kulturu današnjih mlađih generacija dominantno obilježavaju internetski medijski sadržaji. Najviše slobodnog vremena provode na internetu, vrlo rijetko idu u kazalište, a samo ih jedna četvrtina redovito čita knjige. Istraživanje pod nazivom „Perception and attitudes of young people towards the changing reality" provedeno je 2012., a obuhvatilo je srednjoškolski uzrast u nekoliko zagrebačkih gimnazija (Ilišin i sur., 2013).

[5] Prema redovitim podacima hrvatskog Državnog zavoda za statistiku, stanovništvo sve brže stari. Tako je očekivana životna dob za žene u Hrvatskoj danas 80 godina, a 73 za muškarce. Prosječna se starost s 30,7 godina prije šezdeset godina povisila na 41,7 godina. U dobi od 60 i više godina danas je gotovo četvrtina stanovnika Hrvatske (24 %), a prije pedeset godina taj je udio iznosio 12 % (više na www.dzs.hr).

**Lj. Kordić, H. Hromadžić, J. Karlić :** MEDIJSKE REPREZENTACIJE OVISNIKA I OVISNOSTI O ...

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istraživačkim pristupom – analizom medijskog sadržaja. Prema Bernardu Berelsonu „analiza sadržaja jest tehnika istraživanja objektivnog, sistematskog i kvantitativnog opisa manifestnoga sadržaja sredstava komuniciranja" (prema Dragojević i sur., 2004: 99).

Za jedinicu analize uzet je jedan prilog u kojem se spominje neki aspekt ovisnosti ili bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge, to jest naslov, podnaslov i najava teksta na naslovnoj stranici, članak, kao i slikovni materijali uz članak. U glavnoj analizi koristio se slučajni sustavni uzorak, odnosno odabran je za pregled svaki deseti dan tijekom 2015. godine. U uzorak su ušli svi članci u kojima se spominju neki aspekti ovisnosti – droge, alkohol, posljedice zlouporabe opojnih sredstava, zaplijene, zakoni vezani uz ovisnost, te osobe u vezi s navedenim – ovisnici, njihove obitelji, djeca, najčešće u kontekstu prometa, posla i obiteljskog života. Analizirano je 116 članaka. Provedena je i podanaliza dnevnog tiska tijekom svih 30 dana u Mjesecu borbe protiv ovisnosti (15. 11. – 15. 12.). Analizirano je 75 članaka.

Analiza sadržaja provedena je, kako u glavnoj tako i u podanalizi, s obzirom na vrijednosnu orijentaciju naslova članaka, novinarske forme i žanrove, novinske rubrike u kojima su članci objavljeni, temu novinskog članka, prosjek prostora članka na stranici dnevnih novina te sadržaj teksta članka i opremu teksta. Populaciju ili skupinu jedinica na koje se istraživanje poopćuje čine članci objavljeni u hrvatskom dnevnom tisku u kojima se spominju ovisnost ili neki aspekti ovisnosti.

Analizu sadržaja provela su dva ocjenjivača. Razina pouzdanosti analize ispitana je Cohenovim Kappa koeficijentom. Medijan koeficijenta za sve kategorije analize od 0,74 ukazuje na zadovoljavajuću razinu pouzdanosti. Analitička matrica, konstruirana tijekom izrade istraživačkog nacrta, sadržavala je sedam klasifikacijskih kategorija:

*1. Vrijednosna orijentacija naslova članaka*: neutralna orijentacija (za članke koji nepristrano i bez određenih tendencija izvještavaju o određenom događaju), pozitivna orijentacija (za naslove koji temu ovisnosti predstavljaju u pozitivnijem tonu, odnosno gdje se prikazuju primjeri kvalitetne borbe protiv ovisnosti i pozitivni primjeri izlaska iz ovisničkog života) i negativna orijentacija (u kojima je ovisnička tema fokusirana na kriminalne radnje, divljaštvo, vožnje u teško alkoholiziranim stanjima, obiteljsko zlostavljanje i sl.).
*2. Novinarske forme i žanrovi*: vijest, izvještaj, reportaža, intervju, komentar, analiza, te kolika je prosječna zastupljenost članka u pojedinim formama.
*3. Novinske rubrike u kojima su članci objavljeni.* Analizirana je pozicija članka s obzirom na rubriku u kojoj se nalazi: vijesti, crna kronika, novosti, spektakl, sport, zabava, poslovni svijet, aktualno, najave i sl.
*4. Tema novinskog članka u kojemu se spominje ovisnost ili bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge.* Ta se kategorija referira na sadržaje poput zaplijene narkotika, remećenja javnog reda pod utjecajem opojnih sredstava, vožnje pod utjecajem raznih opojnih sredstava, policijskih izvještaja, intervjua liječenih ovisnika, života slavnih vezanih uz konzumacije narkotika i sl.

*5. Prosjek prostora članka na stranici dnevnog tiska*. Kategorija u čijem su fokusu pitanja koliki je postotak prostora koji zauzima pojedini članak na novinskoj stranici te što njegova veličina govori o važnosti vijesti i koje konotacije njegova pozicija na stranici sugerira.

*6. Sadržaj članka*. Tu su naglašena pitanja o tome je li članak napisan na senzacionalistički način i koliko se sadržaj podudara s naslovom članka. Senzacionalistički pristup definirali smo kao naglašavanje trivijalnih informacija i događaja u novinskom sadržaju, a koji se predstavljaju kao važni ili značajni: naslov članka nije u skladu sa sadržajem teksta; sadržajem se zadire u privatni život; članak sadrži uznemirujuće fotografije unesrećenih osoba; vrijeđaju se druge osobe; površnost u izvještavanju te izostavljanje konteksta.

*7. Grafička oprema teksta članka*: naslov, nadnaslov, podnaslov, okvir unutar članka, fotografije, tekst u boji, komentari uz sliku i sl.

## REZULTATI ANALIZE SADRŽAJA

### Rezultati analize priloga iz uzorka uzetog tijekom 2015. godine

Postotak dana s člancima koji imaju za temu ovisnost ili sadrže bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge tijekom razdoblja koje je obuhvaćeno glavnom analizom, a u odnosu na 37 dana koji su ušli u uzorak, u *Jutarnjem listu* iznosio je 75,68 % (28 dana), dok je u *Večernjem listu* i *24 sata* bio nešto niži, 59,46 % (22 dana) i 54,05 % (20 dana).

Iščitavajući sadržaj članaka te njihovu poziciju u dnevnom tisku, možemo zaključiti da se velika većina sadržaja odnosi na kratke vijesti u rubrikama crne kronike, ponajprije vezane uz temu zapljene narkotika i prometnih prekršaja pod utjecajem opojnih sredstava, te na kratke izvještaje o kriminalnom miljeu, zdravstvenim posljedicama i dobrobiti pojedinih supstanci. Analiza sadržaja temeljila se na uzorku u koji su ušli svi članci vezani za bilo koji aspekt ovisnosti. No, da rezultate kvantitativnog dijela istraživanja ne smijemo uzeti kao pravi smjerokaz reprezentacije ovisnosti i ovisnika, pokazuje primjer članka pod naslovom „10 CM KRAĆI: Dječaci koji puše „travu" manje rastu", u kojem piše:

*Dječaci koji puše marihuanu prije nego što dođu u pubertet mogli bi narasti manje nego njihovi vršnjaci, kaže nova studija. Mladi koji su ovisni o ovoj drogi narast će čak 10 centimetara manje, a zbog konzumacije kanabisa bit će i za 4 do 5 kilograma lakši od svojih vršnjaka. Pušenje trave umjesto da opušta, navodi se, na duge staze zapravo uzrokuje veće nezadovoljstvo jer uzrokuje veće lučenje hormona stresa – kortizola* (Jutarnji list, 20.05.2015.a: 32)

Zbog toga se naša analiza nije zadržala samo na kvantitativnoj obradi podataka već uključuje i kvalitativnu analizu sadržaja. Stavljajući u parametre istraživanja riječi navedenog članka, vezanih uz temu ovisnosti – kao npr. marihuana, ovisni, droga, kanabis, trava – dobiveni rezultati govorit će u prilog velikoj i primjerenoj zastupljenosti tema ovisnosti. No sagledamo li članak u cjelini i proučimo kontekst u kojem je napisan te diskurs koji je korišten, razumjet ćemo potrebu za kvalitativnim istraživačkim pristupom i kritičkom perspektivom prilikom obrade sadržaja.

Usporedo s postotkom dana koji sadrže članke vezane uz temu ovisnosti, izračunat je i postotak članaka u pojedinačnom tisku u odnosu na ukupan broj analiziranih članaka. Najveći postotak članaka vezanih uz ovisnost nalazi se u *Jutarnjem listu* (42,24 %), dok je nešto niži u *Večernjem listu* (30,17 %) i u *24 sata* (27,59 %). Postotak dana s člancima koji se odnose na temu ovisnosti povezan je i s postotkom prostora na novinskoj stranici objavljenih članaka vezanih uz ovisnost. Kako se vidi u tablici 1, najviše prostora u prosjeku zauzimaju članci objavljeni u *24 sata*, 61,27 % prostora stranice, a najmanje članci objavljeni u *Večernjem listu* (20,87 %), dok u *Jutarnjem listu* prosječno zauzimaju 38,81 % prostora.

Tablica 1. **Postotak prostora priloga vezanih uz temu ovisnosti na novinskoj stranici**

| Dnevne novine | % prosjeka prostora na stranici objavljenih priloga | Dimenzije stranice u mm |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Jutarnji list | 38,81 % (103 × 150mm) | 265 × 386 mm |
| Večernji list | 20,87 % (52 × 73mm) | 249 × 350 mm |
| 24 sata | 61,27 % (123 × 128mm) | 200 × 275 mm |

Valja naznačiti da prosjek prostora ne daje realnu sliku zastupljenosti tema ovisnosti i koliki one prostor zauzimaju na stranicama dnevnog tiska. Uz priloženu statistiku valja napomenuti kako je postotak prosjeka uglavnom određen velikim prostorom koji zauzimaju senzacionalistički članci poput „Dječak pušio osvježivač zraka, poplavio i umro?" (*24 sata*, 20.02.2015.: 4), koji se proteže na četiri stranice i u kojem se istražuju uzroci smrti mladića uz detaljnu analizu tržišta legalnih psihoaktivnih supstanci. Primjer je i članak naslova „U Hrvatskoj se pere golemi novac moćnih narkokartela" (*Jutarnji list*, 07.09.2015.: 7), koji iskorištava negativnu i senzacionalističku konotaciju vezanu uz narkosvijet kako bi privukao publiku na čitanje novinskog izvještaja o financijskim malverzacijama privatnih biznismena u Hrvatskoj i promovirao kapitalistički diskurs kao prikladan u analiziranju trenutnog stanja na ekonomskom tržištu.

Većina članaka ipak se odnosi na kratke vijesti, vijesti u crnoj kronici, vijesti iz svijeta slavnih i na zanimljivosti iz širokog spektra društvenih zbivanja, gdje se postotak prosjeka prostora kreće od 4 % do 15 %, a naslovi, uz negativnu konotaciju spram pitanja ovisnosti, uglavnom iskorištavaju „najsočniji" dio izvještavanog događaja, poput: „Drogirani par divljao držeći bebu" (*Jutarnji list*, 20.05.2015.b: 18), „Policija spaljivala marihuanu pa se pola grada napušilo" (*Večernji list*, 31.03.2015.: 48) te „Maloljetnik dodatni džeparac zarađivao dilanjem tripova" (*24 sata*, 21.04.2015.: 15).

Kada govorimo o poziciji stranice na kojoj su članci objavljeni, treba reći da je u *Jutarnjem listu* samo jedan članak najavljen na naslovnici: „Kako nam je marihuana spasila živote" (*Jutarnji list*, 27.09.2015.). Riječ je o članku o medicinskoj marihuani i slučaju Huanita Luksetića, oboljelog od multiple skleroze. U *Večernjem listu* također je jedan članak najavljen na naslovnici – „Mitovi o kanabisu" (*Večernji list*, 18.08.2015.). Radi se o naslovnoj najavi članka o legalizaciji medicinske marihuane. Novine *24 sata* imaju tri članka vezana uz ovisnost koja su najavljena na naslovnici: „Djed (63): Marihuana je bakina, ja joj uopće nisam

pomagao" (*24 sata*, 31.01.2015.), „Dječak pušio osvježivač i umro" (*24 sata*, 20.02.2015.) te „Nova droga u gumenim bombonima" (*24 sata*, 20.07.2015.) i svi su senzacionalistički orijentirani. U sva tri dnevna lista mjesto na naslovnoj stranici zauzele su teme vezane uz marihuanu, odnosno uz promoviranje legalizacije medicinske marihuane. To upućuje na moguće konotacije koje iščitavamo iz promoviranja određenih tema u sklopu uređivačkih politika i koliko privatni biznis te politička struktura imaju utjecaja na odabir „gorućih" tema, u ovom slučaju to je promocija medicinske marihuane kroz farmaceutsku industriju.

Naveli smo već kako je postotak dana s člancima u kojima se spominje neki aspekt ovisnosti ili bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge iznenađujuće visok, no kao što je vidljivo iz tablice 2, prosječan broj članaka po izdanju izrazito je nizak. Najviši prosjek ima *Jutarnji list* s 1,75 članaka po dnevnom izdanju, dok su *Večernji list* i *24 sata* izjednačeni s 1,6 članaka po izdanju.

Tablica 2. **Prosječan broj članaka s tematikom ovisnosti po izdanju tijekom 2015. godine**

| Dnevne novine | Prosjek |
| --- | --- |
| Jutarnji list | 1,75 |
| Večernji list | 1,59 |
| 24 sata | 1,60 |

Valja istaknuti kako je taj broj članaka po dnevnom izdanju sveden na informacije ne toliko vezane uz realne probleme ovisnosti (informiranje i savjetovanje javnog mijenja o trenutnom stanju marginalizirane skupine), već se kroz kratke vijesti i izvješća uglavnom promovira senzacionalistički diskurs koji iskorištava temu ovisnosti kao okidač koji privlači čitateljevu pažnju. Takav je naslov članka „Mladi par umro nakon pira od nove smjese narkotika" (*Večernji list*, 27.10.2015.). Naslov i tema članka vođeni su senzacionalističkom konstrukcijom vijesti, gdje se tekst članka uopće ne referira na ovisnost niti je sadržaj teksta vezan uz kobne posljedice zloupotrebe droga. Članak se sastoji od policijskog izvještaja i nekoliko kratkih biografskih podataka mladog para te okolnosti u kojima se tragedija dogodila. Samo se u kratkom dijelu članka ističe neopravdana sumnja u kobne posljedice konzumiranja opijata. Činjenično stanje govori da se mladi par otrovao u snu plinom koji je kroz loše instalacije uspio prodrijeti u njihovu spavaću sobu. Dakako, ovo je i jedan od primjera negativno konotiranih članaka.

Dobiveni podaci nam govore da je oko polovice ispitanih članaka pisano na senzacionalistički način, a naslovi su često vađeni iz konteksta sadržaja članka. Najviši postotak senzacionalističkih naslova članaka vezanih uz temu ovisnosti ima *Večernji list* s 54,29 % (19 od 35), slijede *24 sata* s 50 % (16 od 32) te *Jutarnji list* s 40,82 % (20 od 49).

*Večernji list*, uz najmanje zastupljenih članaka na temu ovisnosti, ima najveću zastupljenost senzacionalistički orijentiranih članaka. Iz naslova koji glasi „Jeftina sintetička droga flakka zbog koje goli trče po ulicama" (*Večernji list*, 29.06.2015.: 26) možemo iščitati na koji se način reprezentiraju ovisnici i općenito konzumenti droga. Članak, koji bi na-

čelno trebao informirati o posljedicama i opasnostima od novih sintetičkih droga, bazira se na kratkom opisu zabilježenih ponašanja pretpostavljenih konzumenata *flakka* droge, ismijavajući i demonizirajući konzumente te ih nazivajući luđacima i čudacima koji „goli trče po raskrižju, bježeći od začuđenih ljudi, dok je u drugom slučaju čovjek na flakki pokušavao razbiti staklena vrata policijske uprave, a treći se zabijao u metalnu ogradu" (*Večernji list*, 29.06.2015.: 26). Iako ovdje ističemo tekst iz *Večernjeg lista* kao primjer senzacionalističkog izvještavanja, razina senzacionalističkih naslova visoka je u sva tri analizirana dnevna lista. Tako primjerice u *Jutarnjem listu* i *24 sata* nalazimo naslove poput „Drogirani dečko ubio unuku glumca Morgana Freemana" (*Jutarnji list*, 18.08.2015.: 25), koji se istog tjedna pojavljuje i u *Večernjem listu*, s naznakom da je jedino u *Jutarnjem listu* cijeli slučaj naslovljen tematikom zloupotrebe droga.

Rezultati analize vrijednosne orijentacije naslova članaka (vidi tablicu 3) pokazuju da u sva tri dnevna lista prevladavaju neutralni naslovi koji na razini cijelog uzorka zauzimaju prosjek od 61,34 %, pri čemu dominira *Večernji list* sa 68,57 %, dok najmanje neutralnih naslova imaju *24 sata* s 56,25 %. Pozitivno orijentiranih naslova je na razini cijelog uzorka 7,12 %, pri čemu ih najviše zamjećujemo u *Jutarnjem listu* – 12,24 %, a najmanje u *Večernjem listu* – 2,86 %. Iako je u dominantnom kriminalističkom i psihijatrijskom diskursu, u kojem su članci ponajprije pisani, teško pretpostaviti pozitivnu vrijednosnu orijentaciju, ona bi trebala biti mnogo zastupljenija, a naslovi poput „Ispovijest – pobijedila sam alkoholizam" (*Jutarnji list*, 01.03.2015.) i „Od alkoholičara sam postao pobjednik OI" (*Večernji list*, 10.04.2015.) pokazuju na koji se način ovisnost, kao sve rašireniji društveni fenomen, može prikazati kao premostiva prepreka.

Tablica 3. **Vrijednosna orijentacija naslova članaka u pregledanim novinama tijekom 2015. godine**

| Orijentacija | Jutarnji list | Večernji list | 24 sata | Prosjek za sva tri lista |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negativno orijentiran | 28,57 % (14) | 28,57 % (10) | 37,50 % (12) | 31,54 % |
| Pozitivno orijentiran | 12,24 % (6) | 2,86 % (1) | 6,25 % (2) | 7,12 % |
| Neutralno orijentiran | 59,18 % (29) | 68,57 % (24) | 56,25 % (18) | 61,34 % |
| Ukupno naslova | 49 | 35 | 32 | 116 (100 %) |

Negativno vrijednosno orijentiranih naslova najviše ima list *24 sata* s 37,5 %, dok *Večernji list* i *Jutarnji list* dijele isti postotak: 28,57 %. Negativnu vrijednosnu orijentaciju možemo iščitati i u naslovima poput „Mladi na Prozacu su skloni nasilju" (*Jutarnji list*, 17.09.2015.: 38), „Bacili bombu u kafić u kojem je policija dan prije pronašla kokain" (*Večernji list*, 02.01.2015.: 18) ili „Maloljetnik dodatni džeparac zarađivao dilanjem tripova" (*24 sata*, 21.04.2015.: 15). Primjećujemo da se, slično kao i u prijašnjim podacima, riječi vezane uz ovisnost i drogu koriste u negativnim kontekstima sa svrhom isticanja određenih vijesti, a negativna orijentacija naslova može odrediti interpretativna čitanja članaka u smjeru optuživanja i predrasudama obilježenog nekonstruktivnog kritiziranja ovisnika.

### Rezultati analize priloga objavljenih u Mjesecu borbe protiv ovisnosti

Mjesec borbe protiv ovisnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj obilježava se svake godine od 15. studenog do 15. prosinca, s ciljem upozoravanja javnosti na problem zlouporabe svih oblika sredstava ovisnosti, a osobito psihoaktivnih tvari, „te se time nastoji potaknuti sve subjekte u društvu na aktivnu borbu protiv ovisnosti i zlouporabe droga poduzimanjem zajedničkih aktivnosti za uspješno suprotstavljanje ovom ozbiljnom problemu današnjice" (Vlada RH, 2017).

U poduzorku je analizirano ukupno 75 članaka kojima je tema ovisnost ili sadrže bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge. U odnosu na ispitanih 30 dana, postotak dana s ovakvim člancima najviši je u *Jutarnjem listu* sa 63,33 %, slijede *24 sata* s 46,67 % te *Večernji list* s najmanjim postotkom od 30 %. U usporedbi s uzorkom (Jutarnji list – 75,68 %, Večernji list –59,46 % i 24 sata – 54,05 %), u Mjesecu borbe protiv ovisnosti u sva je tri ispitana lista primjetan manji postotak (sic!).

Rezultati prikazani u tablici 4 razlikuju prosječnu zastupljenost članaka u odnosu na ukupni broj ispitanih članaka podanalize.

Tablica 4. **Broj i postotak članaka u Mjesecu borbe protiv ovisnosti u pojedinim novinama**

| Dnevne novine | N | Prosjek |
|---|---|---|
| Jutarnji list | 37 | 49,33 % |
| Večernji list | 12 | 16,00 % |
| 24 sata | 26 | 34,67 % |
| Ukupno | 75 | 100,00 % |

Naime, kako se vidi u tablici 4, u relaciji s ukupnim brojem ispitanih članaka, najviši postotak članaka vezanih uz ovisnost prisutan je u *Jutarnjem listu* (49,33 %), a slijedi *24 sata* s 34,67 %. U usporedbi s cijelom godinom, postotak od 16 % u *Večernjem listu* manji je od godišnjeg prosjeka (30,17 %), dok je u *Jutarnjem listu* (42,24 %) i u *24 sata* (27,59 %) razlika u postotku otišla u korist razdoblja Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti.

U tablici 5 pratimo prosječan broj članaka po izdanju dnevnih novina iz čega je vidljivo da je, u usporedbi s cijelom godinom, u *Večernjem listu* manje članaka vezanih uz temu ovisnosti od godišnjeg prosjeka koji je iznosio 1,59 članaka po izdanju. *Jutarnji list* i *24 sata* imaju veći broj članaka po izdanju u razdoblju Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti, u prosjeku 0,2 članka dnevno.

Rezultati postotaka senzacionalističkih naslova na temu ovisnosti govore u prilog manje tendencije k senzacionalizmu u analiziranim naslovima tijekom Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti. Većinom prevladavaju naslovi informativne naravi: „Razbijena velika narko mreža u Albaniji" (*Večernji list*, 20.11.2015.: 21) ili „Na indoor plantaži uzgajali marihuanu i halucinogene gljive" (*Jutarnji list*, 26.11.2015.: 22).  Najmanje senzacionalističkih naslova u tom

razdoblju imaju novine *24 sata* sa samo 15,38 %, u kojima se postotak senzacionalističkih naslova, u odnosu na cijelu godinu, izrazito smanjio. U *Jutarnjem listu* postotak je smanjen s 40,82 % na 32,43 %, što je slučaj i s *Večernjim listom*, koji i dalje ima najveći postotak senzacionalističkih naslova od 41,67 %.

Tablica 5. **Prosječan broj članaka po izdanju dnevnih novina u razdoblju Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti**

| Dnevne novine | Prosjek |
|---|---|
| Jutarnji list | 1,95 |
| Večernji list | 1,33 |
| 24 sata | 1,86 |

U Tablici 6 prikazane su vrijednosne orijentacije naslova članaka na temu ovisnosti u razdoblju Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti.

Tablica 6. **Vrijednosna orijentacija naslova članaka u tri dnevna lista tijekom Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti**

| Orijentacija | Jutarnji list | Večernji list | 24 sata | Prosjek za sva tri lista |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negativno orijentiran | 29,73 % (11) | 25,00 % (3) | 19,23 % (5) | 24,66 % |
| Pozitivno orijentiran | 13,51 % (5) | 0,00 % (0) | 0,00 % (0) | 4,50 % |
| Neutralno orijentiran | 56,76 % (21) | 75,00 % (9) | 80,77 % (21) | 70,84 % |
| Ukupno naslova | 37 | 12 | 26 | 75 (100 %) |

Kako se vidi u priloženoj tablici, dominiraju neutralno orijentirani naslovi, kao uostalom i na razini cijele godine (v. tablicu 3). U *Večernjem listu* i *24 sata* postotak neutralno orijentiranih članaka veći je u razdoblju Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti, dok *Jutarnji list* s 56,76 % jedini ima manji postotak u odnosu na cijelu godinu. *Večernji list* je s 75 % najbliži svom godišnjem postotku od 68,57 %, dok *24 sata* s postotkom od 80,77 % najviše odskače od svoga godišnjeg prosjeka koji iznosi 56,25 %. Pozitivno orijentiranih članaka u *Večernjem listu* i *24 sata* nema, dok su na godišnjoj razini bili zastupljeni s prosjekom od 2,86 % i 6,25 %. *Jutarnji list* u razdoblju Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti jedini ima pozitivno orijentirane naslove, njih 13,51 %, u čemu je prednjačio i na godišnjoj razini s 12,24 %. Negativno orijentiranih članaka općenito ima manje u ovom razdoblju. Najviše su zastupljeni u *Jutarnjem listu* s 29,73 %, koji bilježi rast od 1 %, a slijede *Večernji list* s 25 % i *24 sata* s 19,23 %. *24 sata* jedini bilježi smanjenje negativno orijentiranih članaka od otprilike 18 %, dok je *Večernji list* približno na svojoj godišnjoj razini od 28,57 %.

Sumiramo li sve rezultate iz Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti dolazimo do podataka da je u svim kategorijama zamjetno pozitivnije prikazana tema ovisnosti. No iako je tema ovisnosti reprezentirana na pozitivan i manje senzacionalistički način, uz veći broj članaka i veću prostornu zastupljenost pojedinih članaka, ne možemo zanemariti podatak da je

Mjesec borbe protiv ovisnosti eksplicitno spomenut svega dva puta, u dva skromna članka pod naslovima „Po Zagrepčanki trčalo 500 ljudi" (*Jutarnji list*, 13.12.2015.: 5) i „Manifestacija 'Baci drogu u koš' u Puli" (*Jutarnji list*, 02.12.2015.: 14), koji ukratko izvještavaju o dvije sportske manifestacije kojima se obilježava Mjesec borbe protiv ovisnosti.

## ZAKLJUČNI NALAZI

Provedena analiza upućuje na nekoliko temeljnih zaključaka. U dnevnom tisku nailazimo na relativno veliku količinu medijskog sadržaja koja obuhvaća neke od termina vezanih uz ovisnosti. Međutim, zastupljenosti teme pridonijela je primjena tih termina u svrhe koje nemaju izravne veze sa samim fenomenom ovisnosti. Riječi kao što su *diler*, *droga*, *heroin* i *ovisnost* nerijetko se koriste tek zato da se opišu događaji iz kriminalnog miljea, crne kronike ili života slavnih. Neusporedivo je manje sadržaja koji se izravno odnose na temu ovisnosti. Kategorija posvećena rubrikama u kojoj se članci nalaze otkriva najčešću zastupljenost teme ovisnosti u crnoj kronici i „nemoralnom" svijetu slavnih osoba. Stoga su kvantitativni podaci o relativno velikoj zastupljenosti tema sa sadržajima o ovisnosti u vodećim hrvatskim dnevnim novinama u suprotnosti s kvalitativnim uvidima o kontekstualnim aspektima tih sadržaja.

Sadržaji u kojima se spominje tema ovisnosti različito su vrijednosno orijentirani. Većina analiziranih članaka obilježena je neutralnom vrijednosnom orijentacijom. Zamjetan je postotak negativno orijentiranih naslova članaka, približno 30 %, no indikativno je to da je izrazito nizak postotak pozitivno orijentiranih naslova članaka. Pozitivna orijentacija naslova članaka pretežno je usmjerena na izvještavanje o učincima medicinskog kanabisa, dok je nekoliko primjera rehabilitacije i resocijalizacije ovisnika prisutno u tjednim prilozima pojedinih novina. Neutralnost sadržaja često proizlazi iz kvantitativno manjih članaka, gdje ograničenja količine teksta zahtijevaju kratke i šture podatke koji kreiraju neutralan tip diskursa.

No, kao što i Robert McChesney (2014) ističe, novinarstvo nije politički neutralno, nego pod geslom autonomije i objektivnosti „krijumčari" vrijednosti koje odgovaraju komercijalnim, ali i političkim ciljevima medijskih vlasnika, oglašivača i kreditora. Ben Bagdikian je još 1980-ih opisao taj fenomen riječima „kopaj tamo, ne ovdje", upozoravajući time na mehanizam kojim kriminalističke priče iz crnih kronika prelaze u rubrike vijesti, a trivijalnosti iz života slavnih postaju legitimnim novinarstvom (Bagdikian, 1983). Neutralnost sadržaja podržava poželjnu atmosferu oglašavanja u kojoj plodno tlo nalaze „naredbe za umetanje" (engl. *insertion orders*), jasni naputci tvrtki oglašivača o tome koje to teme i pristupe treba izbjegavati ukoliko mediji žele da one zakupe njihove oglasne prostore. Tendencije da se zadovolje očekivanja oglašivača, novinara i urednika stvaraju efekt tzv. „potrošačkog raspoloženja" (engl. *buying mood*) ili „podržavajuće uređivačke atmosfere" (engl. *supportive editorial atmosphere*) (Hromadžić, 2014: 10).

Tijekom cijele godine naslovi i sadržaji članaka u velikoj su mjeri senzacionalistički intonirani te se vijesti vezane uz temu ovisnosti često oblikuju kroz iskazivanje neistina i izokretanja stvarnih činjenica. U prosjeku oko 50 % članaka u sva tri dnevna lista u kojima

se spominje neki aspekt ovisnosti ili bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge senzacio-nalistički izvještava o segmentu ovisničkog fenomena. Veliki dio cjelokupnog medijskog prostora senzacionalistički je intoniran, od pojedinosti iz života slavnih osoba, detaljnih opisa prometnih nesreća uzrokovanih konzumacijom opojnih sredstava pa sve do priča prikazanih kao istinite i navodno potvrđene informacije. Novinari i urednici često ne po-štuju novinarsku etiku te senzacionalističkim pisanjem doprinose trivijalnom i neprofe-sionalnom prikazu marginaliziranih skupina, s posljedicama neprikladnog informiranja javnosti o problemu ovisnosti.

Načini na koje se prikazuju posljedice drogiranja dodatno potvrđuju tezu o stigmati-zaciji ovisnika. Tema ovisnosti najčešće se nalazi u okviru sadržaja koji se tiču kriminalnih i kažnjivih radnji. Članci se mahom odnose na zapljene narkotika, remećenje javnog reda, prometne prekršaje i nesreće, sudske presude „dilerima". Posljedice drogiranja predstav-ljaju se kroz povećanje kriminaliteta i devijantnog ponašanja (nasilnici, razbojnici, lopovi, huligani), gubitak zaposlenja, obiteljske tragedije, štetnosti za zdravlje i životne brodolo-me slavnih osoba. Negativna konotacija ovisnika često je korištena prilikom analiziranja profila terorista, a njihovi postupci često se vezuju uz konzumiranja opojnih sredstava.

Dodatna analiza sadržaja članaka objavljenih u Mjesecu borbe protiv ovisnosti potvr-dila je obrazac senzacionalističkog izvještavanja i količinu zastupljenosti sadržaja vezanih uz temu ovisnosti. U analiziranom razdoblju postoje odstupanja od godišnjeg prosjeka kada je riječ o količini neutralnih, negativnih i pozitivnih vrijednosnih orijentacija naslova članaka. Razloge za takve rezultate ne treba tražiti u činjenici prikladnijeg pristupa temi ovisnosti u mjesecu posvećenom borbi protiv ovisnosti, već u razlikovanju uzoraka koji su analizirani. Na godišnjoj razini uzorak je bio slučajni (svaki deseti dan), dok je u podanalizi Mjeseca borbe protiv ovisnosti analiziran sadržaj svakoga dana, pri čemu treba znati da dnevni tisak uključuje određene razlike koje se tiču tipova priloga i strukture dnevnih iz-danja tijekom pojedinih dana u tjednu (vikend-izdanja, tjedni prilozi).

Smatramo kako rezultati analize mogu ukazati na putanje kreiranja općeg medijskog okvira (*media frame*) fenomena ovisnosti koji medijski sadržaji popunjavaju. Na kraju istraživanja možemo zaključiti da su medijski sadržaji u kojima se spominje neki aspekt ovisnosti ili bilo koji pojam vezan uz ovisnost i droge u hrvatskom dnevnom tisku nat-prosječno zastupljeni u kvantitativnom, ali su potkapacitirani u kvalitativnom smislu; pretežito su označeni neutralnim vrijednosnim obilježjima, uz zamjetno izražen senza-cionalistički obol.

Konačno, na razini značenja, diskurs vijesti određuje ne samo ono što je u vijestima nego i ono što je odsutno, što nije izabrano za vijest i potisnuto je iz diskursa. Resocijaliza-cija ovisnika, pozitivni primjeri zapošljavanja, osnivanja i održavanja obitelji, volontiranja i pomaganja potrebitima jesu teme koje se ne nalaze u pregledanim dnevnim novinama. Kako narav diskursa vijesti podrazumijeva da novinarske reprezentacije društvenih zbi-vanja potječu iz društva, prikaz stvarnog putem novinarskih praksi mora se kontinuirano dovoditi u pitanje.

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**Analizirani i citirani novinski članci**

>*Jutarnji list*
01. 03. 2015.: „Ispovijest – pobijedila sam alkoholizam"
20. 05. 2015.a: „10 CM KRAĆI: Dječaci koji puše „travu" manje rastu"
20. 05. 2015.b: „Drogirani par divljao držeći bebu"
18. 08. 2015.: „Drogirani dečko ubio unuku glumca Morgana Freemana"
07. 09. 2015.: „U Hrvatskoj se pere golemi novac moćnih narkokartela"
17. 09. 2015.: „Mladi na Prozacu su skloni nasilju"
27. 09. 2015.: „Kako nam je marihuana spasila živote"
26. 11. 2015.: „Na indoor plantaži uzgajali marihuanu i halucinogene gljive"
02. 12. 2015.: „Manifestacija 'Baci drogu u koš' u Puli"
13. 12. 2015.: „Po Zagrepčanki trčalo 500 ljudi"
>*Večernji list*
02. 01. 2015.: „Bacili bombu u kafić u kojemu je policija dan prije pronašla kokain"
31 .03. 2015.: „Policija spaljivala marihuanu pa se pola grada napušilo"
10. 04. 2015.: „Od alkoholičara sam postao pobjednik OI"
29. 06. 2015.: „Jeftina sintetička droga flakka zbog koje goli trče po ulicama"
18. 08. 2015.: „Mitovi o kanabisu"
27. 10. 2015.: „Mladi par umro nakon pira od nove smjese narkotika"
20. 11. 2015.: „Razbijena velika narko mreža u Albaniji"
>*24 sata*
31. 01. 2015.: „Djed (63): Marihuana je bakina, ja joj uopće nisam pomagao"
20. 02. 2015.: „Dječak pušio osvježivač zraka, poplavio i umro?"
21. 04. 2015.: „Maloljetnik dodatni džeparac zarađivao dilanjem tripova"
20. 07. 2015.: „Nova droga u gumenim bombonima"

# MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF DRUG ADDICTS AND DRUG ADDICTION IN THE CROATIAN DAILY PRESS

**Ljiljana Kordić :: Hajrudin Hromadžić :: Jurica Karlić**

**ABSTRACT** *This article articulates and examines the problem of how to represent addicts and addiction in media content. The authors conduct a quantitative and qualitative content analysis of selected daily press in Croatia (Jutarnji list, Večernji list and 24 sata) from 2015 and a sub-analysis of the target period (Anti-addiction Month) serving to compare two different news cycles. The media coverage of the examined themes, the connotation of such media content and the approach to this issue are analysed. This article provides insight into how addiction, as well as drug addicts, is represented in the selected media, and the implications and consequences such representations carry with them, while exploring the questions such as why these types of representations are present, and whose interests are represented in such representations.*

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# THE PORTRAYAL OF JOURNALISTS IN TURKISH CINEMA: A STUDY ABOUT JOURNALISM ETHICS THROUGH CINEMA

**Hasan Gürkan**

**ABSTRACT** *This study discusses journalism and how well this profession is framed according to the professional codes of journalism. It focuses on Turkish films made between 1980 and 1990. In the early 1980s, journalism became an important issue with the coercion of the mass media under the Turkish Republic.* Gazeteci (The Journalist), Rahmet ve Gazap (Rahmet and Gazap), *and* Uyanık Gazeteci (The Vigilant Journalist) *are the films based on the profession of journalism made during this era. The selected films discuss the freedom of the press, expression, and media ethics, and these themes are intertwined with the melodramatic element of 'love'. In the films, many dialogues show that the duty of the press is aiding justice or that a journalist must always defend press freedom and write the truth. Social obedience throughout the history of the Turkish Republic is also emphasised in these films.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Cinema can change people's attitudes, behaviours, and thoughts; the public is influenced by cinema, and cinema itself can create trends. Thus, cinema is not only a medium that carries the portrayal of power, but it is also is a medium that allows people with opposing views to express their thoughts. Cinema has three basic functions – economic, ideological, and aesthetic – that determine the structures of mainstream and alternative cinema. As Michel Foucault (2015) points out, there is a parallel link between politics and mass media in the power struggle. Every power must legitimise its own presence. While power tries to legitimise its own presence with the mass media, it also intends that its politics are supported by public opinion. Political authorities or those in power use the mass media in order to explain significant issues to the public and for changing minds.

In this sense, the present study focuses on how the profession of journalism is represented in cinema in Turkey. There are a limited number of studies on the representation of journalists in films. These studies are written by Sarah Niblock (2007), Matthew Ehrlich (2004; 2006a; 2006b), and Alexa Milan (2010). However, these three Turkish films – *The Journalist* (1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu), *Rahmet and Gazap* (1980, dir. Mesut Uçakan), *The Vigilant Journalist* (1988, dir. Kartal Tibet) – have no similarities with other films analysed in the mentioned research. Niblock (2007), Ehrlich (2004; 2006a; 2006b) and Milan (2010) particularly contain different themes, such as journalists in media, work-life balance, working conditions, the woman's role in the newsroom, unethical behaviour, the representation of good journalists and bad journalists, current media issues, nostalgia in media, and the free media myth. On the other hand, the selected three films in this study state the more basic issues of journalism, such as the freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and media ethics. In international films that deal with journalism, the audience is often involved in characters' private lives. In these Turkish films the audience witnesses only the main problems of the journalists. For instance, even though gender issues and discrimination are still a problem in Turkey, they are not mentioned in these films. Besides these issues mentioned above the only study about the representation of journalists in cinema in Turkey is *Amca Size Gazeteci Diyebilir Miyim?* (*Uncle, Can I Call You Journalist?*) by Mehmet Sağnak (2010). In his book, Sağnak (2010) discusses the portrayal of journalism as a profession in films. He also states that Turkish films based on journalism are filmed within the desired media atmosphere.

In the history of cinema in Turkey, there are also few films whose main characters are journalists, the first of which is the film entitled *Cici Berber* (*The Pretty Barber*, 1933, dir. Muhsin Ertuğrul and Nazım Hikmet). This film is known as the first Turkish film with a journalist as a leading character. In areas concerning civil disobedience and the press in cinema in Turkey, the titular character, *Vatandaş Rıza* (*Citizen Rıza*, 1979, dir. Cüneyt Arkın), goes on a hunger strike in Taksim Square in Istanbul in Turkey. In *Oyunbozan* (*Double-crosser*, 2000, dir. Nesli Çölgeçen), Kemal, one of the leading characters is a poet/columnist. The most memorable film based on journalists in recent history is *Basın* (*Press*, 2011), which was written and directed by Sedat Yılmaz. The film follows a group of journalists

in Diyarbakır during the early 1990s when Turkey was one of the leading countries with the greatest number of journalists killed. In this sense, it is possible to state that cinema in Turkey points out what is on the agenda in Turkey, such as victim journalists, or regaining the freedom of news gathering and writing.

A study of the cinematic history in Turkey shows that few films focus on the topic of journalism. Additionally, the majority of these films date back to the 1980s and 1990s. This seems to go parallel with the political and social history of Turkey and is directly related to the new social and political structure constructed by the military coup on September 12, 1980. In this sense, in the early 1980s, journalism became a major issue with the mass media under pressure of the military coup and subsequent government leaders in the Turkish Republic.

## MEDIA ETHICS IN TURKEY

Media ethics refers to gaining and maintaining public trust. In other words, media ethics means the precaution taken by media professionals. Media ethics covers the principles and the rules, which are considered by journalists in news writing and reporting. These principles and rules are related to how the journalists act.

Nelson Crawford (1924), Leon Nelson Flint (1925), William Futhey Gibbons (1926), and Albert Henning (1932) have discussed ethical issues in the field of media since the beginning of the 20th century. The issues addressed within the framework of media ethics are categorised into three different groups: professional, economic, and social-cultural. Accuracy in the news, distortion in the news, manipulation in the news, canard, and respect for private life, defamation and slander in the news, and censorship in the news all fall into the group of professional issues and matters. Monopolies in media and concerns of circulation appear among the economic issues and matters. Gender issues can be categorised among social-cultural matters (Thayer, 1973, 1980; Heine, 1975; Meyer, 1983; Schmuhl, 1984; Jensen, 1997; Patterson and Wilkins, 1998).

It is an economical issue that should be explained through monopolies. Media owners write news to increase their circulation rates by ignoring the ethical principles and rules. This news, covering topics like violence, sexism, and private lives, are then released to the public. Philip Meyer (1987), Conrad Fink (1995), Jeffrey Olen (1988), Hazel Dicken-Garcia (1989), and Kaarle Nordenstreng and Hıfzı Topuz (1989) studied ethics in media and underlined the manipulation in the news as another issue. This refers to interfering with the content of news. There are two kinds of manipulation: interfering with journalists and interfering with media organisations. This is especially seen among media conglomerates and within the monopolisation process. Manipulation in the news is done through journalistic techniques, such as altering stories, and using different images. News manipulation is done by creating a dramatic headline instead of giving a standard one before reporting the related news. The aim of such manipulative news is to direct the readers' perception (Meyer, 1987; Fink, 1995; Olen, 1988; Dicken-Garcia, 1989; Nordenstreng and Topuz, 1989).

Journalists have the right to relay information to the public, but at the same time, they are required not to exceed the limits of acceptable criticism and to relay the information to the public without defamation and slander. Hence, journalists' commentary must be constrained in the news. Moreover, the journalist does not have the right to make derogatory or abusive comments (Juusela, 1991; Patterson and Wilkins, 1998; Besley and Chadwick, 1992; Demir, 2006).

Another commonly discussed issue is the respect for the private life. Journalists write news by protecting the public interest. When the public interest is discussed, the general opinion is towards revealing private life and privacy. On the other hand, there are unspoken rules that prohibit disrespecting anyone's private life and privacy (*Ibid.*).

Censorship in the news is one of the most important issues regarding media ethics. Censorship is one of the biggest obstacles facing the press and it is often applied in two ways, as close censorship and open censorship. Close censorship covers the process before the news is issued. As the editors or chief editors decide to issue the news, they censor its content news. Open censorship covers the process after the news has been issued. This kind of censorship is exercised to put down the problems. While open censorship is applied by the government and supervisory boards, close censorship is applied by editors, chief editors and media owners (Gordon and Merrill, 1998; Kieran, 1997).

Social-cultural issues regarding media ethics are based on gender and sex. Sexism in the media is generally related to the representation of women in the media. The media uses women as consumers as well as objects (Hurst and White, 1994; Lester and Danre-Ross, 1996). Women's images in part determine the perspective of how men regard women (Bıçakçı, 2001). According to these scholars, another social-cultural issue is sexuality in the media. The reactions of audiences devoted to sexuality in the media change depending on the age, sex, social status and personal characteristics of audiences. In Turkey, sexuality in the media refers to the images and the scenes with female and male nudity (Demir, 2006).

To sum up, basic principles of media ethics can be discussed as a conglomeration in the media sector creates problems for journalism. Media organisations cannot release the news about the actions of the organisation it belongs to (Dominick, 2004). The economy plays an important role in the media sector and media organisations gain profit in thanks to their circulation.

Media ethics are based on the liberal paradigm found in the contemporary world. The Marxist (Critical) paradigm, which opposes the liberal paradigm, rejects media ethics. Hasan Gürkan and Başak Gezmen (2016) discuss the principles of these two paradigms regarding journalists, news, and media organisations. According to the liberal paradigm, a journalist is objective and  reflects the truths (Gürkan and Gezmen, 2016: 23-25). The Professional Journalism Ideology[1] is based on the objectivity of journalists, news, and

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[1] The Professional Journalism Ideology is based on objectivity, social responsibility, professionalism, and the relation between news and acicularity since the second half of the 1800s. James Curran states that this ideology is the result of capitalization of media sector through the 19th century. The defects of media can be hidden with this ideology (Gürkan and Gezmen, 2016).

media organisations. Media organisations are the 4th force[2] in democratic societies. These organisations counterbalance the relationship between the governing and the governed. The news must be objective and accurate (*Ibid*.). On the contrary, the critical (Marxist) paradigm says that a journalist is a human, and cannot be objective. She has her own culture and knowledge. Media organisations belong to governing elites and the powerful. Hence, the media is an area that is dominated by the sovereign and the powerful. The news is written by using language, and language can never be objective. Language reconstructs reality and it emphasises that the news is a reconstruction of reality (*Ibid*.).

In Turkey, the media industry started to change after the 1980s. Media monopolies have been a current issue since the second half of the 1980s. Until 1980, all newspaper company owners were members of a journalist family; however, after 1980 businessmen became the new bosses of the media industry (Adaklı, 2006). In other words, these new media owners began to monopolise the media. The biggest threat from this media monopoly is not only preventing journalists from writing the truth, but also preventing plurality in the media. As a result, journalists were obligated to write their news about the people and the institutions closely related to their bosses both ideological and political view points. Consequently, all the journalists who protect the profits of media owners enable the limitation of the freedom of thought and freedom of expression by destroying the freedom of the press and blocking the public's right to know the truth as the result of media monopolies (Adaklı, 2006; Dağtaş, 2006; Dursun, 2004).

In Turkey, the profession of journalism was undergoing the process characterised by massification and industrialisation when the Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti 1946-1960*) was conservative in terms of politics and diplomacy, but on the other hand,  the profession of journalism became integrated with capitalism in economic terms (Taş, 2010: 155). Particularly, multi-party democracy was recovered instead of an authoritarian single-party rule, which played an important role in the process of structurally altering the press.

With the growing strength of the Democrat Party in the political life in Turkey, the press became more influenced by pro-Democrat Party ideals. The newspapers depended on circulation, and advertising income started to protect political objectivity as a founding principle, which signals a clear break in the political position of the press (Taş, 2010: 156).

The 1980s are the years when it was when the important shift to an oligopolistic media market occurred, in which industrial production dominated a press sector that had been based on craft-like production relations (Adaklı, 2010). It has been argued that market-oriented journalism, at the same time, is more socially prestigious and more advantageous in terms of professional competitiveness, and that professional independence can only be possible by adhering to market rules (Özgen, 2004: 152). In the 1980s, journalism began to be considered a profession that serves not only the claim of effectively ensuring the democratic needs of the community, but also in terms of competition, service, and quality standards among the media companies (Adaklı, 2010).

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[2] The other three forces are legislation, propulsion, and jurisdiction. After these three forces, media is evaluated as the 4th force particularly for the democracies.

The 25th and 26th articles of the 1982 Constitution, which went into effect on the 11 November 1982, regulates the freedom of communication, such as freedom of thought and freedom of opinion. In the multi-party era after 1983, a set of legal reforms was regulated. For instance, it was a crime[3] to publish to distribute newspapers, magazines, brochures, flysheets and show bills, etc. (*Ibid.*)

## BACKGROUND OF THE 1980 MILITARY COUP ERA AND MASS MEDIA IN TURKEY

In Turkey, the 1980s was an era when everything was formed by the pressure and the prohibition of the military coup; on the other hand, the state power, which was not only prohibitive but also provocative, was active during these years (Gürbilek, 2009). Mehmet Ali Birand (1985), Oral Çalışlar (2006), and Çetin Yetkin (1995) describe the cultural atmosphere in Turkey in the 1980s with two terms. The first is "pressures on the expressions", and the second is the "expressions boom". For these authors, the environment was highly oppressive, and there were prohibitions applied by the state's power. The 1980 military coup[4] depoliticised the society and institutions in Turkey. Both journalists and press organisations were under pressure. The press moved away from its social functions, and it was a stranger to the public's problems (Çalışlar, 2006; Yetkin, 1995). After the military coup on the 12 September in 1980, the press was faced with new limitations and regulations. Besides trying to regain freedom of thought and freedom of expression, it was really hard to protect the economic interest and independence of the journalists. The changes in the collective bargaining agreement left journalists powerless (*Ibid.*).

The September 12, 1980 military coup limited the liberties much more than the Turkey's past coups,[5] as its leader strove for permanence. Thus, it hoped that the masses could be depoliticised. It was accompanied by important changeovers in Turkey. It rescinded the 1961 Constitution, which was more liberal and enabled democratic rights to be used. The new Constitution replaced the 1961 Constitution and was more restrictive.

In the first half of the 1980s, the issues involving yellow journalism, described below, and interference in subjects' private life were discussed. Toward the 1990s, all of the ethical concerns ended in the media. The press ignored its role as the 4th power, and thereby ignoring the troubles in the political and the public sphere it started to work for the political elite.

The relationship between reader and newspaper changed in the 1980s. These years also represent the period in which the Turkish media was becoming influenced by investment groups. Media groups started failing in their fulfilment of the traditional

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[3] This case is similar to contemporary Turkey. Since the July 15, 2016 coup, placed sanctions have been placed on the press through the declared state of emergency.
[4] The September 12 coup was the military intervention carried out by the Turkish Armed Forces on September 12, 1980. With this intervention, the Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel, was taken from the government office and the Grand Assembly of Turkey was nullified. This period lasted for about nine years, political parties were invalidated, and the party leaders were kept under surveillance and then sentenced.
[5] Other military coups happened on May 27, 1960 and March 12, 1971.

ideals and notions of journalism as the industry underwent a process of monopolisation. In general, the media was governed by economic interests, and the main purpose was not to inform the public. The press transformed the social and political atmosphere whenever it wanted, and it took advantage of the public's trust by doing so. In this sense, the hope of the "idealist approach" from journalists ended as the press changed. Censorship during the military coup helped foster tabloid (yellow) journalism instead of an environment where reporting accurate news was encouraged (Adaklı, 2006; Dağtaş, 2006).

## METHOD

The present study uses a qualitative content analysis. Content analysis, the method of analysing messages, is a favourite method in mass communication studies (Lombard et al., 2002: 587). Content analysis serves as a scientific approach "(a) to describe trends in communication content and patterns of communication, (b) to test hypotheses of message characteristics, (c) to compare media content to the 'real world,' (d) to assess the image of particular groups in society, and (e) to establish a starting point for studies of media effects" (Stroman and Jones, 1997: 272–273). Content analysis involves the process of a rigorous adherence to established rules and steps in order to be most "objective and systematic" (Lewis et al., 2013), and ensure reliability in the study. Therefore, this study follows Susanna Priest's definition of content analysis as "a means of trying to learn something about people by examining what they write, produce on television, or make movies about" (Priest, 1996: 23). Jana Dundelova and Blahoslav Rozboril (2012: 189) point out the advantages of content analysis as following: "It can provide valuable historical/cultural insights over time through the analysis of texts, and it provides insight into complex models of human thought and language use". Therefore, this paper aims to examine the portrayal of journalism in Turkish films and to present an analysis of the three journalism films made during the 1980s and 1990s.

There are 16 films regarding journalism during the 1980s and 1990s in cinema in Turkey. These films[6] are shown in the table below.

Table 1. **Films regarding Journalism during the 1980s and 1990s in Turkish Cinema**

| Film's Original Title | Film's English Title | Director | Released Year |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Gazeteci* | *The Journalist* | Yücel Uçanoğlu | 1980 |
| *Rahmet ve Gazap* | *Rahmet and Gazap* | Mesut Uçakan | 1980 |
| *Talihli Amele* | *The Lucky Holdman* | Başar Sabuncu | 1980 |
| *Çirkinler de Sever* | *The Ugly Love as well* | Sinan Çetin | 1981 |
| *Seni Kalbime Gömdüm* | *I've Buried You in My Heart* | Feyzi Tuna | 1982 |
| *Aile Kadını* | *The Family Woman* | Kartal Tibet | 1983 |
| *Çarıklı Milyoner* | *A Millionaire with a Sandal* | Kartal Tibet | 1983 |

[6] The films are arranged chronologically.

| Film's Original Title | Film's English Title | Director | Released Year |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Damga* | *The Stamp* | Osman Seden | 1984 |
| *Alev Gibi* | *Like the Flame* | Ümit Efekan | 1986 |
| *Namus Düşmanı* | *The Enemy of Honour* | Zeki Alasya | 1986 |
| *Yarın Ağlayacağım* | *I Will Cry Tomorrow* | Halit Refiğ | 1986 |
| *On Kadın* | *The Ten Women* | Şerif Gören | 1987 |
| *Katırcılar* | *The Muleteers* | Şerif Gören | 1987 |
| *Sürgün* | *The Exile* | Ayni Kütükoğlu | 1988 |
| *Gazeteci Kız* | *The Journalist Girl* | Melih Gürgen | 1988 |
| *Uyanık Gazeteci* | *The Vigilant Journalist* | Kartal Tibet | 1988 |

The goal of this study is to provide a great deal of knowledge surrounding journalism and ethics in film throughout the history of Turkish cinema. Moreover, this study also intends to build on that knowledge by addressing more recent films that have not yet been subjected to much research in Turkey. The selected films for the present study are:

>*The Journalist* (*Gazeteci,* 1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu),
>*Rahmet and Gazap* (*Rahmet ve Gazap*, 1980, dir. Mesut Uçakan),
>*The Vigilant Journalist* (*Uyanık Gazeteci*, 1988, dir. Kartal Tibet),

These three films are selected for this study because the protagonists are journalists and the theme of these films deals with issue of the media. These three films are either solely about journalism or, journalism plays a major role in the plot in each of them, as mentioned above. The only theme in these films is media ethics and this theme is intertwined with the element of 'love'. In the film studies literature, melodrama is described as an artistic representation. It does not reflect or describe social and psychological realities; it signifies these realities in two ways where the melodrama produces a narrated or represented content, the life of people in society; and it narrates and represents a series of standpoints, i.e., subject positions. According to Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (1997), the melodrama arises from the conjunction of a formal history proper – development of tragedy, realism, etc. – a set of social determinations, which have to do with the rise of the bourgeoisie and a set of psychic determinations that form the family. The concepts of westernisation and modernity, and the melancholy associated with it have continued to capture the imagination of the Turkish public into the 20th century.

Pelin Agocuk (2015) offers some important insight about Turkish melodrama films in Turkish cinema. Popular Turkish melodrama films made between the 1960s and 1970s problematised these concepts in their portrayal of the love stories of the rich and the poor, the urbanite and the villager. These films pointed towards a balance between modernity and traditionalism, the East and the West. In the same way as the American melodrama films, Turkish melodrama films have a dichotomy between active heroes and passive heroines (Agocuk, 2015). For example, the contrast of active/passive is, inevitably, traversed by another contrast, that between masculine and feminine in these three

Turkish films. In the films, *The Journalist* or *The Vigilant Journalist,* female characters also are seen as protagonists. When the central figure is a man, like in the film *Rahmet ve Gazap,* his masculinity is impaired, but on the other hand, the masculinity is reformed and regained in the other two films as well. In these three films, a happy ending may seem impossible and the audience is well aware of this. With the atmosphere of 1980s Turkey, laying out the problems with the status quo allows these three films reflect the truth. However, on the other hand, these three films can be seen as a contradictory nexus, in which the status quo's reflections to the society's social and psychological situation are brought together, but in which the problem of articulating these reflections is not successfully resolved.

The other 13 Turkish films are not included in this study because their protagonists are not journalists and media issues are not the film's main themes. Just *Katırcılar* (dir. Zeki Ökten, 1987) and *Talihli Amele* (dir. Başar Sabuncu, 1980) also deal with journalism from a critical perspective more than the other 11 films – except *The Journalist*, *Rahmet and Gazap*, *The Vigilant Journalist*. However, the journalists in these two films are not the main characters, and they have less influence on the narrative trajectory of the main characters in the films. Therefore, these two films are not included in this study.

Since this article is focused on the dilemma between media and ethics dilemma, this study tries to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How are the issues of media ethics, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of expression discussed in these films?
RQ2: How are the journalists described in the films? Is there a link with the social-cultural context?
RQ3: According to Robert Stam (2000), if the self-reflexivity of films is a political imperative or responsibility as a solution for an issue by revealing traces of self-esteem in the film production, then do the three films convey this responsibility to the viewer, which is necessary for reflection?

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In order to understand these films better, it is necessary to discuss their plots. The first film, *The Journalist* (*Gazeteci,* 1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu), tells a love story between Kemal, a bully who is a smuggler, and Zeynep, a journalist who defends the truth, gathers, and writes articles about smuggling. Zeynep starts to work with Kemal by going undercover. However, after Zeynep writes her articles and they are published in the newspaper, Kemal's business and his smuggling operations become ruined. Kemal tries to find out who wrote the articles, but on the other hand, the relationship between Kemal and Zeynep turns into one of love. Zeynep does not want to betray Kemal and starts to write the articles with her signature. Thereupon, Kemal becomes angry with Zeynep, but their love leads Kemal to change and he gives up smuggling. He also starts to help Zeynep with her articles. The mafia hears about what is going on, and asserts that Kemal must die. The film ends with Kemal's death.

The second film, *Rahmet and Gazap* (*Rahmet ve Gazap*, 1980, dir. Mesut Uçakan), tells a story about a journalist called Abdullah who always defends the truth and is punished as a result. Abdullah writes the truth in his articles, and his boss, who is his father-in-law, reprimands him. Abdullah and his boss (father-in-law) argue about an article that defends the truth written by Abdullah. On the same night, Abdullah's boss is killed. Everyone thinks that Abdullah killed his boss because of the quarrel between them. Abdullah is punished, and in the meantime, another journalist, Yusuf, tries to help Abdullah. Yusuf gathers important information that could help prove Abdullah's innocence. However, Yusuf gets the information too late to save Abdullah from execution.

The third film, *The Vigilant Journalist* (*Uyanık Gazeteci*, 1988, dir. Kartal Tibet), is based on a true story that takes place between the borders of Romania and Bulgaria. The film tells a story about the two villages and their residents who cannot get along with each other. They cannot comprise on a "no man's land," which does not belongs to Romania or Bulgaria. Both villages supply what they eat and what they drink from this land. However, when the profit is discussed, there are tensions for this land between the two villages. After a while, the older people come together and seek a remedy to end these tensions. Almost all young people in the two villages are good at wrestling. The older people make a decision about organising a wrestling competition between the two wrestlers of the two villages. As a consequence, the winner of the competition will be allowed to use the disputed land. A newspaper company offers a position to a journalist who has already been dismissed from his former newspaper company. The journalist who goes to the two villages perceives this competition as a war, making the situation worse. In the meantime, the international media is interested in this case.

In the consideration of the research questions, the themes are discussed as below:

## Media ethics, freedom of the press and the freedom of expression

A free press is accepted as an indicator and an assurance of democracy. The mass media uses its power to lead the public in terms of politics and economics. The press helps determine, not only what readers think about, but also how readers think and react. In this manner, the press brings up specific political themes or issues, either highlighting particular political themes or delivers the political issues, themes and facts to the public.

The mass media points the way for societies, disseminates ideologies, and creates the images of social reality. The mass media, in the liberal-pluralist approach, is a voice of the public and a constraint on political power. In other words, the mass media is a monitor and a composer of the freedom of the press and the freedom of expression in liberal democracies. Therefore, the mass media stands as a guarantor of the democratic system and an entry to citizens into the process. The arguments regarding media and democracy reveal freedom of thoughts and ideas.

In *The Journalist* (*Gazeteci,* 1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu), professional and social-cultural issues can be seen in terms of media ethics. The accuracy of information is discussed regarding the professional issue. Zeynep follows the accurate news in the film, and she

deals with the recital of the facts. Even though she falls in love with a smuggler, she still writes the truth in her articles.

In the film, *The Journalist*, Zeynep is an idealistic journalist who fights to reveal the truth. She values her career above everything else. She defends press freedom at the same time. She defends the profession journalism in every speech to Kemal. It can be understood with the following words:

*The assignment of the press is helping justice. They as the press must start a war against the smugglers.* (The Journalist, 00:08:04-00:08:40)

When she speaks to Kemal regarding the articles:

*Don't be angry with him/her[7]. S/he interprets the news, and the duty of a journalist is this. Please do not forget that there is freedom of the press in Turkey. If there was not freedom of the press, we would not talk about democracy. We do not have the right to keep down anybody's thoughts.* (The Journalist, 00:22:12-00:22:58)

Zeynep states a point about press freedom in another speech with Kemal:

*The focus of the press changes according to the importance of the person and the case. The press may make the man both a hero and a contemptible.* (The Journalist, 00:34:28-00:35:01)

In the film, *Rahmet and Gazap* (*Rahmet ve Gazap*, 1980, dir. Mesut Uçakan), ethical issues concerning the media can be seen. The film highlights these issues, particularly the following dialogues between Abdullah and his boss (father-in-law). For example, the conversation below shows how the Turkish media sector is affected by the market conditions, because the dominant groups in the media sector in Turkey cover almost all of the sub-sectors. Media groups – the media conglomerates- not only affect newspaper publishing and news agencies, from book, magazine publishing to advertisement and broadcasting, but also include sectors in banking, finance, automotive, tourism, insurance, health, telecom, cement, and energy. In this regard, having a publishing conglomerate in Turkey opens new doors into doing business with the government (Adaklı, 2010):

The Boss: *Fool! Have I not told you that you should not write these kinds of articles many times? OK, I got that you are interested in the poor people, etc. but smuggling issues are not your business. You cannot write what you want. In this organization, 50 people are employed.*
Abdullah: *How do you want me to keep quiet against these issues?*
The Boss: *As if you are going to save the world! You must focus on your articles.* (Rahmet and Gazap, 00:08:30-00:09:02)

The other development regarding the media sector was an increase in tabloid journalism. This kind of journalism, called yellow journalism, includes plenty of images and less news (Atılgan, 1991: 58). It is forbidden, and engaging in this type of dissent plays an important role for tabloid journalism. In that period in Turkey, Turkish society was

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[7] There is no gender difference in the Turkish language. Therefore, when Turkish people mention third-person singular, they just use "O". It may address to both a male and a female.

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misdirected from reality to artificiality through the press. Informing and briefing, which are the main duties of press, were essentially forbidden, and expressing public opposition, under went a process of tabloidization (Özgen, 2004: 68). In the film, the newspaper tries to be transformed from an independent newspaper to a mass popular newspaper. A magazine journalist is transferred to the newspaper.

Yusuf: *What are you talking about? What will a magazine journalist do in this important newspaper?*
Editor-in-Chief: *Please, have a seat! If you think that the newspaper will go on its way as it was, you are getting it wrong! We have to turn it into a mass newspaper to increase our circulation. More tabloid news, a lot of lotteries, a lot of photo-romance...*
Yusuf: *You are trying to turn this into a street newspaper. This is treachery!*
Editor-in-Chief: *Please, have a seat! I do not think Yusuf is a decision-maker.* (Rahmet and Gazap, 00:43:29-00:44:55)

The dialogues above discuss the tabloidisation of Turkish media. Just because as a result of the liberal policies which allowed for the large capital owners and holdings to enter publishing after the 1980s, some negative developments occurred. Tabloidisation and monopolisation limited the use of the freedoms of journalists. In that period, in order to increase public trust toward the press, the press council was established. This council defends the rights of the public to get the truth based on the keystone of a "democratic system with freedom" (Yılmaz, 2015: 177). The politicisation was reflected in the press before the 1980s, the variety and the numbers of opinion newspapers increased during this period. Opinion and mass journalism before the 1980s were replaced by tabloid press. After the September 12, 1980 military coup, due to the pressures on the media, newspapers preferred to make tabloid news instead of political news. Thus, both the society and the media became non-political after the military coup. On the other hand, according to Jean Chalaby (1998), article series, sensationalism and chauvinism find their meaning in the news. Article series and interviews are prioritised with remarkable promotions. Large and frequent images are used in the news, and they strike an attitude inspired in national issues such as the Cyprus issue, etc. (Taş, 2010: 158). Therefore, *Rahmet and Gazap* is a representation of tabloid journalism in media sector in the 1980s in Turkey.

Film *The Vigilant Journalist* (*Uyanık Gazeteci,* 1988, dir. Kartal Tibet) has absurd comedic elements. Having ironic elements, the film also repeats the motto, "There is freedom of press in Turkey". This motto represents the status of the press, as mentioned above, in Turkey in the 1980s. The dialogue between the journalist and the little boy in the film characterise the situation in Turkey:

The boy: *You are making up below, I am making up above*[8]. *All of the villagers are talking about what you are writing for the newspaper.*
The journalist: *Bragging?*
The boy: *No idea, I heard many of the villagers say so! What does bragging mean?*
The journalist: *Bragging means a lie.*
The boy: *Are you a liar?*
The journalist: *Indeed, I am not! But I am a liar in this sense.* (The Vigilant Journalist, 00:40:35-00:42:28)

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[8] In this scene, the boy is in a tree and he is throwing something to the journalist. The journalist is sitting around the tree and writing his article for the newspaper. The boy means that the journalist fabricates his articles.

At this point, it is significant to mention the press code in the 1980s in Turkey. The press code, composed of with 10 articles, consists of prohibitive provisions and obligations. For instance, issuing an individual opinion and reflecting the truth purposefully are some obligations in news articles. Thus, the differences of editorialisation and fact/worth are reproduced based on an interdictor provision. In this sense, the duties of the journalists are to protect the difference of the reality and advertisement/news in accordance with objectivity seeking, and to observe embargoes from the government against the mass media in order not to abuse freedom (Taş, 2010: 163). The film discusses both the liberal paradigm and the critical (Marxist) paradigm. What the journalist perceives is the tension as the war between the two villages is a reading of the critical paradigm. On the other hand, how the newspaper comments on this case by stating "The war begins" is a reading of the liberal paradigm.

## The Portrayal of Journalists

Cinema plays an important role in shaping stereotypes, especially in the absence of face-to-face interactions with these groups. They help to create and perpetuate national stereotypes. As Srividya Ramasubramanian (2005) states, just like the other forms of mass media, films influence what the audience thinks and how the audience acts against other people. Richard Dyer (1993) says people develop a "schema-stereotype" or a quick short-cut reference for the social group with their 'mental cookies'. Stereotypes can not only be seen as derogatory or close-minded, but they also have a tendency to serve a purpose. Sometimes in society, the use of stereotypes has to be acknowledged as a necessary, indeed inescapable, part of the way societies make sense of themselves, and hence actually make and reproduce themselves.

In these three films, all of the journalists are represented as fair, trustworthy persons, and defenders of truth. This shows that the journalists, as white-collar workers, act against corruption in Turkish society. In that case, it is important to mention Dyer's explanations. When focusing on fictional journalists, stereotypes are used as a mode of characterisation in fiction. The type (the journalist in these films) is any character constructed through the use of a few immediately recognisable and defining traits. Moreover, this means that the journalists' stereotypes are a representation of types; the journalists, Zeynep (in *The Journalist)*, Rahmet and Gazap (in *Rahmet and Gazap*), and Ali (in *The Vigilant Journalist*), are the myths of a social type. This allows the audience to easily identify what the journalist character's role is supposed to be in the story. In time, the audience, by using stereotypes, expresses an agreement about this media social group, as if that agreement arose independently of the stereotype. Yet for the most part, it is from the stereotype that the audience gets their ideas about social groups.

Films and other forms of mass media can have similar functions. As discussed above and with the claims of the media cultivation perspective (Gerbner, 1998; Gerbner et al., 2002), how the audiences sees media texts such as films, television films, television series, television programmes and television news on TV and in cinema, after a point, they categorise the stereotypes portrayed on these media as either positive or negative. For this reason, media, such as television and films, which are able to create a realistic

presentation using their audio and visual features, provide a magnificent effect on the audience's perception of social reality.

After every military coup in Turkey, mass media plays an important role in providing a good representation of journalists in news, TV programmes, and films. In the selected films – *The Journalist*, *Rahmet and Gazap*, *The Vigilant Journalist* – journalists and the mass media are represented as fair, trustworthy, and defenders of the truth. Social obedience can be accepted by people after a military coup with media cultivation perspective.

In *The Journalist* (*Gazeteci,* 1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu), the film shows the relationship among a female journalist and her boss and other journalists. There are a few scenes regarding the relationship between the female journalist and her colleague working as a newspaper photographer. The other important element in the film is that the female journalist gathers information by changing her identity. The relationship between the journalist with her news source turns to love in time. The relationship between the female journalist and her colleagues is favourable. First of all, in the beginning of the film, Zeynep and her colleagues are discussing the news regarding the bully. This scene shows that Zeynep's ideas take over and she directs her colleagues' ideas as if she were an opinion leader. Zeynep's relationship with her boss is as good as her relationship with her colleagues. Her boss cares about his colleagues and he is happy with the success of his journalists. The boss is the worried and considerate one who is keens on writing news. In other words, the boss both cares about his news and observes his colleagues carefully. Zeynep starts to write her articles with her real identity after falling in love with Kemal. Kemal learns this and he does not believe that Zeynep loves him and he says that, "If you loved me, you would not write your articles against me". And, Zeynep replies, "I would. I will, too. I am going to write the truth as long as I live". These words show that Zeynep sticks to her profession's ethics as well as her work ethic.

Just as the film *The Journalist* (*Gazeteci,* 1980, dir. Yücel Uçanoğlu), in the film *Rahmet and Gazap* (*Rahmet ve Gazap*, 1980, dir. Mesut Uçakan), the journalist is represented as an honourable person. The name of the film *Rahmet and Gazap* is based on Arabic. According to the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu), *Rahmet* means "forgiving the guilty and having mercy" and *Gazap* means "anger, furiousness and rage". The film addresses the important points with its name: the religious values and the political values in Turkey. In the film, these two values are represented by the journalist (Abdullah). Abdullah is a religious and hardworking journalist, defending the truth as well as having mercy all the time. However, many evil people are represented as angry and furious in the film. This dilemma shows that journalists are fair, trustworthy, defenders of the truth and they morally outperform other people.

Just like the other two films, the journalist in the film *The Vigilant Journalist* (*Uyanık Gazeteci*, 1988, dir. Kartal Tibet) is represented as an honourable, gracious, and news hawk. The journalist is a volunteer and a man of duty all the time. The journalist in the film is brave and risks his life in a war zone. This shows that as white-collar workers, the journalists are trustworthy and they risk their lives for the public's security. If asked to recall the attributes

of journalism, from the films in this period – these three films as well as the other 14 films based on journalism – not surprisingly, we might recall the scenes, the characters, the lines, the settings, and the actors attempt to grab whatever little information they can get to make quick judgments in interpersonal situations.

## Self-Reflexivity of the Films

The cinema critiques itself by using self-reflexivity. There is a certain tension between self-reflexivity and narrative related to self-reflexivity's association with discourse. Elif Kurtoğlu (2011: 17) states that there is self-reflexivity 'film about films' in Turkish cinema. She highlights that in the films about cinema after the 1960s, there was no critical character until the 1980s and love, revenge, and a fame story were common. Mostly, a young girl coming from a village to a big city for the sake of being an artist. On the other hand, cinema began to be viewed more critically, and self-reflexivity was used consciously with the beginning of the 1980s.

Kurtoğlu (2011: 21) analyses the films made between 1980 and 2006 in four headings as 'films about an actor in a film, 'film which is its own parody', 'films about a cinema lover', and 'films about filmmaking'. It can be stated that 'films about filmmaking' are the most self-reflexive films as they mention cinema itself, and in such films cinema is the most directly referred and critically most self-reflective.

Kurtoğlu (2011) states the high number of "films about film making" in the 1980s is a result of the social and political environment of this period. In some films made between 1980 and 1990, the filmmaker's pressures on the filmmaker's troubles are accompanied by problems such as the pressure of the viewer, the pressure of the period, the freedom and the restraint of creativity.

The most popular scholars regarding film studies in Turkey, Seçil Büker and Semire Ruken Öztürk (2016), highlight that the films made thorough the 1980s, contain the characters of the 12 September military coup, and these films can be called as 'the films of lost men'.

In light of this information above, the three films *The Journalist*, *Rahmet and Gazap*, and *The Vigilant Journalist* present the relationship between media and politics with a self-reflexive approach. Although these three films were made by Turkish mainstream cinema, it can be said that these films characterise the system inside the system. Disinformation, hegemony, and agenda setting are inserted as sub-stories into the scenarios. In addition to this, the audience can compare reality and fiction by taking the references from these three films. The media atmosphere that is presented by these three films is indeed the reflections of the real media atmosphere in 1980s Turkey. In the films *The Journalist*, *Rahmet and Gazap*, and *The Vigilant Journalist*, all the journalists protect and defend the truth, underlining the notion of the freedom of press through the films.

Besides this, at the end of the film *The Vigilant Journalist*, the audience hears gunshots and then the screen goes dark. This is a reference to ten journalists who were killed in the

beginning of the 1980s in Turkey. The similar situation occurred in another film, *Rahmet and Gazap*. Abdullah is not killed in this film, but he is sentenced for defending and writing the truth all the time[9]. Therefore, these two films cannot only problematise reality ontologically, but also they produce their own connections to the transformation and the transformation processes by shifting from one place to another through time and reality.

## CONCLUSION

This study examines themed journalism films produced between the 1980s and the 1990s. It is possible to state that the first reason for journalism films to be observed through the 80s and the 90s. In the political and social history of Turkey, there is a parallel link between these films and the new social and political settlement which was formed by the September 12, military coup in 1980. In this sense, in the early 1980s, journalism became a current issue along with the mass media under the pressure of the military coup in the Turkish Republic.

The selected three films based on journalism discuss the freedom of press and the freedom of expression. The three films all focus on media ethics and freedom of the press. In the films, much of the dialogue shows that the press' assignment is helping justice or that a journalist must always defend press freedom and write the truth. There exists a relationship between the state power and the mass media in every era. Every state power must legitimise its own existence. As the state power tries to legitimise their own legalities, on the other hand, it presents its rules to be supported and observed by the public. Political authorities or state powers use mass media for explaining certain issues to the public and for managing the masses.

The undemocratic change based on the politics in Turkish society was created by the 1960, 1971 and 1980 military coups and mass media played a supporting role for the military power during these periods. The functions of media, such as agenda setting and politicising were tools of legitimation for the military coups and subsequent regimes. Particularly, mass media played an important role for the legitimisation of the 1980 military coup. As can be seen in these films made in the1980s, the press defends the truth and every citizen can express her/his ideas and thoughts freely in Turkey. These three films also show that there is press freedom in Turkey, and as such, the press writes the truth all the time. In these three films, all of the journalists are represented as fair, trustworthy, and defenders of the truth. This shows that the journalists, as white-collar workers, act against corruption in Turkish society. On the other hand, it can be stated with these three films journalism is a difficult profession in Turkey. The state power determines the division of work once more to legitimise its own field in the media. Moreover, it sets up the rule for the journalist to connive. The three films present the relationship between media and politics with their self-reflexivity. Although these three films were made by Turkish mainstream cinema, it can be said that these films characterise the system inside the system. The media atmosphere presented by these three films indeed is the reflections of the real media atmosphere in 1980s Turkey.

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[9] Similar situations still happens in Turkey. Journalists are sentenced or killed somehow.

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# PRIKAZI NOVINARA U TURSKIM FILMOVIMA: ISTRAŽIVANJE NOVINARSKE ETIKE KROZ FILM

**Hasan Gürkan**

**SAŽETAK** *U ovoj se studiji raspravlja o novinarstvu u Turskoj te o tome koliko je dobro ta profesija usklađena s profesionalnim kodeksima novinarstva. U fokusu istraživanja su turski filmovi nastali između 1980. i 1990. U ranim 1980-ima novinarstvo je postalo važna tema jer masovni mediji nisu bili slobodni u Republici Turskoj. Filmovi koji govore o novinarskoj profesiji u tom razdoblju jesu:* Gazeteci *(Novinar),* Rahmet ve Gazap *(Rahmet i Gazap) i* Uyanık Gazeteci *(Probuđeni novinar). U odabranim se filmovima raspravlja o slobodi tiska, o slobodi izražavanja te o medijskoj etici. Te su teme isprepletene melodramatičnim elementom „ljubavi". Mnogi dijalozi u filmovima pokazuju da je dužnost novina pomagati pravdi ili da novinari trebaju uvijek braniti slobodu tiska i istinito pisati. U tim filmovima naglašena je i društvena poslušnost karakteristična za prošlost Republike Turske.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI**
PRIKAZ NOVINARSTVA, ETIKA U FILMOVIMA, FILMOVI U TURSKOJ, 1980-e, MASOVNI MEDIJI

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# REACHING, ENGAGING AND BONDING WITH VOTERS ON SOCIAL MEDIA: THE CASE OF 2014/2015 CROATIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

**Dubravka Sinčić Ćorić :: Ružica Brečić :: Maja Šimunjak**

**ABSTRACT** *This paper examines the ways in which presidential candidates utilise social media as a tool in their election campaigns in order to democratise politics and political representation. The study is based on a content analysis of statements published on the official Facebook and Twitter pages of candidates in the 2014/2015 Croatian presidential elections. The results show that candidates did not use social media to reach, engage and form stronger bonds with potential voters. By failing to do so, they have missed an opportunity to bring disenchanted voters back into the political arena and potentially increase the legitimacy of the democratic processes.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Social scientists in the past, contrary to early political observers, tended to downplay the effects of new technologies – at that time referring to radio, newsreels and television – on electoral campaigns (Hong and Nadler, 2012). However, since the 1970s, numerous studies have shown that the content of news stories and campaign advertisements can affect public opinion towards government policies. Later research has confirmed this, by showing that relevant "cues" and "information shortcuts" in the social and political environment can influence voters, especially towards the candidates whose names or political parties are most cognitively accessible (Hong and Nadler, 2012: 456).

The rise of the internet, bringing with it social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, has provoked further debate. Se Jung Park and colleagues (2016) presented a study with mixed results, suggesting that how social media is used, and by whom, may determine social media's function as a political discussion platform and also determine the platform's predictive power to influence offline politics.

There is a growing interest in the utilisation of new media in electoral campaigning (Larsson and Moe, 2012). Past research consists mostly of nationally based case studies (e.g. Baxter and Marcela, 2012; Gibson, 2015; Graham et al., 2013 (all cases of the UK); Bruns and Highfield, 2013 (Australia); Carlisle and Patton, 2013; Nielsen and Vaccari, 2013; Murthy and Petto, 2015; Groshek and Koc-Michalska, 2017 (all cases of the U.S.); Jungherr, 2012 (Germany), Larsson and Moe, 2013 (Denmark); Strandberg, 2013 (Finland); Vaccari et al., 2013 (Italy); Kalsnes et al., 2014; Larsson, 2015 (both cases of Norway), Ross et al., 2015 (New Zealand); Ahmed et al., 2016 (India)). Most of these studies reflect upon economically developed, highly wired, or politically stable societies, whilst there is a lack of studies concerning young democracies and transitional countries. Rarely is there evidence of exploration into the utilisation of social media in more diverse contexts. For instance, Milica Vučković and Domagoj Bebić (2013) analysed how city mayors in Central and South-Eastern Europe, specifically Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia and Slovenia, utilised Facebook during their electoral campaigns, and Marton Bene (2017) explored viral posts during the Hungarian general election campaign in 2014. These Central Eastern European countries can also make an important contribution to research, since they are characterised by low voter turnout, the lack of voters' engagement in the political process, and a distrust in political institutions.

Darren Lilleker and colleagues (2015) found that social media, Facebook in particular, is considered by party strategists a standard feature of campaigning in European democracies, and particularly important in Central Eastern European countries where party systems are weak and still developing. Given also that within the Croatian political arena 2014, there was a climate of high distrust and low political engagement amongst citizens (European Commission, 2014; Ukpolitical.info, n.d.), it is important to examine whether politicians utilised social media to its full potential. In consideration of all of this, the goal of this paper is to analyse how Croatian presidential candidates used social

media as a tool to reach, engage and create bonds with voters during the 2014/2015 Croatian presidential elections.

## SOCIAL MEDIA AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN POLITICIANS AND CITIZENS

The successful utilisation of Facebook throughout Obama's 2008 campaign convinced many politicians to take Facebook more seriously as a campaign tool. However, in spite of Facebook's contribution, clear evidence of its efficiency is still missing. When Karen Ross, Susan Fountaine and Margie Comrie (2015: 252) attempted to prove the effectiveness of online campaigning, including social media, they detected that party websites, blogs, Facebook profiles and Twitter accounts were merely "hi-tech ways of transmitting old-tech messages". Karen Ross and Tobias Bürger (2014) similarly claim that most politicians see social media communication as a one-way street, so they use a monologic approach, rarely getting involved in comment threads, or instigating dialogue with their voters on social media. Digital communication technology enables greater interaction between campaign staff and citizens, and amongst citizens themselves, however, political campaigns tend to limit those interactions and favour the role of public relations in political campaigns (Stromer-Galley, 2014: 172). In addition, studies have shown that politicians tend to avoid actual dialogue and remain reluctant to fully engage with citizens on social media (e.g. Sweetser and Lariscy, 2008; Nielsen, 2011; Macnamara and Kenning, 2013; Ross et al., 2015). Darren Lilleker, Mark Pack and Nigel Jackson (2010: 106) also point out that although Web 2.0 applications provide the "architecture of participation", political elites are reluctant to utilise their maximum "transformative potential". Contrary to this, it is only by utilising social media (and its capacity for interactivity) to the fullest, that a "real shift in political-public communication" would be possible (Ross et al., 2015: 252).

Furthermore, Sonja Utz (2009) argues that social media presents an opportunity for political engagement. She refers particularly to young people and claims that they may be unintentionally "exposed to candidate profiles and fresh political viewpoints" whilst surfing the net (Utz, 2009: 223). Additionally, members of different social networks will be more likely exposed to "conflicting political viewpoints, which benefits democracy" (*Ibid*.). Being online enables politicians to convey their desired message through personal and individual channels such as social networks or microblogs. In that sense, social media represent semi-public, semi-private spaces for self-representation, where borders between offline personal and online-mediated relations are blurred (Enli and Thumim, 2012). Social media facilitates sharing, connecting and storytelling, enabling candidates to humanise their image and get closer to their voters. Furthermore, through the utilisation of social media, candidates have the opportunity to share their opinions with voters and listen to their followers´ comments. They can add value to the social network community by launching interesting questions and by generating discussion on certain issues, or adding links, images, and information of interests (Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014).

# CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This paper addresses the gap identified in the existing literature by describing how presidential candidates utilise social media throughout the elections of a young Central Eastern European democracy. The starting premise is that (1) candidates utilise social media to reach voters online, that (2) candidates utilise social media to engage with voters, and that (3) candidates utilise social media to create bonds with voters. Hence, this paper focuses on analysing the ways in which social media have (or have not) been used in political campaigns for the democratisation of politics, and does not discuss the marketing potential of social media in election campaigns nor the ability of social media to influence election results. Although much has been said about the possibilities of using social media in politics, an integrative theoretical model has not yet been proposed within the existing literature. Therefore, a combination of techniques that politicians can employ to maximise the potential of social media has been drawn from the literature and from previous research (Ross et al., 2015). This serves as a conceptual framework in this study. The proposed list of techniques is not all-inclusive, but considered the most relevant for this research.

## Reaching Voters via Social Media

In order to examine the extent to which candidates use social media to reach voters, this study examines candidates' (1) use of hashtags and tagged accounts and (2) sharing of others' content.

Hashtags on Twitter and tagged accounts on Facebook are the most common ways of categorising content on social networks, and serves the purpose of making one's tweet/post more easily discoverable. By using hashtags/tagged accounts, politicians can help potential voters to find them on social media and better express themes and interests that they want to promote. Similarly, they may tap into others' networks by retweeting/sharing content from other social media accounts. This not only demonstrates the power of their networks and competence in using social media, but it also makes them visible to potential new voters who are connected via shared contacts. Indeed, some scholars argue that modern technology, particularly social networks, have a significant potential to expose citizens to a wider range of perspectives, ideas, and viewpoints (Bozdag and van den Hoven, 2015). In the context of election campaigns, this would mean that citizens who are not particularly interested in politics, or are interested in a particular political option, might be 'accidentally' exposed to diverse political candidates and their ideas. However, others argue that this 'accidental exposure' is very limited and that actually social media users operate in 'filter bubbles' and 'echo chambers' created by social media's algorithms, which serve to provide users with content they might be interested in based on the preferences they have shown in the past (Bozdag and van den Hoven, 2015; Spohr, 2017). If this is the case, then this might hinder politicians' attempts at reaching citizens with a limited interest in politics, those undecided or those with other political values. Research into this phenomenon shows a mixed picture. For example, Seth Flaxman, Sharad Goel and Justin Rao (2016: 298) in their study of 50,000 US-located users found evidence for both sides of the debate, but also argue that the effects are "modest".

This might give hope to politicians aiming to reach wider audiences on social media, as there appears to be opportunities for them to "help raise political awareness and make citizens more interested in politics as well as getting them to debate political issues they have heard about online" (Gustafsson, 2012: 1). Hence, attempts at reaching voters via social media can help voters hear a wider range of political arguments, and consequently, aid in the process of making better-informed choices at polling stations.

## Utilising Social Media by Engaging Voters

To analyse the ways in which candidates engage with voters via social media, the study focuses on candidates' (1) calls for action, (2) posing of questions, (3) participation in the comments section, and (4) attaching multimedia materials to social media posts.

One of the most powerful aspects of social media is "to enable access to cascading networks of potential new audiences and new supporters" (Ross et al., 2015: 267).

Jennifer Stromer-Galley (2014: 169) is of the opinion that campaigns are going in the direction of ever more data driven decision-making and organising in political campaigns. As she puts it, this encompasses new opportunities to control interactivity by targeting messages to audiences, looking for ways to move them up the activity ladder from having a casual interest to voting, to being a team leader. Furthermore, Stromer-Galley (2014: 174) explains that campaigns attempt to harness the power of two-step flow in that voters do not passively watch political ads, as they would have in the 1980s and earlier, but in that they actively get out and talk to their neighbours, call undecided voters in a nearby state, or share on Facebook enthusiasm for a new campaign, such as generated YouTube video. This outlines clearly why it is that politicians should actively ask their followers/friends to share posts with their own networks and online friendship groups.

Additionally, politicians may engage with voters via social media, by opening dialogue and building relationships with followers by asking questions and prompting reactions and opinions on relevant topics. This interactive, dialogic element of political communication on social media can be seen as fully developed only if the politicians also participate in the discussions, usually in the comments sections. They can engage in discussions with voters and in that way, contribute to fulfilling the deliberative ideal of social media, which is seen as a platform that offers "new possibilities for online political conversations between citizens and politicians" (Sørensen, 2016: 664). Indeed, conversations between political candidates and voters on social media may be seen as a step forward to democratising politics, allowing citizens to directly engage in discussions with those who aim to represent them, and ultimately lead to the "revitalisation of the public sphere" (Sørensen, 2016: 665; see also Coleman, 2005; Jensen, 2011; Papacharissi, 2002).

Finally, politicians may also aim to attach multimedia content to their social media posts, since data from social networks shows that posts with multimedia content significantly increases user engagement (Blog.twitter.com, 2015).

### Creating Bonds with Voters

Finally, to establish the ways in which candidates use social media to bond with voters, the research looks at the (5) focus of candidates' statements, (6) the extent to which information from private life is shared, and (7) the language that candidates use on social media.

One of the most important benefits of social media within the political arena, is that politicians are able to use it to communicate their political viewpoints to voters in a controlled and unobstructed way. Social networks can help politicians forge a closer personal bond with voters (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013; Larsson, 2015; Savulescu and Vitelar, 2012), and act as a supplement to politicians' political images by revealing private *personae*, rather than repeating the information from the political sphere (Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014). 'Going personal' is not a new technique in political communication, since it has been claimed for some time that "politicians need to be able to operate smoothly in personal discourse in order to construct themselves as likeable individuals, which is a necessary part of the political persona" (Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha, 2000: 55). However, research shows that politicians rarely do either of these two things on social media. They neither use social networks to inform citizens of their policies, nor do they communicate personal information which would allow voters to get a better understanding of who they 'really' are (Larsson, 2015; Momoc, 2013; Ross et al., 2015).

It is argued that communication on social media should be less fabricated, more natural, personal and 'colloquial'. Formal communication styles usually result in politicians being criticised for not being able to adapt to the social network conventions and to communicate in a more informal, relaxed way (Savulescu and Vitelar, 2012; Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014). Hence, politicians may speak in colloquial language in order to connect with voters in a language which the voters themselves find appropriate and easy to understand, and in doing so, portray themselves as 'one of the people' (Grbeša, 2008; Holtz-Bacha, 2004).

## RESEARCH DESIGN

### Study Context

This study is focused on the Republic of Croatia, a young Central Eastern European democracy and a Member State of the European Union. Croatia is a parliamentary democracy with dual leadership. Alongside the Prime Minister, who is the head of the government, is the President of the Republic who also has some, although very limited, executive powers. There are several reasons for examining the Croatian case. Research has shown that the use of social networks for political communication, particularly Facebook, can have more value in new, as compared to old, EU member states (Lilleker et al., 2015: 756-7). In addition, the electoral system used in the presidential elections is a majority-runoff system, meaning that voters cast a single vote for the chosen candidate, therefore making social media a great tool for candidates wishing to get closer to those they wish to represent.

A further reason for why it is important to examine how, if at all, politicians in Croatia use social media to reach, engage and bond with voters, is because of the generally low level of political engagement of Croatian citizens. At the time of the 2014/2015 presidential elections, the majority of Croatian citizens eligible to vote did not use this constitutional right, and had not done so since the parliamentary elections in 2011. Specifically, voter turnout in the 2013 local elections was 46.97 %, whilst the turnout in the 2014 European Parliament elections was 25.24 %, only Slovakia, Poland and the Czech Republic had less voters attending polling stations (Ukpolitical.info, n.d.). Of these EU Member States with the lowest turnouts in the 2014 EP elections, Croatian citizens at the time expressed the lowest level of trust in their national government. This was recorded at 16 %, and other political institutions did not fare any better (with only 18 % of citizens saying that they had trust in parliament, and only 10 % expressing trust in political parties) (European Commission, 2014).

Although Croatia has less regular internet users than many other EU Member States, recorded at 66 %, digital media – and particularly social networks – seem to be widely used (Digital Economy and Society Index, 2016). Specifically, 89 % of Croatians consume online news, and 64 % use social media, which is in line with the EU-28 average (*Ibid.*).

As far as the social context of the research is concerned, Dražen Lalić and Marijana Grbeša (2015) describe it as unfavourable for the incumbent Ivo Josipović, primarily due to the ongoing six years of economic crisis at the time. The crisis was the result of both the HDZ's (Croatian Democratic Union) and the SDP (Social Democratic Party of Croatia) administration's failures in conducting reforms. "However, the failure to introduce the required reforms has for the most part been blamed on the SDP"[1] (Lalić and Grbeša, 2015: 47). Furthermore, the presidential election was held in an atmosphere of political clashes, mostly related to ideological issues. Therefore, as Lalić and Grbeša (2015) conclude, the presidential election was a competition between the incumbent Josipović and his three challengers: the moderate conservative HDZ's – Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, the rebellious leader of the Human Wall – Ivan Vilibor Sinčić, and Milan Kujundžić, the candidate of the rigid right-wing coalition led by the Croatian Dawn – The Party of the People.

## Methodology

To fulfil the research goal, a content analysis of all statements published on the official Facebook and Twitter profiles of the presidential candidates was conducted.[2] Content analysis allows researchers to detect trends and patterns in text (Berger, 2011; Deacon, 2007), which makes it the most suitable method within the context of the research goal. In addition, content analysis has been used in similar, earlier studies (e.g. Larsson, 2015; Ross et al., 2015).

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[1] Ivo Josipović was a former SDP member.
[2] The results presented here are the part of a bigger research project that included a content analysis of statements that presidential candidates published on their social media accounts, as well as mediated statements in the newspaper. This research examines the ways in which presidential candidates utilise social media tools in their election campaigns to democratise politics and political representation, whilst similarities and differences between direct and mediated political candidates' communication during electoral campaigns, and techniques of impression management employed in their direct and mediated communication, are presented in another paper.

The start date for the analysis was the first day of the official campaign in the 2014 presidential elections (9 December 2014) and ended the day before the second round of elections (9 January 2015). The sample consisted of all Facebook posts and Tweets that were published by candidates on their official profiles during the campaign. The unit of analysis is a statement, which is defined as the totality of words within a social media post that can be identified as having been written by a candidate.

In total, 391 statements were published by the presidential candidates, with 231 published via Facebook and 160 via Twitter, i.e. incumbent Ivo Josipović (IJ), main challenger Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović (KGK), political activist Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (IVS), and Milan Kujundžić (MK) were analysed. Statements made by Sinčić and Kujundžić were analysed only until 28th December 2014, since they did not progress into the second round of elections.

A set of analysed variables, representing candidates' utilisation of social media, has been drawn from the literature (Larsson, 2015; Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014; Savulescu and Vitelar, 2012; Ross et al., 2015) and includes photograph/links/video attachments, questions posed, calls for participation in an action or activity, sharing others' posts or tweets, participating in the discussion following the statement, and using tools such as hashtag and tagged names on Facebook. Candidates' private profile, as well as the definition of colloquial and first person language, were defined following previous similar studies that examined the visibility of political candidates' private lives in public discourses and their use of language (Brečić et al., 2012; Grbeša, 2004),

Inter-coder reliability was calculated on a sample of 39 randomly chosen statements, representing 10 % of the sample. The average reliability score calculated using Holsti's method of agreement across all categories was 0.91.

## FINDINGS

The analysis suggests that candidates in the 2015 Croatian presidential elections considered social media as a channel for communication with voters. The incumbent Ivo Josipović (IJ) was the most active on social networks, publishing a total of 194 statements during the campaign. His main challenger, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović (KGK), published 89, Milan Kujundžić (MK) 66, while Ivan Vilibor Sinčić (IVS), also the only one who, perhaps surprisingly, did not have a Twitter account, published only 42 statements on social networks. However, candidates used social media mainly to strengthen their campaigns rather than as a real space for democratising politics and political representation. There is limited evidence to suggest that presidential candidates used social media to reach, engage or bond with voters.

### Reaching Voters

The data shows that only one candidate, Grabar-Kitarović, partly recognised the opportunity to reach voters by using hashtags and/or tagged accounts. While Josipović and Kujundžić sporadically used this technique, its occasional use does not suggest that its real potential was exploited. Sinčić did not used this technique at all. Whilst the use of hashtags/tagged accounts was at least sporadically used, no candidate tapped into the potential of others' networks to reach potential voters, since there is limited evidence of sharing others' content. Candidates did not seem to attempt to help citizens hear their arguments, and consequently, make better informed decisions with regards to voting (Table 1).

Table 1. **Techniques for reaching voters (% of statements)**

| Techniques for reaching voters | Author | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | KGK | IJ | IVS | MK |
| used hashtag or tagged account | **45** | 28 | 0 | 22 |
| shared others' content | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 |

### Engaging Voters

There is some evidence to suggest that candidates tried to engage voters. All candidates attached materials to their statements on social media, with three out of four doing this regularly. This may be due to the understanding that multimedia content increases users' engagement on social media.

Table 2. **Techniques for engaging voters (% of statements)**

| Techniques for engaging voters | Author | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | KGK | IJ | IVS | MK |
| invited followers to participate in an activity | 28 | **52** | 17 | **80** |
| posed questions | 6 | 10 | 7 | 11 |
| participated in discussion following a statement | 2 | 3 | 14 | 2 |
| attached multimedia materials | **76** | **78** | 38 | **74** |

Incumbent Josipović and the right-wing candidate Kujundžić also made an attempt to use social media to increase followers' participation in the democratic process, by inviting them to participate in a, usually, campaign-related activity. However, both of these techniques can still be seen as quite one-sided on the part of the politicians, since they do not really require voters' engagement. This deliberative potential of social media, through which politicians can invite voters to participate in public debates by posing questions and debating them in the comments section, was not exploited. The data shows that candidates rarely posed interesting questions or participated in discussions following

their statements on social media. Hence, the results suggest that Croatian presidential candidates did not use the full potential of social media to establish an interactive and multi-directional dialogue with their voters, nor were they willing to tap into this potential, and they did not understand that social media can be a powerful tool for mobilising voters (Table 2).

### Creating Bonds with Voters

According to the analysis, topics about the campaign ranked first in all candidates' statements, while insights into politicians' private lives were almost non-existent (Table 3). This demonstrates the fact that politicians failed to use social media to communicate their political messages without intermediaries, as well as to reveal information that works to supplement their political profile. This proves that political actors' Facebook activity can mostly be described as 'politics as usual' (e.g. Margolis and Resnick, 2000), and served as preparation for other, mostly 'offline' political events and activities (Larsson, 2016).

Table 3. **Focus of the statements (% of statements)**

| Focus of the statement | Author | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | KGK | IJ | IVS | MK |
| Current socio-political issues | 6 | 3 | 0 | 2 |
| Campaign | **73** | **68** | **93** | **94** |
| Elections | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Presidential function | 8 | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Attacking present authorities | 4 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Attacking opponents | 4 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| Private profile | **1** | **1** | **0** | **0** |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |

Looking more closely at candidates' statements, there is no evidence to suggest that they even sporadically shared their personal information i.e. mentioning private matters, but not as the focus of the statements. Candidates did not communicate information about their families, family life, lifestyle, hobbies, interests, etc. that may have helped them in creating bonds with voters.

Finally, the study also shows that none of the candidates communicated in a relaxed tone (colloquial language was used in only 2 % of Grabar-Kitarović's statements, 8 % of Josipović's, 10 % of Sinčić's, and 17 % of Kujundžić's) (Table 4). In addition, only Josipović partly communicated in first person (45 %), while other candidates used mainly impersonal language (first person was used in 28 % of Grabar-Kitarović's statements, 5 % of Sinčić's, and 2 % of Kujundžić's).

Table 4. **Usage of colloquial language (% of statements)**

| Usage of colloquial language | | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| Author | KGK | 2 | 98 |
| | IJ | 8 | 92 |
| | IVS | 10 | 90 |
| | MK | 17 | 83 |

# DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The inquiry into how presidential candidates in the 2014/2015 Croatian elections used social media has revealed that the candidates made almost no attempt at reaching voters, engaging them and creating bonds with them. In addition, the candidates also failed to communicate relevant information about their programmes and issues, and ultimately it appears they used social media as bulletins for campaign information. As a result, in the context of low voter turnout, low political mobilisation, and a high distrust towards political institutions, there is little evidence to suggest that politicians make use of social media to democratise politics and representation through social media.

The Croatian case shows that presidential candidates made little attempt at reaching voters on social media, enabling them to hear more (alternative) political arguments, and thus helping them make informed decisions about who to vote for (Gustafsson, 2012). This finding once again demonstrates that there is a gap between what politicians and their campaign strategists claim they use social media for (Lilleker et al., 2015; Serazio, 2014) and what they actually do on social media in the most important political periods. Even if the 'echo chamber'/'filter bubble' phenomenon (Bozdag and van den Hoven, 2015; Flaxman et al., 2016) is relevant in the Croatian context, and social media users are somewhat ideologically segregated (establishing this was beyond the scope of this study), political candidates showed very limited attempts at creating content that might 'break the bubble' and help them reach citizens beyond those already interested in what they have to say.

Presidential candidates made only seeming attempts at prompting the engagement of their voters on social media. They did not mobilise voters by asking for their feedback and opinions, and they did not engage in discussions with them. By doing this they failed to use the potential of social media to democratise politics and political representation (Coleman, 2005; Sørensen, 2016), revitalise the public sphere (Jensen, 2011; Papacharissi, 2002), and ultimately increase voters' political participation, the outcome of which could be an increase in the legitimacy of the country's political processes and elected representatives. Although some politicians claim that they use social media because of its potential for two-way communication (e.g. Enli and Skogerbø, 2013), this analysis reinforces previous findings that politicians use social media as a one-way channel of communication *to*, rather than *with*, voters (e.g. Larsson, 2015; Macnamara and Kenning,

2011, 2013; Momoc, 2013; Nielsen, 2011; Ross et al., 2015; Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014). Consequently, in line with Sørensen's (2016) conclusion, there remains limited evidence that dialogic political communication is taking place on social media.

Finally, this study has revealed that politicians in 2014/2015 made no attempts at creating bonds with voters by communicating personal information, which is considered a necessary communication technique on social media (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013; Larsson, 2015; Savulescu and Vitelar, 2012; Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014). In doing so, they have missed an opportunity to express and promote their political views and programmes through an unobstructed channel of communication. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is similar to that found by Graeme Baxter and colleagues (2013) who suggest that social media is not always well-suited for communicating policy information and commentary, due to some of its restrictions e.g. Twitter's 140-character restriction). However, perhaps a more likely explanation is that political actors continue to see social media as a low-cost public relations vehicle that serves as an alternative to expensive forms of campaign communication and promotion (Baxter et al., 2016; Obholzer and Daniel, 2016). This is in line with Stromer-Galley's recent argument that "campaigns wish to mobilise the public in the service of the campaign, but getting too close to them, really listening and empowering them, is dangerous or at least disadvantageous" (Stromer-Galley, 2014: 187). She, furthermore, points out that interactivity is what a healthy democracy requires" (Stromer-Galley, 2014: 187).

Overall, this study proves what was suggested previously by many authors (e.g. Larsson, 2015; Momoc, 2013; Ross et al., 2015; Zamora Medina and Zurutuza Munoz, 2014), that political candidates see social media as a public relations vehicle for informing their followers of campaign events, whilst the potential of social media to democratise and revitalise politics, representation in the public sphere, remains largely untapped. Political elites, including the candidates, view the internet, in the words of Graeme Browning (2002, in Stromer-Galley, 2014: 177), as "little more than a big electronic auditorium where millions of people gather to spout off much like high-school kids in a civics class- but nonetheless have little impact on the crafting of policies that govern them." (*Ibid*.)

The theoretical contribution of this paper is in the proposed concept based on the utilisation of social media for reaching, engaging and creating bonds with voters. At the end, it can consequently increase the legitimacy of democratic processes and elected representatives.

Given the limitations of the sample, as well as the fact that political cultures have national characteristics, it is not possible to generalise the results beyond the Croatian context. In addition, due to the limitations of the method, it was not possible to examine the reasons for specific politicians' social media usage, nor the effects that their social media had on voters. Both of these limitations, however, can be seen as possible avenues for future research. It would be interesting to further develop this study by comparing politicians' utilisation of social media across Central Eastern Europe and within other

similar contexts. Moreover, it would be interesting to examine how voters utilise the political information available on social media within this context. and what voters' expectations are with regards to online communication with politicians.

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# DOSEZANJE I UKLJUČIVANJE BIRAČA TE POVEZIVANJE S BIRAČIMA PUTEM DRUŠTVENIH MREŽA: ANALIZA PREDSJEDNIČKIH IZBORA U REPUBLICI HRVATSKOJ 2014./2015. GODINE

**Dubravka Sinčić Ćorić :: Ružica Brečić :: Maja Šimunjak**

**SAŽETAK** *U radu se istražuje koriste li i na koji način predsjednički kandidati društvene mreže kako bi demokratizirali politiku i političko predstavljanje. Studija prikazuje rezultate analize sadržaja izjava koje su predsjednički kandidati objavili na svojim službenim profilima na Facebooku i korisničkim računima na Twitteru tijekom izborne kampanje u Republici Hrvatskoj 2014./2015. Rezultati otkrivaju da kandidati nisu koristili društvene mreže kako bi dosegli i uključili potencijalne birače, niti su ih koristili kako bi s biračima ostvarili jaču emotivnu vezu. Propuštajući ovu priliku, propustili su i mogućnost privlačenja nezadovoljnih i razočaranih birača na biralište, čime se mogao povećati i legitimitet demokratskog procesa.*

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# ULOGA FACEBOOKA U SENTIMENTALNIM ODNOSIMA MLADIH

**Elena Družeta :: Nada Zgrabljić Rotar**

**SAŽETAK** *Društvene mreže postale su dio ljudske svakodnevice. Njihova velika popularnost i raznoliki utjecaji na korisnike privlače sve veći broj istraživača. U ovom se članku istražuje uloga Facebooka u sentimentalnim odnosima mladih u Hrvatskoj. Svjetske studije jednoglasno potvrđuju da velika izloženost mladih Facebooku može utjecati na ponašanje korisnika i na ljudske odnose općenito, pa tako i na one ljubavne. Upotreba Facebooka dovela je do stvaranja novih, „neprirodnih" elemenata u sentimentalnim vezama koji vode pojačanoj ljubomori, nepovjerenju, nesigurnosti, opterećenosti i nadziranju partnera. Budući da slična istraživanja nisu do sada provedena u Hrvatskoj, za potrebe ovog rada proveli smo kvantitativno istraživanje metodom ankete na uzorku od 92 studenta komunikologije s Hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu te četiri dubinska intervjua sa studenticama s istog studija. Rezultati koje smo dobili pokazuju kako Facebook ima utjecaja na ljubavne veze – od njihova nastanka, razvijanja, održavanja pa sve do samog prekida. Najviše se ističu problemi ljubomore i nadziranja partnera.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI**

DRUŠTVENE MREŽE, FACEBOOK, SENTIMENTALNI ODNOSI, NOVE TEHNOLOGIJE

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## UVOD

Nove medijske tehnologije utječu na sve aspekte života, ne samo na zabavu i komunikaciju nego i na socijalne, kulturne, političke i ekonomske aspekte života. Širenje interneta promijenilo je način na koji koristimo medije. Digitalna kultura, kao novi pojam u informacijskom društvu, svojim je proizvodima formirala novu vrstu publike koja gradi vlastita pravila komuniciranja. Internet kao platforma tako postaje „dobro mjesto za život" (Zgrabljić Rotar, 2011). Društvene mreže jedna su od najzanimljivijih tema za medijske stručnjake, komunikologe, psihologe i sociologe. Njihova je pojava uzdrmala ljudsku svakodnevicu, izmijenila vrijednosti i norme, promijenila stavove i ponašanja. Ubrzani razvoj tehnologije donosi iz dana u dan nove izazove. Zbog toga su takve teme vrlo poticajne za istraživače, pogotovo ako se uzme u obzir da se društvo neprestano oblikuje i mijenja. Možda se najjasnije promjene mogu vidjeti na mladima zato što su oni najaktivniji korisnici koji od malih nogu odrastaju uz nove tehnologije. Popularnost društvenih mreža i njihova integracija u svakodnevni život dovodi do postavljanja različitih pitanja vezanih uz utjecaj društvenih mreža na svakodnevicu: koliko mladi koriste društvene mreže; utječu li društvene mreže na njihove živote i ako da, kako utječu; utječu li društvene mreže na društveni život, razvijanje i održavanje međusobnih odnosa i ljubavnih veza? Istraživačkih je pitanja, dakako, mnogo, a u ovom smo radu odlučile istražiti kako mladi procjenjuju utjecaj Facebooka na svoje sentimentalne veze. Danas gotovo svaka mlada osoba posjeduje profil na Facebooku na kojem objavljuje veliki broj informacija o svom životu te preko kojega svakodnevno održava interakcije s okolinom. Takva platforma postaje vrlo primamljiva i izazovna za razvijanje i održavanje sentimentalnih veza jer nudi interakciju s partnerom, ali istovremeno omogućava nadzor i kontrolu partnera. Važno je naglasiti kako smo se u ovom istraživanju usmjerile na proučavanje društvene mreže Facebook kao najrelevantnije, najviše korištene društvene mreže u svijetu, koja nam je za analizu najpogodnija i zato što ima „postojanu strukturu koja ne dopušta značajno variranje od profila do profila" (Butigan, 2014: 2).

## DRUŠTVENE MREŽE

Ljudi su, služeći se različitim načinima komunikacije, počeli prilagođavati svoje odnose brzom razvoju tehnologije, što zahtijeva istraživanja koja se bave proučavanjem „nove" stvarnosti. Prema Hasanu Karalu i Mehmetu Kokocu društvene mreže su „najbrže razvijajući alat za stvaranje osobne mreže, pretpostavljaju središnju ulogu u životima mladih ljudi i svakodnevno privlače sve veći broj korisnika" (2013: 646). Neke od trenutno najpopularnijih jesu Facebook, WhatsApp, Facebook Messenger, QQ, WeChat, QZone, Instagram, Tumbir, Twitter, Baidu Tieba, Snapchat (Statista, 2017). Dizajnirane su tako da

*(...) omogućuju pojedincu samoprezentaciju, stvaranje, gledanje i korištenje liste prijatelja, pisanje komentara na profilima svojih prijatelja, slanje privatnih poruka, dijeljenje slika, videa, kreiranje grupa i drugih multimedijalnih sadržaja te tako omogućuju da svaki korisnik aktivno sudjeluje u stvaranju sadržaja* (Kušić, 2010: 105).

Preko njih se odvija glavnina svakodnevne komunikacije, grade se, održavaju i preki-daju prijateljstva i odnosi općenito te se danas koriste kao neizbježni alati i u poslovnom svijetu. Zbog brzog načina života u kojem je vremena sve manje, a podražaja sve više, to nam predstavlja najjednostavniji i najefikasniji način komunikacije. Danah Boyd i Nico-le B. Ellison društvene mreže definiraju kao „uslugu temeljenu na *webu* koja omogućuje pojedincima da (1) izgrade javni ili polujavni profil unutar omeđenog sustava, (2) artiku-liraju listu drugih korisnika s kojima dijele vezu i (3) gledaju i koriste vlastiti popis veza i popise veza drugih unutar sustava" (2008: 211). Andreas Kaplan i Michael Haenlein (2010) kažu kako su društvene mreže medij za društvene interakcije te predstavljaju svojevrstan nadskup alata koji nadilazi sferu društvene komunikacije. Sam koncept *online* društvenih mreža prvenstveno je usmjeren na ljude, njihove interakcije i mogućnosti da sami biraju, kreiraju i dijele sadržaje s drugim korisnicima. Prirodna potreba ljudi kao društvenih bića da budu u interakciji s drugima te da budu prihvaćeni od strane drugih aktera odražava se upravo na njihovu globalnu popularnost. Ivana Hebrang Grgić i Dorja Mučnjak objaš-njavaju kako su ljudi društvena bića, a „(...) u tom novom kontekstu dionici društvenog umrežavanja su pojedinci koji, koristeći se internetom i *web* aplikacijama, komuniciraju na potpuno nov način" (2015: 232). Mnogi autori koji istražuju društvene mreže raspravljaju o važnoj i potencijalno opasnoj odrednici društvenih mreža, posebice za one najmlađe, a to je manipulacija dojmovima. U svome radu Ivana Butigan ističe kako je

(...) slika o sebi koja se projicira na društvenim mrežama dalekosežna i obuhvaća svu publiku, odnosno veze i kontakte koje korisnik posjeduje, a nerijetko utječe i na percepciju izvan konteksta virtualnih za-jednica. Međutim, ukoliko se online i offline verzija nepomirljivo razlikuju, osoba će biti prozvana. Zato je korisnicima društvenih mreža u cilju pažljivo manipulirati dojmovima (Butigan, 2014: 22).

U tom smislu sve veća popularnost društvenih mreža, posebice među mladima, može dovesti do brisanja granica između „stvarnog" identiteta (*offline*) i onog izgrađenog *onli-ne*. Odabir profilne slike, informacije o sebi, lista prijatelja i ostale mogućnosti koje se nude na društvenim mrežama zapravo su sredstva pomoću kojih se samoprezentiramo.

## FACEBOOK

Facebook u 2017. godini ima više od 1,86 milijarda mjesečno aktivnih korisnika te pre-ko 1,74 milijarde korisnika Facebookove mobilne aplikacije. Samo u Europi ima više od 307 milijuna aktivnih korisnika, a svake sekunde otvori se pet novih profila na Facebooku (Noyes, 2017). Facebookova popularnost temelji se na mnoštvu opcija koje nudi svojim ko-risnicima – da kreiraju vlastiti profil, naprave listu prijatelja s kojima mogu podijeliti infor-macije o sebi (datum rođenja, spol, rodni grad, trenutno boravište, ljubavni status, rodbin-ske veze, zaposlenje, seksualni interesi, informacije o vjerskom i političkom opredjeljenju, drugi interesi itd.), održavati višestruke interakcije – dijeliti fotografije, videa, razmjenjivati poruke (javne i privatne) ili objavljivati statuse koji govore o tome kako se korisnik trenut-no osjeća, o čemu razmišlja, gdje se nalazi. Korisnici također imaju mogućnost pridružiti se brojnim grupama okupljenim oko specifičnih interesa, ili pak otvoriti vlastitu grupu i dodavati članove. Facebook omogućuje oglašavanje pa je tako postao i dio poslovnog svijeta. Obiljem sadržaja i aktivnosti koje nudi „začarao" je ljude diljem svijeta, a posebice

pripadnike generacije Y[1] koji se od najranije dobi susreću s njim. To je mjesto na kojem otkrivaju detalje o svojem životu, ali i mjesto na kojem mogu doznati detalje iz tuđih života. U sociološkom smislu Facebook je postao „nova forma društvenosti, koja nameće nove obrasce ponašanja i nove načine društvenog povezivanja" (Kušić, 2010: 106). U istraživanjima mnogi autori (Elphinston i Noller, 2011; Carpenter i Spottswood, 2013; Fox i sur., 2014; Muise i sur., 2009; Marshall i sur., 2012; Orosz i sur., 2015; Tokunaga, 2011) raspravljaju o pozitivnim i negativnim učincima Facebooka i njihovoj važnosti. Kao pozitivne učinke najčešće ističu interakciju s ljudima diljem svijeta, upoznavanje novih kultura, spajanje interesa i održavanje veze na daljinu. Ipak, u nešto većem broju prisutne su rasprave o negativnim učincima Facebooka, kao što su kultura druženja, priroda odnosa, govor, zaštita privatnosti i nadziranje. Mladi su prepušteni sebi i svojem virtualnom svijetu te im se tako „Facebook nameće kao jedna od 'poželjnih' i 'nezaobilaznih' opcija za provođenje slobodnog vremena" (Kušić, 2010: 107). Kontakti uživo, druženja i razgovori svedeni su na minimum, a te se potrebe zadovoljavaju sjedeći ispred računala, „klikanjem" po ekranu i *online* dopisivanjem.

## ISTRAŽIVANJA ULOGE FACEBOOKA U VEZAMA

Moderna tehnologija dovela je društvo do napretka, ali je istovremeno postavila nove izazove i „zaprijetila" svojim korisnicima. Iako ljudi donekle mogu funkcionirati i kada nisu u neposrednoj fizičkoj blizini svojeg partnera, održavanje emocionalne bliskosti i potpora ključni su faktori za održavanje veze. Jennifer N. Morey i suradnici (2013) objašnjavaju kako su takvi izazovi nerijetko ublaženi novim mogućnostima elektroničke komunikacije koja omogućuje mnoštvo opcija bez ulaganja velikog napora. Tehnologija ljudima nudi zamjene koje potiskuju stvarne potrebe, namećući se tako kao „tvorac njihove intime". Drugim riječima, novi uređaji nude strojno posredovanje međuljudskih odnosa (Turkle, 2012). Zbog toga je utjecaj društvenih mreža na ljubavne odnose postao vrlo atraktivna tema za istraživače posljednjih godina. Društvene mreže usmjerene su više k zadovoljavanju socijalno-emocionalnih potreba nego onih informacijske prirode te djeluju na komunikacijskoj razini *osoba s osobom*, što omogućuje direktan i interpersonalan kontakt (Rau i sur., 2008). Prema studiji Michaela J. Rosenfelda i Reubena J. Thomasa iz 2012. godine čak se 22 % Amerikanaca upoznalo preko internetske platforme, što je gotovo jednako postotku parova koji se upoznaju *offline*, a dvostruko manje od onih koji se upoznaju na fakultetu. Autori ističu kako je od 1990-ih godina počeo padati broj parova koji su se upoznali izravno, *offline*, ili preko treće osobe, a neprestano raste broj onih parova koji su se upoznali *online*. Jesse Fox i suradnici u svojem istraživanju provedenom 2014. godine izdvojili su nekoliko ključnih utjecaja na sentimentalne odnose: *povezivanje i udruživanje* – Facebook omogućuje korisnicima da, bez obzira na udaljenost, imaju stalan kontakt i uvid u prisutnost prijatelja te da vide sadržaje koje dijele njihovi prijatelji; *vidljivost* – informacije koje su prije bile nevidljive, kada se objave, postaju javne i vidljive; *dosljednost i ponovljivost* – vezani su uz prirodu digitalne kulture kroz tekst, slike i sav ostali sadržaj objavljen na Facebooku koji se lako može spremiti, umnožavati, snimiti i ponovno objaviti te biti dostupan na mreži i dugo poslije inicijalnog objavljivanja, a vrlo teško ukloniti zauvijek. Rezultati njiho-

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[1] Tzv. digitalna generacija – generacija odrasla u svijetu u kojem je oduvijek bio prisutan internet te za koju je karakteristično korištenje tehnologije i više od osam sati dnevno (Čirjak, 2013).

va istraživanja pokazali su kako Facebook doprinosi i predviđa prostor diskurzivnih borbi povezanih s nekoliko dijalektičkih procesa: *integracija – odvajanje*, *izražavanje – privatnost*, *stabilnost – promjena*. Drugim riječima, partneri se povezuju s drugima i integriraju se u svijetu društvenih mreža, a istovremeno se bore da zadrže privatnost i neovisnost. U tom smislu Facebook postaje potencijalno mjesto ili okidač za stvaranje konflikata u vezi. Osim toga, karakteristike Facebooka omogućuju i nadgledanje sadašnjih ili bivših partnera te traženje potencijalnih novih partnera. Zahvaljujući objavljivanju raznih informacija iz različitih izvora, on predstavlja lokaciju na kojoj se vrlo lako pronađu sve potrebne informacije. Drugim riječima, partnera se može nadzirati tako da se prate njegove objave, slike, događaji koje prati, lokacije na kojima se označava i slično. Facebook predstavlja ne samo interaktivnu i zabavnu stranicu već i prikriven, indirektan izvor različitih informacija o partneru te kao takav može oblikovati misli i osjećaje o postojećoj vezi. Robert S. Tokunaga (2011) jedan je od prvih istraživača koji se bavio pitanjima nadziranja partnera preko društvenih mreža kao alata koji omogućuje lako i nesmetano provođenje takvih aktivnosti. Problematizirao je fenomen nadziranja i njegovu povezanost s ljubomorom. Ističe kako je ljubomora ta koja potiče osobu da nadzire partnera, a Facebook je mjesto koje obiluje bogatstvom „korisnih" informacija. U istraživanju je izdvojio četiri karakteristike društvenih mreža koje tvore savršenu podlogu za nadziranje – dostupnost svih potrebnih podataka, multimedijalnost, mogućnost snimanja podataka i arhiviranja te geografska udaljenost. Problemom nadziranja također su se bavili Rachel A. Elphinston i Patricia Noller (2011) u istraživanju u kojem su na studentima preddiplomskog studija koji su tada bili u ljubavnoj vezi proučavali vezu između „upadanja" na Facebook i ljubomore te njihov utjecaj na vezu. Rezultati su pokazali kako je „upadanje" na partnerov Facebook izravno povezano s nezadovoljstvom u vezi kroz ljubomorne misli i nadziranje partnera. Facebook tako predstavlja okruženje koje je pogodno za razvijanje ljubomornih osjećaja i ponašanja, a ovisnička ponašanja na Facebooku povezana su s negativnim ishodom za sentimentalne veze. Amy Muise i suradnici (2014) proučavali su rodne razlike u nadgledanju partnera. Njihove dvije studije pokazale su da žene češće od muškaraca nadziru partnerove aktivnosti. U prvoj studiji ispitanici su bili izloženi eksperimentalnim uvjetima koji su trebali izazvati ljubomoru, a mjerilo im se vrijeme pretraživanja. Prilikom izazivanja osjećaja ljubomore, žene su provele više vremena istražujući Facebook. U drugoj su studiji rezultati pokazali kako su žene, u vrijeme kada su iskazivale veću ljubomoru, provele znatno više vremena nadzirući svog partnera, a istraživači su tu povezanost objasnili mehanizmom anksiozne vezanosti uz partnera. Ljubomora je prirodni sastojak ljubavnog odnosa te se mora promatrati kao složena pojava, kombinacija osjećaja i reakcija. Možemo je definirati kao određenu vrstu straha koju osoba osjeća kada procjenjuje da postoji potencijalna opasnost da osoba koju ona voli zavoli nekog trećeg ili kad se seksualna pažnja te osobe usmjeri na neku drugu osobu (Milivojević, 2010). Tako su neki autori, kao primjerice Amy Muise i suradnici (2009), Tara C. Marshall i suradnici (2012) i Gábor Orosz i suradnici (2015) posebno proučavali problem ljubomore i Facebooka, s obzirom na to da Facebook predstavlja prikriven, indirektan izvor različitih informacija o partneru koji može oblikovati misli i osjećaje o postojećoj vezi. Facebook kao platforma namijenjena komunikaciji, druženju, zabavi i neprekidnoj interakciji plodno je tlo za izazivanje negativnih osjećaja ljubomore ili zavisti. Istraživanja govore o tome kako su količina vremena provedena *online* i ljubomora značajno povezani tzv. dvostrukom uzročnosti – količina vremena koju partner

provede na Facebooku povećava ljubomoru, dok s druge strane povišena razina ljubomore kod osobe može rezultirati provođenjem više vremena *online* (prema Ivnik, 2014). Svojim istraživanjem o ljubavi i ljubomori u odnosu na status veze na Facebooku Orosz i suradnici (2015) došli su do zanimljivih rezultata – oni koji objavljuju svoji status veze na Facebooku izražavaju veću ljubav prema partneru od onih koji to ne objavljuju. Što jaču ljubav izražavaju, pokazuju i snažnije znakove ljubomore, što se može protumačiti kao pokušaj da se veza zaštiti od potencijalnih prijetnji. Upravo dostupnost velikog broja informacija, koje su u svojoj biti dvosmislene, dovodi do sumnjičavosti, nezadovoljstva i nesigurnosti. Autori zaključuju kako je čin objave statusa „u vezi" – čime se veza iz *offline* svijeta službeno objavljuje *online*, a korisnik postaje „Facebook službeni" – u izvjesnom smislu znak službenog vezanja u *online* svijetu (kao što je to primjerice vjenčani prsten u *offline* svijetu). Jesse Fox i suradnici (2013), istražujući Facebook i veze, otkrili su kako žene trenutak u vezi u kojem javnom promjenom statusa postaju „Facebook službeni" vide puno značajnijim nego muškarci te više vjeruju kako ljudi primjećuju kada neki par postane „Facebook službeni". Rezultati pokazuju i da parovima treba od nekoliko tjedana do nekoliko mjeseci da se odluče objaviti svoj status veze na Facebooku. Također, osobe su sklone objaviti status „u vezi s..." onda kada osjećaju da im je veza postala ozbiljnija, zrelija i stabilnija (Bowe, 2010). Laureen M. Papp i suradnici (2012) otkrivaju kako javni status veze u određenom smislu služi kao zaštitni zid za potencijalne udvarače, otežavajući im na taj način da započinju bilo kakvu vrstu flerta. Koliko su problemi nadziranja i ljubomore na Facebooku značajni, pokazuju razvijene skale za mjerenje „Facebook ljubomore" (*Facebook jelaousy scale*)[2] i „interpersonalnog elektroničkog nadzora" (*IES Scale for SNSs*)[3]. Rachel A. Elphinston i Patricia Noller (2011) objašnjavaju kako sama priroda Facebooka da zadire u živote svojih korisnika, s beskonačnim brojem mogućih prijetnji s „trećih" strana, potiče ljubomorne misli i nadzornička ponašanja, što na kraju rezultira sve većim stupnjem nezadovoljstva u vezi. Tako se osjećaji ljubomore počinju povezivati s nedostatkom povjerenja i samopoštovanja korisnika (Farrugia, 2013). Iako društvene mreže mogu imati i pozitivne utjecaje na ljubavni odnos, Christopher Carpenter i Erin Spottswood (2013) zaključuju da istraživanja pokazuju kako one ipak predstavljaju veću opasnost i imaju veći negativni utjecaj na veze.

## ISTRAŽIVANJE

### Predmet, svrha, cilj i hipoteze

Predmet istraživanja ovog rada jest Facebook i njegova uloga u sentimentalnim vezama[4] mladih. Cilj je ovog istraživanja ispitati kako mladi u Hrvatskoj procjenjuju ulogu Facebooka u sentimentalnim odnosima. Želimo odgovoriti na to pitanje kako bismo mogli osvijestiti taj novi fenomen, s obzirom na to da je ovaj predmet istraživanja aktualan, relevantan i važan za široku populaciju, a posebice za mlade. Istražit ćemo kako mladi ocjenjuju ljubavne veze i njihovo prilagođavanje suvremenim zahtjevima Facebooka;

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[2] Amy Muise i suradnici (2009) konstruirali su skalu „Facebook ljubomore" koja ispituje ljubomoru u različitim svakodnevnim situacijama u kojima se partneri nalaze.
[3] Robert S. Tokunaga (2011) za potrebe svog istraživanja konstruirao je skalu „interpersonalnog elektroničkog nadzora".
[4] Sentimentalna veza označava vezu između dvoje ljudi koja se temelji na osjećajima koje gaje jedno prema drugom, podrazumijeva intiman odnos i seksualnu privlačnost; ljubavna veza, ljubavni odnos.

točnije, istražit ćemo kako mladi korisnici procjenjuju utjecaje svakodnevnog korištenja Facebooka na razvijanje veze, održavanje veze, probleme i konflikte u vezi te u konačnici na prekidanje veze. Hipoteze ovog istraživanja jesu sljedeće:

H1: Društvene mreže utječu na sentimentalne veze.
H2: Postajanje „Facebook službeni" važna je stavka u vezi.
H3: Održavanje veze na Facebooku važno je za odnos.
H4: Facebook potiče ljubomoru, nadzor i nesigurnost u vezi.
H5: Facebook može biti uzrok prekida veze ili može otežati prekid.

### Metodološki okvir istraživanja

U ovom radu koristile smo kvantitativne i kvalitativne metode istraživanja. Za kvantitativno istraživanje koristile smo metodu ankete pomoću konstruiranog upitnika koji je sadržavao 50 pitanja. Anonimna anketa provedena je na obaveznim predavanjima studenata komunikologije na Hrvatskim studijima u srpnju 2015. godine. Nakon obrade rezultata pomoću programa IBM SPSS, provele smo kvalitativno istraživanje u kojem smo podatke prikupljale metodom dubinskog intervjua. Pomoću metode dubinskog intervjua željele smo razjasniti određene problematične točke uočene prilikom obrade podataka iz anketa jer nam dubinski intervjui pružaju potrebnu slobodu i dubinu u istraživanju i mogućnost „zavirivanja ispod površine", što nije moguće postići metodom ankete. Provele smo četiri dubinska intervjua u listopadu 2015. sa studenticama komunikologije s Hrvatskih studija. Koristile smo polustrukturirani upitnik kako bismo ostavile prostora za razvijanje misli ispitanika, a sve u svrhu dobivanja jasnijih rezultata.

Pri konstruiranju mjernog instrumenta koristile smo se istraživanjem Foxa i suradnika iz 2014. godine pod nazivom *Relacijske dijalektike i društvene mreže: Utjecaj Facebooka na uspostavljanje, održavanje, konflikt i raskidanje sentimentalnih veza*.[5] Pomoću njihovih zaključno formiranih kategorija kreirale smo svoj mjerni instrument. Pri nekim smo se kategorijama poslužile i skalama *Facebook ljubomore* i *interpersonalnog elektroničkog nadzora* te smo preuzele određene čestice. U skladu s prethodno navedenim smjernicama kojima smo se vodile u istraživanju te s obzirom na predmet mjerenja definirali smo sljedeće poddomene: *postajanje „Facebook službeni" – nastanak veze*; *održavanje veze*; *nevolje i konflikti u vezi*; *prekid veze*.[6]

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[5] U ovom istraživanju autori su koristili metodu fokus-grupa. Za nju su se odlučili prije svega zato što postoje vrlo rijetke studije koje ispituju ulogu društvenih mreža u romantičnim vezama te su se opredijelili za onu metodu koja im pruža dovoljno slobode i prostora za dublje proučavanje i rasvjetljavanje izabrane pojave. Okupili su deset fokus-grupa u skupinama od 3 do 6 ispitanika te snimali verbalne i neverbalne akcije kako bi što bolje mogli analizirati problem. Svih 47 ispitanika bilo je barem u jednoj vezi otkad su otvorili svoj profil na Facebooku. Moderatori su koristili polustrukturirani upitnik. Ispitanici su zamoljeni da odgovaraju u svoje osobno ime, ali i da govore o iskustvima drugih koje poznaju. To je istraživačima omogućilo da dobiju potpuniji uvid u predmet istraživanja. Kontinuiranom komparacijom i kodiranjem istraživači su razvili nekoliko kategorija koje su kasnije bile ponovno podvrgnute provjeri kod ispitanika prilikom provođenja fokus-grupa kako bi se provjerila točnost podataka. Autori su predstavili dobivene rezultate istraživanja koje su raščlanili na nekoliko kategorija utjecaja koje Facebook ima na ljubavne veze: postajanje „Facebook službeni" (nastanak veze), održavanje veze, nevolje i konflikti te prekidanje veze. Sukladno tim kategorijama, mi smo kreirale svoj mjerni instrument i za svaku kategoriju postavile smo nekoliko čestica koje mjere izabranu pojavu.

[6] Navedene poddomene koristile smo u anketi i prilikom provođenja dubinskih intervjua.

## Uzorak

Uzorak je ovog istraživanja prigodni, a sačinjavaju ga studenti komunikologije preddiplomskog i diplomskog studija na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Uzorak na kojem smo proveli anketno istraživanje čine 103 studenta, s tim da smo 12 anketa proglasile nevažećima[7]. Ukupni uzorak je 91 ispitanik, od čega 71 žena (78 %) te 20 muškaraca (22 %), od toga 51 student s preddiplomskog (56 %), a 40 s diplomskog (44 %) studija komunikologije. Ni jedan ispitanik nije stariji od 27 godina. Uzorak za dubinske intervjue bio je također prigodni. Intervjuirale smo četiri studentice komunikologije s Hrvatskih studija u dobi do 25 godina s kojima smo najlakše stupile u kontakt i provele intervju.

## REZULTATI ANKETNOG ISTRAŽIVANJA

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju kako svi ispitanici posjeduju profil na Facebooku. 84 % ispitanika posjećuje Facebook tri ili više puta dnevno, njih 8 % dva puta dnevno, 3 % jedanput dnevno te njih samo 5 % ne posjećuje Facebook svaki dan. 27 % ispitanika provede oko 30 minuta dnevno na Facebooku, 43 % ispitanika sat-dva, a njih 24 % dva sata ili više. 67 % ispitanika nema trenutno naveden status veze na svom profilu, dok njih 33 % ima. 60 % ispitanika poznaje ljude koji su prekinuli vezu ili imali problema u vezi zbog Facebooka.

Ispitanike koje smo ispitivale anketnim upitnikom nismo ispitale jesu li trenutno ili su bili u vezi u kojoj su oba partnera koristila Facebook. U tom smislu pretpostavljamo da odgovori predstavljaju opća mišljenja temeljena na prošlim ili sadašnjim vlastitim iskustvima ili iskustvima njihove okoline, s obzirom na to da nismo ispitivale mišljenje temeljeno isključivo na osobnom iskustvu. U nastavku donosimo tablični prikaz rezultata anketnog istraživanja izraženih u postotcima[8].

Tablica 1. **Poddomena „Razvijanje veze" (%)**

| Razvijanje veze – postajanje „Fb službeni" | ne slažem se | ne mogu procijeniti | slažem se |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kada uđem u vezu, razmišljam kako bih trebao/la staviti status o tome. | 84 | 5 | 11 |
| „Postajanje službeni" za mene predstavlja vrlo bitnu stavku u vezi. | 90 | 6,6 | 3,4 |
| Razgovaram s partnerom o tome da javno objavimo da smo u vezi. | 64,5 | 19 | 16,5 |
| Javnim objavljivanjem na Facebooku veza postaje ozbiljnija. | 78,2 | 14 | 7,8 |
| Kada postane javno objavljena, osjećam se sigurnije u svoju vezu. | 82,4 | 8,8 | 8,8 |

▶▶

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[7] 12 anketa proglašeno je nevažećima zato što nisu popunjene do kraja ili su ispunjavane na način da su svi odgovori ispitanika u anketi bili označeni jednom, i to uvijek istom ocjenom.
[8] Rezultate dubinskih intervjua uključit ćemo u raspravu o dobivenim rezultatima istraživanja zato što ih ovdje zbog ograničenog prostora ne ćemo biti u mogućnosti predstaviti.

| Razvijanje veze – postajanje „Fb službeni" | ne slažem se | ne mogu procijeniti | slažem se |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kvaliteta veze postaje upitna ukoliko nije objavljena *online*. | 90 | 9 | 1 |
| Ako moj partner ne želi odmah objaviti da smo u vezi, postajem sumnjičav/a. | 74 | 10 | 16 |
| Ukoliko smo odlučili objaviti svoju vezu na Facebooku, znak je da imamo dugotrajnije namjere. | 79 | 10 | 11 |
| Važno mi je biti „Facebook *official*" jer tako držim potencijalne udvarače dalje od svog partnera. | 77 | 10 | 13 |

Tablica 1 pokazuje kako ispitanici smatraju da javno objavljivanje veze na Facebooku ne predstavlja bitnu stavku u vezi (90 %). Samo 1 % ispitanika smatra da kvaliteta veze postaje upitna ako nije objavljena *online*. Ispitanici u ovoj kategoriji negiraju važnost javnog objavljivanja veze što se može povezati s činjenicom da studenti komunikologije imaju razvijenu svijest o utjecaju Facebooka te bi bilo zanimljivo napraviti usporedbu s mlađim ispitanicima.

Tablica 2. **Poddomena „Održavanje veze" (%)**

| Održavanje veze | ne slažem se | ne mogu procijeniti | slažem se |
|---|---|---|---|
| S partnerom održavam javnu interakciju na Facebooku. | 56 | 19,6 | 24,4 |
| Imam potpunu slobodu o tome što pišem, komentiram, *lajkam* na partnerovom profilu. | 11 | 15 | 74 |
| Dogovaram se s partnerom o tome što je prihvatljivo da objavljujemo. | 76 | 12 | 12 |
| Volim kada partner komentira ili *lajka* moje objave. | 20 | 26 | 54 |
| Što više objava, komentara, slika partner ostavlja na mom zidu, znak je da nam je veza čvršća. | 90 | 6,5 | 3,5 |
| Osjećam se sigurnije kada partner stavi našu zajedničku sliku profila. | 59 | 20 | 21 |
| Imam potrebu objavljivati slike i statuse s partnerom. | 64 | 22 | 14 |
| Prije nego objavim nešto zajedničko, pitam partnera za mišljenje. | 61,5 | 10,9 | 27,6 |
| Smeta mi često komentiranje mojih objava od strane mog partnera. | 84 | 10 | 6 |

Tablica 2 pokazuje kako 24 % ispitanika održava javnu interakciju s partnerom na Facebooku, njih 54 % odobrava i voli *feedback* od partnera na njihove javne objave, a njih 74 % smatra da ima slobodu u provođenju aktivnosti na partnerovu profilu. Visokih 90 % ispitanika smatra da broj objava, komentara i zajedničkih slika koje partner objavljuje nije znak čvrste veze. Nešto više od četvrtine ispitanika slaže se da treba pitati partnera za mišljenje prije nego se objavi nešto zajedničko. 21 % ispitanika osjeća se sigurnije kada partnerica ili

partner za sliku profila odabere zajedničku fotografiju. U ovoj je poddomeni također vidljivo kako kod naših ispitanika postoji stupanj svijesti o tome koliko je virtualan svijet ipak virtualan te da on ne mora nužno posjedovati sve događaje iz stvarnoga svijeta. Također, smatramo da bi rezultati ove domene bili drukčiji da su se provodili na mlađoj populaciji koja je dublje infiltrirana u svijet društvenih mreža i kod kojih još ne postoji visoka razina svjesnosti o utjecaju društvenih mreža na život i međusobne odnose.

Tablica 3. **Poddomena „Nevolje i konflikti" (%)**

| Nevolje i konflikti | ne slažem se | ne mogu procijeniti | slažem se |
|---|---|---|---|
| Facebook je izvor potencijalnih prijetnji u mojoj i partnerovoj vezi. | 52,8 | 15,3 | 31,9 |
| Posjećujem partnerov profil često. | 37,2 | 21 | 41,8 |
| Znam koji su partnerovi novi prijatelji. | 60 | 20 | 20 |
| Provjeravam partnerov profil kako bih se domogao/la informacija koje mi je partner možda pokušao prešutjeti. | 73 | 10 | 17 |
| Što moj partner provodi više vremena na Facebooku, moja sumnjičavost raste. | 80 | 10 | 10 |
| Facebook može izazvati nemire u vezi. | 34 | 14,3 | 51,7 |
| Status *it's complicated* izraz je nestabilnosti u vezi. | 44 | 30 | 26 |
| Smeta me kada moj partner ima bivše cure/dečke kao prijatelje na Facebooku. | 67 | 8 | 25 |
| Znam partnerovu šifru od Facebooka. | 78 | 6 | 16 |
| Zajednički Facebook profil učinio bi me smirenijim/om. | 94 | 3 | 3 |
| Ljuti me kada partner objavi sliku s osobom suprotnog spola. | 75 | 10 | 15 |
| Ispitujem partnera o njegovim prijateljima na Facebooku. | 77 | 15 | 8 |
| Da neke stvari nisu objavljene na Facebooku, bile bi umanjene ili ignorirane u *offline* svijetu. | 45 | 18 | 37 |
| Ne mogu znati sa sigurnošću kakve privatne poruke šalje moj partner. | 36 | 18 | 46 |
| Zabrinut/a sam da bi mog partnera mogao zainteresirati netko od njegovih prijatelja/ica na Facebooku. | 70 | 17 | 13 |
| Imao/la sam svađu s partnerom oko Facebooka. | 60 | 10 | 30 |
| Pokušao/la sam pomoću Facebooka izazvati ljubomoru kod partnera. | 62,6 | 22 | 15,4 |
| Dodajem prijatelje od partnera kako bih mogao/la lakše nadzirati partnerove aktivnosti. | 92 | 5 | 3 |
| Pratim kada je moj partner *online* na Facebooku. | 45 | 17,5 | 37,5 |
| Facebook me čini ljubomornijim/om nego što to inače jesam. | 60 | 21 | 19 |

Iz tablice 3 vidljivo je kako 52 % ispitanika procjenjuje da Facebook može izazvati nemire u vezi. Bilo da potvrđuju iz vlastitog iskustva ili da daju svoje opće mišljenje, ispitanici su svjesni da profil na Facebooku može biti razlog za akumulaciju određenih negativnosti u ljubavnim vezama. 30 % naših ispitanika potvrdilo je svađu s partnerom oko Facebooka, a njih 32 % procjenjuje da Facebook može biti izvor potencijalnih prijetnji u njihovoj vezi. 42 % ispitanika često posjećuje partnerov profil, njih 38 % prati kada je partner na mreži. Postojanost elementa nadgledanja preko društvenih mreža predstavlja negativni čimbenik za osobu koja vrši nadgledanje, s obzirom na to da nadgledanje upućuje na postojanost određene sumnje. 78 % ispitanika ne zna partnerovu šifru od Facebooka, a njih 80 % nisu zabrinuti niti sumnjičavi što partner provodi puno vremena na Facebooku. 36 % ispitanika tvrdi kako može znati kakve privatne poruke šalje njihov partner, što upućuje na činjenicu da imaju uvid u partnerove privatne poruke. Ostaje upitno omogućava li im partner uvid u poruke ili se partnerov profil provjeravaju bez njegova znanja.

Tablica 4. **Poddomena „Prekid veze" (%)**

| Prekid veze | ne slažem se | ne mogu procijeniti | slažem se |
|---|---|---|---|
| Facebook može biti uzrok prekida veze. | 17,5 | 22 | 60,5 |
| Facebook otežava prekid. | 42 | 33 | 25 |
| Proces odvajanja od bivše/g puno je teži jer stvari vezane za partnera i bivšu vezu još uvijek su na Facebooku (zajedničke fotografije, objave, statusi itd). | 30 | 20 | 50 |
| Prekid se može odužiti ili zakomplicirati zbog Facebooka. | 26 | 34 | 40 |

Rezultati prikazani u tablici 4 pokazuju kako 61 % ispitanika procjenjuje da Facebook može biti uzrok prekida ljubavne veze, što pokazuje svjesnost ispitanika o postojanju mogućih negativnih utjecaja koje Facebook može imati na vezu između dvoje ljudi. Iako je to vrlo individualno, bitno je naglasiti kako ispitanici smatraju da takva opasnost postoji. 40 % procjenjuje da Facebook otežava ili komplicira prekid, a 50 % ispitanika smatra da proces odvajanja od bivše partnerice odnosno bivšeg partnera Facebook čini puno težim. Ovi su rezultati vezani uz samu prirodu digitalne kulture, jer tekst, slike i sav ostali sadržaj objavljen na Facebooku može biti dostupan na mreži i dugo poslije inicijalnog objavljivanja.

## RASPRAVA O REZULTATIMA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Nakon što smo dobile rezultate anketnog istraživanja, provele smo dubinske intervjue u kojima smo ispitanicama pružile prostor da otvoreno i slobodno govore o učincima Facebooka. Razgovor o Facebooku usmjeravale smo potpitanjima, a obuhvatile smo iste poddomene kao u anketnom istraživanju. Ispitanice jesu ili su bile u vezi u kojoj su oba partnera posjedovala profile na Facebooku te su njihovi odgovori rezultat njihovih osobnih iskustava. U nastavku donosimo raspravu o dobivenim rezultatima intervjua i anketnog istraživanja.

### Postajanje „Facebook službeni" važna je stavka u vezi

U anketnom istraživanju čak se 90 % ispitanika izjasnilo kako postajanje „Facebook službeni" za njih ne predstavlja bitnu stavku u odnosu. U dubinskim intervjuima ispitanice su se također složile da im to uglavnom ne predstavlja bitnu stavku u vezi, ne smatrajući taj trenutak vrlo važnim jer ne doživljavaju Facebook „preozbiljno" i „preosobno". Kao mogući motiv za objavljivanje statusa veze navele su nekoliko razloga: objavljivanje statusa na početku veze kako bi se „šira javnost" upoznala s činjenicom da su ušle u novu vezu (u nekim slučajevima i konkretno s kime), jer je to

*najlakši način da se to objavi široj javnosti* (Ispitanica, 20).

Nakon što se veza objavi javno, obično slijedi dodavanje partnerovih prijatelja i praćenje njihovih objava kako bi se bolje „upoznali". Kada je veza objavljena, u očima drugih, dvoje ljudi počinju biti promatrani kao par:

*I onda svi znaju, vide da ste skupa pa prate vašu vezu, kakvi ste, da li sad komunicirate ili ne, jeste možda posvađani...* (Ispitanica, 21).

Neke su ispitanice navele da se stavljanjem statusa o vezi partner „označi" kao zauzet, čime se žele spriječiti mogući pokušaji udvaranja. Druge su ispitanice kao motiv navele svoje prijatelje na Facebooku koji su svoju vezu javno objavili, a neke su navele sumnju i nepovjerenje u svog partnera kao motiv. Složile su se kako to za njih ne predstavlja važnu stavku. Rezultati našeg istraživanja pokazuju da odbacujemo hipotezu koja govori da je postajanje „Facebook službenima" važna stavka u vezi.

### Održavanje veze na Facebooku važno je za odnos

Tek oko polovine anketiranih ispitanika održava javnu interakciju s partnerom na Facebooku. Oko 65 % njih nemaju potrebu objavljivati slike i statuse s partnerom, a visokih 90 % slaže se da česta interakcija ne znači da je veza stabilna. Ovi nam rezultati govore da su ispitanici ipak svjesni da se, u tom smislu, krećemo u virtualnom svijetu u kojem nerijetko vlada površnost i potreba za uljepšavanjem stvari. Ispitanici tako ne povezuju stabilnost i jačinu sentimentalnog odnosa s *online* interakcijama za koje može postojati mnogo motiva. Ipak, više od polovine ispitanika voli kada partner komentira ili *lajka* njihove objave. U intervjuima su ispitanice potvrdile kako je njihova *online* interakcija s partnerima najčešće bila minimalna ili nikakva, ovisno o periodu. Međutim, složne su oko činjenice da u svojoj okolini poznaju veliki broj ljudi koji redovito održavaju javnu interakciju s partnerom te su takve aktivnosti ocijenile odbojnima i neiskrenima. Takva ponašanja za njih su odraz nesigurnosti jer se kontinuirano javno naglašavanje svog odnosa (npr. stavljanje srca po zidu, *lajkanje*, komentiranje objava svog partnera i sl.) smatra nepotrebnim. Štoviše, doima se suprotnim, kao da se tako želi prividno prikazati ljepota odnosa:

*(...) kao da moraju svi znati da se oni 'vole'* (Ispitanica, 21).

Neke su ispitanice kroz razgovor više puta upotrijebile riječi „to se podrazumijeva", misleći pritom da se podrazumijeva ako ste u vezi da imate javnu interakciju, najčešće kroz „pisanja" srca po zidu ili u komentarima te kroz objavljivanje zajedničkih fotografija:

*Na Fejsu ti se podrazumijeva, ako stavljamo slike, znači da smo u sretnoj vezi, ako ne, znači da nam je malo klimavo. Ili ako dugo ne staviš sliku – nisu skupa. Kao da je to tako nametnuto...* (Ispitanica, 21).

Također, ono što se „podrazumijeva" jest to da je partnerica ta koja bi trebala imati sliku profila sa svojim partnerom, i to najčešće zato što se žene

*teže brane od muškaraca koji napadaju* (Ispitanica, 21).

S obzirom na rezultate istraživanja hipotezu da je održavanje veze na Facebooku važno za odnos djelomično prihvaćamo.

### Facebook potiče ljubomoru, nadzor i nesigurnost u vezi

Ova nam se poddomena pokazala vrlo problematičnom prilikom rasprave o dobivenim rezultatima. Rezultati anketnog istraživanja pokazuju nešto niže rezultate o Facebooku kao platformi koja potiče ljubomoru i nadzor, dok u dubinskim intervjuima dobivamo upravo suprotne rezultate potkrijepljene primjerima iz iskustva ispitanica ili iz iskustva njihove okoline. U anketnom istraživanju oko polovine ispitanika smatra da Facebook predstavlja izvor potencijalnih prijetnji njihovoj vezi. Govoreći o nadziranju partnera, više od 40 % ispitanika često posjećuje partnerov profil. Njih 35 % potvrđuje da su, iako to rade, svjesni da je nadgledanje loše, a 38 % ispitanika prati kada je njihov partner *online*. Istraživanja koja se bave utjecajem Facebooka na veze ističu nadziranje partnera kao jedan od glavnih problema koji proizlazi iz suvremenog načina korištenja društvenih mreža (Tokunaga, 2011; Elphinston i Noller, 2011). Budući da je Facebook platforma koja svojim ustrojstvom predstavlja plodno tlo za vršenje nadzora i nadgledanja, ta se aktivnost posebno može iskoristiti kao alat u ljubavnim odnosima. Naše su sugovornice u dubinskim intervjuima potvrdile aktivnosti nadgledanja partnera. Najčešće, svaki put kada otvore svoj profil, prvo pogledaju kada je partner bio na mreži, što je objavio, komentirao, *lajkao* i slično. To uvelike olakšava opcija „Bliski prijatelji" koja omogućuje pregled gotovo svake aktivnosti osobe koju stavimo na listu. S obzirom na takve mogućnosti i lakoću kojom se to postiže, ispitanici ističu kako je vrlo teško oduprijeti se nadziranju, iako to svjesno ne žele raditi:

*Ja znam da je sve ovo šta sam rekla nadziranje partnera. I, vjeruj mi, trudim se da to ne radim. A ne znam zašto to radim. Potreba za sigurnosti, želim znati da li je istina to šta mi je partner rekao. Ali stvarno se trudim da to ne radim. Jer tamo je sve dostupno, možeš nadzirati bez problema* (Ispitanica, 20).

Neke su ispitanice navele da nadziranje vrše tako da prate partnerove prijatelje ili stranice od mjesta na kojima se on često kreće:

*Fejs ti daje priliku da se igraš detektiva i lopova. Ti sve možeš tamo provjeriti. Doslovno, on ti kaže da ide spavati, a ti to možeš provjeriti tako da vidiš da li je online i prije koliko minuta ili sati je bio na mreži. Fejs ti daje moć da pratiš nešto što se nekad moglo 'sakriti', a sad se više ništa ne može sakriti* (Ispitanica, 25).

Korištenje Facebooka može povećati ne samo međusobno nadziranje nego i ljubomoru. U anketnom istraživanju odgovori ispitanika na temu ljubomore u većoj mjeri negiraju povezanost Facebooka i ljubomore, kao elementa koji Facebook može poticati. Pripisujemo to mogućoj nelagodi ispitanika pri odgovaranju na intimna, (moguće) previše izravna i neugodna pitanja te želji da se daju društveno poželjni odgovori ili je možda, u nekim slučajevima, to rezultat negiranja istine, pri čemu se ne želi priznati prakticiranje takvih aktivnosti. Ipak, sve su se naše sugovornice u intervjuima složile da Facebook potiče ljubomoru i ljubomorne aktivnosti. Najčešći izvor za takvo ponašanje jesu komentari i *lajkovi* od osoba suprotnog spola, dodavanje ili prihvaćanje osoba suprotnog spola za prijatelje, objavljivanje vlastitih slika koje „nisu za Fejs" ili dopisivanje s osobama suprotnog spola. Svaki od ispitanika susreo se s ovim poteškoćama u svojoj vezi, iskusivši obje strane, ljubomornog partnera ili partnera kojem se prigovara za ljubomoru. Jedna je ispitanica naglasila kako se u njezinoj vezi „podrazumijevalo" da ona neće *lajkati* slike muškarcima i komunicirati s njima, a njezin partner neće to činiti osobama ženskog spola. Mladi često pristaju na takva i slična nepisana pravila, ne želeći ugroziti odnos s partnerom i potaknuti svađu. U konačnici oni prihvaćaju pravila jer im u određenoj mjeri i odgovara da njihov partner ne vrši takve aktivnosti. S druge strane, Facebook se ponekad koristi i kao alat za namjerno izazivanje ljubomore. Naše su sugovornice to rijetko prakticirale, najčešće putem aktivnosti *lajkanja* slika drugih muškaraca, dodavanja muških prijatelja ili objavljivanja izazovnih slika i slika u društvu drugih muškaraca:

*I sad me pitaj zašto, ja nemam pojma. Opet kažem, Fejs je bolestan (smijeh). Kao da te tjera da to sve radiš iako baš znaš da je to loše i da se ne slažeš s takvim stvarima inače u životu. Mislim, to je to prenaglašavanje nečega što nije potrebno toliko naglašavat* (Ispitanica, 20).

Kao možda najekstremniji oblik nadziranja i ljubomore na Facebooku smatra se odavanje šifre profila na Facebooku svome partneru. Iako se u anketi samo 16 % ispitanika izjasnilo da znaju šifru od svog partnera, u dubinskim intervjuima sugovornice su nam potvrdile da je to, prema njihovu iskustvu, česta pojava kod parova:

*(...) Isto tako me tražio da mu dam svoju šifru i on meni njegovu. Ja uopće ne znam zašto sam pristala na to sad kad pogledam. On mi je rekao da je to odraz povjerenja. Ma možeš mislit, baš suprotno, to je odraz nepovjerenja* (Ispitanica, 21).

Kada govorimo o nesigurnosti koju Facebook može proizvesti u vezi, više od polovine ispitanika smatra da Facebook može unijeti nesigurnost u vezu. Primijetile smo kako je ispitanicima lakše odgovarati kada ne postavljamo konkretna pitanja vezana za određenu aktivnost (primjerice ljubomoru). Koristeći termin „nemir" ili „nesigurnost", dobivamo odgovore koji u većoj mjeri potvrđuju prisutnost nemira i nesigurnosti koje Facebook unosi u vezu. Iz dubinskih intervjua doznajemo da je nesigurnost u vezi potaknuta Facebookom izazvana i pretjeranim davanjem pažnje i važnosti toj platformi. Stvari više nisu bitne same po sebi, već se mjere po tome kakav odjek imaju na Facebooku. Sve što se objavi na Facebooku postaje bitno. Stvari se prenaglašavaju time što se javno objavljuju. Ispitanici su se složili da nesigurnost proizlazi iz nepisanog pravila da se sve što se radi treba objaviti, a nakon toga slijedi iščekivanje reakcije javnosti, one javnosti koja nam zapravo uopće nije bitna ni bliska. Facebook je postao reprezentacija života:

*Ti mladi objavljuju sve – di sam, šta sam, s kim sam i to ne rade usput kao, nego je to cijeli njihov svijet* (Ispitanica, 24).

Isti se taj utjecaj preslikava i na sentimentalne odnose. To potvrđuje jedna ispitanica (21) govoreći o svom partneru:

(...) on se na njega oslanja kao da je to na Fejsu naša veza, a ne mi.

Granica između stvarnog života i onog koji vodimo umreženi postala je vrlo tanka, gotovo nevidljiva. Ta su se dva svijeta stopila u jedan gdje postaje važnije ono što objavljujemo nego ono kako se stvarno osjećamo. Svaka od sugovornica prilikom intervjuiranja mogla je opisati barem jednu ili nekoliko situacija u kojima su se osobno našle one ili netko iz njihove neposredne okoline. Jednoglasno je potvrđeno kako Facebook uzrokuje probleme i konflikte te kako neminovno predstavlja potencijalni izvor prijetnji u ljubavnom odnosu. Sve pretpostavljene posljedice potvrđene su u dubinskim intervjuima – ljubomora, nadziranje, nesigurnost. Međutim, ne i u anketi prema čijim rezultatima nadzor i ljubomora ne predstavljaju dominantno negativne učinke na sentimentalne veze. Zbog toga hipotezu koja govori o tome da Facebook potiče ljubomoru, nadzor i nesigurnost u vezi djelomično prihvaćamo.

### Facebook može biti uzrok prekida veze ili može otežati prekid

Ispitanici se slažu da Facebook može biti uzrok prekida veze, što je u skladu s velikim brojem afirmativnih odgovora na pitanje poznaju li ljude koji su prekinuli ili imali probleme u vezi zbog Facebooka. U tom smislu problemi, nevolje i konflikti koje smo prije spominjali polako postaju integrirani u svakodnevno korištenje Facebooka te predstavljaju uzrok daljnjih sukoba koji mogu dovesti do prekida veze. Sugovornice u intervjuima složile su se da Facebook može biti uzrok prekida najčešće kod osoba koje ga koriste vrlo često te ga shvaćaju preozbiljno, odnosno plasiraju veliki dio segmenta iz svog života na mrežu. Kada do prekida dođe, bilo zbog Facebooka ili iz drugih razloga, ispitanici se slažu kako proces odvajanja od bivšeg partnera postaje teži zato što su sve stvari vezane za bivšu vezu još uvijek na Facebooku. S obzirom na to da Facebook karakterizira vidljivost i ponovljivost, jednom objavljene stvari postaju javne, mogu se lako spremiti, kopirati, ponovo objaviti i biti dostupne na mreži u bilo kojem trenutku, a gotovo ih je nemoguće ukloniti zauvijek. To može predstavljati problem u prevladavanju negativnih osjećaja koji slijede nakon prekida. Takva su nam iskustva potvrdile sve ispitanice u intervjuima. Najčešće su obrisale stvari vezane za bivšu vezu te su prekinule prijateljstvo, blokirale partnera ili obrisale cijeli profil i napravile novi. Pritom su istaknule kako to ne znači da su ostale u lošim odnosima s bivšim partnerom, već im je ta opcija predstavljala lakši način da se odmaknu od svega zajedničkog što su objavljivali na mreži:

*Definitivno otežava prekid. Pa vidiš da ja nisam znala šta ću sa svim tim stvarima objavljenim iz prošlosti pa sam izbrisala cijeli profil (smijeh)!* (Ispitanica, 24)

Usprkos tome što misle da je to najbolja opcija kako se prekid ne bi dodatno otežavao, smatraju to problematičnim s obzirom na činjenicu da će javnost, nakon što izbrišu profil, primijetiti njihovu aktivnost, što će stvoriti prostor da javnost „priča":

*Ali onda će netko vidjeti da si ga ti obrisao. Pa će pretpostavit da niste u dobrim odnosima, što uopće ne mora značiti, nego je to samo jedan od načina da sam sebe zaštitiš da ne obraćaš pažnju o tome šta radi itd. Jer u većoj mjeri ti imaš pristup informacijama šta radi, misli, di se kreće, a u prekidu ti to ne treba, moraš to izbrisat i ne mislit o tome. Znači Fejs je grozan za prekid. Sve ostaje na njemu* (Ispitanica, 20).

Sukladno rezultatima, hipotezu da Facebook može biti uzrok prekida veze ili može otežati prekid možemo potvrditi.

## OGRANIČAVAJUĆI ELEMENTI ISTRAŽIVANJA I PRIJEDLOZI ZA BUDUĆA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prije nego što donesemo zaključak rada, smatramo bitnim naglasiti poteškoće s kojima smo se susrele tijekom provedbe istraživanja i u konačnici njegove ograničavajuće elemente. Prije svega, koristile smo prigodni i vrlo mali uzorak – studente komunikologije preddiplomskog i diplomskog studija, one koje smo zatekli na dan istraživanja na predavanju. Od 103 studenta koji su ispunili anketu, bilo je 12 nevažećih upitnika, što nam donosi ukupan uzorak od 91 studenta. Način distribucije ankete ograničio nas je pri uzorkovanju. Ta brojka u budućim istraživanjima trebala bi biti mnogo veća, kako bi se moglo s većom preciznošću na temelju uzorka zaključivati na ciljanu populaciju. Za buduća istraživanja procjene utjecaja Facebooka na sentimentalne veze bilo bi korisno povećati, ali i proširiti uzorak, tj. ciljanu populaciju, zato što sve veći broj ljudi aktivno koristi Facebook. Smatramo da bi bilo zanimljivo slično istraživanje provesti na osnovnoškolcima i srednjoškolcima, kojima je digitalna tehnologija duboko utkana u dnevne aktivnosti i način života, ali i na ostalim skupinama ljudi koji aktivno koriste Facebook. U budućim istraživanjima trebalo bi ispitati isključivo procjene ispitanika s obzirom na vlastito iskustvo (osobe koje imaju ili su imale vezu dok su obje strane koristile Facebook, pri čemu je potrebno ispitati duljinu odnosa), što bi bolje i jasnije odgovaralo postavljenim ciljevima istraživanja. Također bi bilo zanimljivo napraviti analizu rezultata s obzirom na spol ispitanika. S druge strane, pri obradi podataka dobivenih anketom uočili smo određene poteškoće. Veliki je dio ispitanika odgovarao najčešće negativno, ili pak kontradiktorno, na pojedina pitanja. Takav rezultat možemo pripisati općoj nezainteresiranosti studenata za popunjavanje ankete. Međutim, možemo pretpostaviti da smo se pri ovom istraživanju suočili s jednim od mogućih nedostataka metode ankete, a to su tzv. *društvene teškoće*. One se odnose na tendenciju ispitanika da pri anketiranju daju društveno poželjne odgovore, odgovore u skladu s društvenim vrijednostima, pa se nerijetko dobivaju rezultati koji prikazuju da je stanje bolje nego što jest u stvarnosti (Vujević, 2006). Čini nam se da se upravo to dogodilo prilikom našeg istraživanja. To se može izbjeći postavljanjem indirektnih pitanja. U našem slučaju visoka je vjerojatnost da smo i zbog postavljanja vrlo konkretnih i izravnih pitanja na neki način ugrozile rezultate istraživanja, s obzirom na to da se radi o sentimentalnim odnosima koji su vrlo osjetljiva i osobna tema. Uz to, ispitanici su prilikom ispunjavanja

ankete sjedili jedni uz druge u klupama te su u tom smislu možda osjećali nelagodu pri odgovaranju i zabrinutost kako kolege ne bi vidjele njihove intimne odgovore. Smatramo da bi bilo dobro revidirati naš anketni upitnik te preformulirati i izbaciti određene čestice. Prilikom provođenja dubinskih intervjua nismo imale takvih poteškoća jer smo u razgovoru, ako je i bilo kakvih nejasnoća, s lakoćom obrazložile svoje namjere i usmjerile razgovor. Ispitanice su vrlo rado, otvoreno i iskreno odgovarale na postavljena pitanja. Također smatramo da bi u budućim istraživanjima na ovu ili sličnu temu bilo zanimljivo ispitati parove i usporediti njihove odgovore. Neka od pitanja koja bi se mogla istražiti jesu ova: postaju li društvene mreže uzrok „gašenja" povjerenja i zdravih veza; postaju li mlađe generacije sve više sumnjičave i nesigurne u svoje veze zbog prirode društvenih mreža; kakav je utjecaj Facebooka na veze *gay* populacije; je li veza parova koji imaju čestu interakciju na društvenim mrežama više ugrožena; koji je uzrok toga da zadovoljstvo vezom predstavlja nešto što se prikazuje *online*, a ne nešto što se međusobno iskazuje; uviđaju li ljudi negativne posljedice i zašto im se (ne) odupiru? Pitanja je zaista mnogo. Smatramo da bi se najbolji rezultati dobili kombinacijom anketnog upitnika, dubinskih intervjua i fokus-grupa. Dubinski intervjui omogućuju detaljnu i iscrpnu analizu fenomena, dok fokus-grupe omogućuju da se kroz grupnu koheziju potaknu zanimljive rasprave i rasvijetle neki skriveni motivi, stavovi koje bi drugim metodama bilo teško „izvući" iz ispitanika.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Ovaj rad pruža pogled na sve popularnije korištenje Facebooka i njegovih, uglavnom negativnih, učinaka na sentimentalne veze. Istraživanjem smo željele ispitati kako mladi korisnici Facebooka u Hrvatskoj procjenjuju potencijalne izazove koje Facebook može donijeti ljubavnim vezama. Iako su radu potrebne metodološke korekcije, on pruža uvid u postojanje određene veze između Facebooka i sentimentalnih odnosa. Naše istraživanje pokazalo je kako mladi procjenjuju da društvene mreže imaju utjecaj na sentimentalne veze, čime je potvrđena prva hipoteza. Više od polovine ispitanika u anketnom istraživanju potvrdilo je da poznaju ljude u svojoj okolini koji su zbog Facebooka prekinuli vezu ili su imali probleme u vezi. Više od polovine ispitanika slaže se s tvrdnjom da Facebook može izazvati nemire u vezi.

Složenost sentimentalnih odnosa velika je i važna tema za svakog pojedinca. S pojavom novih informacijskih tehnologija razvili su se novi oblici udruživanja i samim time novi izazovi za suvremene odnose. Društvene mreže postale su virtualni prostor na koji su njegovi korisnici preselili svoje živote. Svaki dio našeg života od sada ima svoje mjesto na Facebooku. Poznata je uzrečica „Što nije na Facebooku, nije se ni dogodilo". I doista smo kao društvo to prihvatili. Govoreći o ljubavnim odnosima, želja da se veza održava i na mreži rezultat je proizvedenih „novih" potreba – biti u trendu s ostalima („to svi rade"), pokazati se drugima *online* korisnicima (kojih je mnogo više od kruga ljudi s kojima smo najčešće u interakciji u stvarnom svijetu), prikazati sebe i svoju vezu u što boljem svjetlu (bez obzira je li to tako u stvarnosti ili ne), „zamaskirati" određene probleme u vezi (koje nije lako prikriti u stvarnosti), javnim obznanjivanjem „zaštititi" svoju vezu od mogućih prijetnji. Upotreba Facebooka dovela je do stvaranja novih, „neprirodnih" elemenata u

sentimentalnim vezama koji vode pojačanoj ljubomori, nepovjerenju, nesigurnosti, opterećenosti i nadzorničkom ponašanju (Morey i sur., 2013; Fox, Osborn i Warber, 2014; Tokunaga, 2011; Carpenter i Spottswood, 2013). Taj novi problem zahvaća sve veći broj ljudi, posebice mladih (Elphinston i Noller, 2011; Carpenter i Spottswood, 2013). S obzirom na to da se Facebook uvlači u sve pore ljubavnog odnosa, on dakako i utječe na veze – od samog početka veze, gdje se korisnici susreću s izazovom objavljivanja veze javno i održavanjem javne interakcije kako bi drugi korisnici javno zamijetili njihov odnos, do izazivanja negativnih posljedica i rješavanja konflikata, zbog aktivnosti i situacija koje su se dogodile na mreži, te u konačnici do prekida koji također ima svoj „odjek" na mreži. U našem istraživanju ispitanici vide pretjeranu opterećenost Facebookom kao temeljan razlog za razvoj svih daljnjih, većinom negativnih, utjecaja na veze. Taj je problem detektiran i od strane struke, međutim još uvijek istraživači nisu pronašli rješenje za njega. Osim opcije gašenja profila na Facebooku, koja je vjerojatno najmanje privlačna za njegove korisnike, potrebno je pozabaviti se drugim rješenjima i prezentirati ih široj javnosti.

Iako uzorak ovog istraživanja nije reprezentativan te je istraživanje metodološki nedorađeno, smatramo kako je ovo, u najmanju ruku, dobar ilustrativni primjer koji pokazuje snažne potencijalne utjecaje društvenih mreža na ljubavne odnose. Štoviše, kontradiktornosti rezultata anketnog istraživanja i dubinskih intervjua s kojima smo se suočile, najviše zamijećene kod ispitivanja ljubomore i nadziranja, nose svoju poruku. Smatramo da je jedan od mogućih razloga to da ispitanici, iako svjesni utjecaja, na neki način poriču utjecaje koji se dotiču vrlo osjetljive i intimne sfere ljubomornog i nadzorničkog ponašanja te uopće utjecaja Facebooka na sentimentalne veze. Daljnja istraživanja trebaju se usredotočiti na učinkovita rješenja koja se mogu nositi s novom vrstom ljubomore, nadziranja i nesigurnosti koje je Facebook uveo u suvremeni svijet ljubavnih odnosa. Na kraju možemo zaključiti kako se velika energija ulaže u održavanje veze *online*, a sve nam manje vremena i energije ostaje za bavljenje onim problemima koji nas zahvaćaju u svakodnevnom životu na ljubavnom planu. Previše nam postaje bitno što će drugi misliti i govoriti, a premalo kako se stvarno osjećamo. Takav smjer razvoja nije dobar te može biti poguban, kako za naše veze, tako i za nas same.

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# THE ROLE OF FACEBOOK ON THE ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

## Elena Družeta :: Nada Zgrabljić Rotar

**ABSTRACT** *Social networks have become part of everyday life. Their great popularity and diverse impacts on their users have attracted a growing amount of research. This research focuses on the contemporary issues of the growing popularity of social networks, especially Facebook, and its role on romantic relationships. The literature unanimously confirms that the large exposure of young people to Facebook is potentially affecting their behaviour and relationships in general, including romantic ones. Modern use of Facebook has led to the creation of new, "non-natural" elements in sentimental relationships that lead to increased jealousy, mistrust, insecurity, workload and surveillance. Because similar studies have not yet been conducted in Croatia, for the purposes of this study we have conducted a quantitative analysis using a survey on a sample of 92 students of Communication Science at Croatian Studies at the University of Zagreb, and four in-depth interviews with female students of the same program. The results highlight that Facebook has an impact on romantic relationships – from developing, and maintaining until its dissolution. Most notable are the problems of jealousy and partner surveillance.*

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# THE ROLE OF FOOD IN DIPLOMACY: COMMUNICATING AND "WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS" THROUGH FOOD

"Dining is the soul of diplomacy" – Lord Palmerston
(Prime Minister of the United Kingdom 1859-1865)

**Đana Luša :: Ružica Jakešević**

**ABSTRACT** *Food as an essential ingredient of human existence, has always played an important role in interstate relations and diplomatic practice. It has been used as a medium for projecting influence, communicating one's culture, identity and messages that express friendship or enmity. Its role is becoming increasingly prominent in the public diplomacy practices of various countries, while academic accounts on gastro diplomacy, food diplomacy or culinary diplomacy within the International Relations (IR) discipline have so far been limited. The aim of this article is to introduce different aspects of this new, developing field of interdisciplinary research to the wider academic community, building on the hypothesis that food is becoming more recognized as an official soft power or public diplomacy tool. The article contains an analysis based on an initial survey conducted among the diplomats accredited in the Republic of Croatia as well as among the students of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Analysing the role of food in Diplomacy or Security Studies is a relative novelty in the discipline of International Relations (IR) at the global level, as well as in Croatian political science, the exception being found in the writings of a few distinguished authors reflecting on their diplomatic careers or focusing on diplomatic protocol and ceremony (Bišćević, 2013; Nick, 1997; Mikolić, 2002). However, "food as a part of what is referred to as 'soft-power' or a public diplomacy tool has been recognized in the diplomatic practices of different countries since ancient times" (Zhang, 2015: 570). In Croatia, it was mostly used during the early years of statehood in lobbying and communicating the political message to the outside world, and especially in diplomatic circles to promote the newly established country. While terms such as food diplomacy, gastro diplomacy and culinary diplomacy are very rare in the political and academic discourse in Croatia, there are multiple examples from diplomatic history and contemporary diplomatic practice, which provide us with enough incentives for assessing the role food can play in interstate relations, public diplomacy, diplomatic communication and political communication in general.[1] According to Costas Constantinou "if we are to understand gastronomy simply as a natural or personal activity, or only as a socialising device, we run the risk of leaving unexamined the political implications of it" (1996: 126).

Therefore, the aim of this article is to introduce different aspects of this new developing field of interdisciplinary research to the wider academic community, as well as to provide the basis for initiating empirical research of this topic in Croatia. It encompasses an analysis of several historical and recent examples of the use of food in interstate relations, the results of a preliminary study of the role of food in diplomatic activities in Croatia, as well as of the public perception of gastro diplomacy as a public diplomacy tool. We build our arguments on the hypothesis that food is becoming more recognized as an official soft power and public diplomacy tool, presenting a means of communication (intended or unintended) in diplomacy and of strengthening national identity.

## DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

There are several terms, which will be explained in this article, in order to highlight various roles that food can play in different forms of interaction and communication associated with formal and informal diplomatic activities. Despite the "multiplication" of concepts, some authors imply that one needs to be cautious when designating a particular activity as a new form of diplomacy – including all types of diplomacy involving food – since these only represent various tools at the disposal "of broader diplomatic strategies" (Riordan, 2017: 1). However, the power of food has been recognized by an increasing number of countries, while several of them are described as great, gastro diplomacy

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[1] Such examples include the so-called "food wars" that have recently taken place between Croatia and its neighbours in the process of, and following the accession to the EU. These are mostly related to the ownership of different sorts of food and drinks, or the labels for such items, whereby the issues of originality, belonging and identity gained political significance, and as such were highly politicised. The latest case is the initiative coming from the Visegrád group countries "who accuse multinational food companies of selling them inferior quality products compared to richer European nations" (Bertrand, 2017).

nations – Japan, Thailand, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden), Malaysia, Peru, South Korea, Taiwan and Australia (USC CPD, 2015).

## Soft power and public diplomacy

The most appropriate theoretical concept for explaining the connection between food, politics and diplomacy is the concept of soft power, which is attributed to influential IR theorist, Joseph Nye (1990). As an analytical tool, the concept of soft power serves as the antipode to the widely present concept of hard power, based on military capabilities and coercion, which dominate the Realist theory of International Relations. Soft power is usually described as the ability to project influence to achieve desired outcomes (normally in the field of politics), using means other than military strength and coercion. The concept has gained prominence in the post-Cold War period, when Nye (1990: 164-166) argued that the nature of power and security in world politics has changed, whereby the central question for the great powers (but not just for them) is how to achieve influence in a complex international political environment which is increasingly interdependent. His answer lies in the following explanation:

*If a state can make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow. If it can establish international norms consistent with its society, it is less likely to have to change. If it can support institutions that make other states wish to channel or limit their activities in ways the dominant state prefers, it may be spared the costly exercise of coercive or hard power.* (Nye, 1990: 167)

The revival of the concept happened in the post-September 11, 2001 world, and has gained additional prominence after Nye's book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* was released in 2004. In other words, the soft power concept encompasses a plethora of mainly non-tangible factors, instruments and means, such as attractiveness, influence, image or ideology, whose final aim is the creation of the capability of appeal, attraction, and non-military persuasion. It is often described as "winning the hearts and minds" (ASEF, 2016: 70) of a targeted population to make them understand, support, and follow one's policies, goals, cultural traditions or way of life. In our case, the connection between public diplomacy and food can best be described by using the words of Paul Rockower, who states that "gastro diplomacy is the act of winning hearts and minds through stomachs." (2012: 235)

Public diplomacy and soft power are strongly interlinked. Components of soft power, such as "culture, values and policies" (Nye, 2008: 94), serve as tools within the practice of public diplomacy, through which a country communicates messages to a specific or general population in order to achieve desired outcomes. On the other hand, this connection between the two is also described the other way around, whereby public diplomacy is considered to be "one of soft power's key instruments" (Melissen, 2005: 4). The crucial moment in this case is the power of creating attractiveness, which then serves as an incentive to other actors, either to create stronger ties with certain actors or to absorb its values, ideologies or even lifestyle. Here, national cuisine can present a strong medium for the purposes of public diplomacy. However, academic accounts of the role of food in public diplomacy can still be considered rare – for example, the Routledge

Handbook of Public Diplomacy (Snow and Taylor, 2009), which encompasses a set of 29 chapters, does not provide any analyses of food as a possible instrument in the wider diplomatic practice, in the manner this article aims to provide.

### Culinary and gastro diplomacy

Culinary diplomacy is a distinctive form of communication through food, and is occasionally used as a synonym for gastro diplomacy, although some authors make a distinction between the two concepts. In terms of activities, it can encompass not only consummation in the sense of tasting food of a specific origin, but also in the 'rituals' or practices of preparation, serving and eating, presenting a kind of performative act. Another definition is that offered by Sam Chapple-Sokol, who defines culinary diplomacy as the "use of food or a cuisine as a tool to create a cross-cultural understanding in the hopes of improving interactions and cooperation." (Chapple-Sokol, 2013: 161)

As previously noted, although often used by some authors as a synonym for gastro diplomacy (Spence, 2016), others such as Paul Rockower (2012) distinguish between the two terms. This distinction is best explained through the lens of the targeted audience or the level of actors involved in communication. In the case of culinary diplomacy, the scope of the audience is narrower and involves the official and formal diplomatic government-to-government communication; while, on the other hand, gastro diplomacy is intended to encompass a wider range of 'users' and aims to deliver a specific message to the larger populations of other countries through food (Zhang, 2015: 569). According to Rockower "gastro diplomacy is to culinary diplomacy what public diplomacy is to diplomacy. It is the act of winning hearts and minds through stomachs" (2012: 235-237), a form of a food culture exchange, a promotional tool and a way to influence the public at the cultural level. It is a tool for mutual understanding.

Another related term, yet different in scope, is food diplomacy. This type of public diplomacy is strongly interlinked with the global efforts to reduce world hunger, and it is used as a developmental tool by intergovernmental organisations, civil society organisations as well as states themselves. Its primary and most direct objects are the recipients of food aid in parts of the world affected by conflicts, poverty and resource scarcity, as well as natural and man-made disasters. It can serve as a medium for sending political messages to designated populations, but also to the wider global community. Consequently, food diplomacy in its most common form of food aid has been used by many states as a very tangible symbol, which helps in the creation of a positive image in the international community. A positive image contributes to attractiveness, which is one of the central features of soft power. This term seems more technical and 'tangible' then the two previously defined concepts, yet at the same time, it is also much narrower. It is defined as "using food aid as a tool of public outreach to reduce global hunger [which is] a developmental tool as well as diplomatic tool" (Chapple-Sokol, 2013: 162).

In the following sections, we present the results of the initial research on the use of gastro diplomacy by diplomats in Croatia as well as the perception of the issue by the students of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Zagreb. Various examples of

the role of food in the history of diplomacy, its manifestation as a tool in public diplomacy that strengthens national identity and creates national brands are also elaborated. The use of food as a form of communication is particularly reflected upon. According to Roland Barthes (2008: 29) "food is a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations and behaviour."

## FOOD IN THE HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY

There has always been a strong connection between food and diplomacy. For more than 12,000 years humans have been sharing food (Spence, 2016: 1). To put it more generally, "there has never been a great event, not even conspiracies, which was not conceived, worked out and organised over a meal" (Steel, 2008: 220). Social entertainment has been considered as a necessary tool of diplomacy, which is seen "from the habit of ambassadors always to take their own cook to avoid or instigate poisoning." (Constantinou, 1996: 125)[2]

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, a French lawyer, politician and deputy to the National Constituent Assembly, mostly famous as a French gastronome, in his book *The Physiology of Taste* presented several aphorisms that demonstrate the importance of food in everyday life, as well as in the political sphere:

*"The destiny of nations depends on the manner in which they are fed"; "Tell me what kind of food you eat and I will tell you what kind of man you are"; "The discovery of a new dish confers more happiness on humanity, than the discovery of a new star."* (Brillat-Savarin, 2009: 3)

During Archaic Greece (630-480 B.C.), the Greeks especially enjoyed the symposium as an ideal form of entertainment and drinking, which followed the main meal, and was reserved for men. After the Macedonian conquest in the 4th century B.C., the symposium became "a little bit more" complex and meaningful. Alexander the Great "spread Greek culture throughout his empire, stretching from the Adriatic in the west to the Ganges in the east." (Weiss Adamson and Segan, 2008: 7-17) The welcoming of foreign ambassadors involved a gastronomic practice, as well as the welcoming return of one's own ambassadors. After the end of their mission, Athenian ambassadors were always given an invitation to a public dinner. Namely, the importance of shared meals "laid in the fact that those who shared in food and drinks, also shared in thought and diplomatic conduct." (Constantinou, 1996: 130) Even the first *corps diplomatique* was established because of this practice of sharing common meals among ambassadors. The Greeks "managed to achieve most worthy of gastronomic ideals: good taste without excess, attention to health, balance and moderation – a culinary culture as well conceived as their political forms" (Albala, 2011: 17). They were accepted as the ideal roots of Western civilisation.

At the earliest ages, societies were built upon systems of food production and distribution, with food serving as a medium of payment. After the emergence of different

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[2] The importance of having your own cook was also highlighted by poison being a murder weapon in the courts of the Greco-Roman world (the deaths of Alexander the Great and Augustus Caesar were rumoured to have been caused by poison). The fear from poisoning even led to the development of a food-taster or praegustatores (Johnston, 2013: 1-3).

civilisations "food helped to connect them together." (Standage, 2009: 13) Even the New World was discovered because of the Europeans' strive to overcome Arab merchants' spice monopoly and create new food-trade routes. The appeal of spices gave Alexandrian and later Roman sailors an incentive to access the India's west coast bypassing Arabia and leading to Europe. It resulted with the mightiest empires in Euroasia being connected by trade routes. The Muslim world provided "a fertile environment in which trade could prosper" (*Ibid*.: 76-80) with some 80 % of trade with the East in the 15ᵗʰ century being in its hands. This resulted with Europeans trying to find alternative routes to the East. And what is most important – spices (food) helped "for Columbus to go westward, de Gama eastwards, to establish new sea routes" and "inspired the first circumnavigation of the earth" (*Ibid*.: 96). However, as spices became more affordable in the 17ᵗʰ century, they ceased to be an important tool in the diplomacy of that time.

The control of food supplies was often used as an effective weapon in wars. This is illustrated by Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus (Milner, 1996: xxvi), who noted that "armies are more often destroyed by starvation than battles, and hunger is more savage than the sword". Food supplies and logistics played a crucial role in the conquests of Alexander the Great, during the Second Punic War between Rome and Carthage, and then in the American Revolutionary War, as well as in a series of Napoleon's victories. After the battle in Austerlitz, Napoleon concluded that "an army marches on its stomach" (Standage, 2009: 144).

Gastro diplomacy is mostly connected with the emergence of modern diplomacy rooted in Cardinal Richelieu's creation of the new system of permanent embassies. Louis XIV, or the Sun King, used ceremony to show his power, as well as to distance himself from the people. Everything became ceremonial from the time the king woke up until he went to bed. Culinary extravagance was especially characteristic for the French monarch, with 324 people employed in the kitchens of Versailles (Lair, 2011: 146). Utilising ceremony made the French court extremely influential among the European courts. The Ancient Regime had access to "haute cuisine", extravagance and the best chefs, who opened their own restaurants following the French Revolution, to serve the new elite of the 19ᵗʰ century – the bourgeoisie. Aside from being the centre of politics and culture, Paris soon became the gastronomic capital of Europe.

An interesting example of gastro diplomacy comes from the Ottoman envoy to the king of France in the 18ᵗʰ century, whose numerous kitchen staff even included a person who made Turkish coffee (Constantinou, 1996: 125). Gastronomy was also very significant in the diplomatic communication between the Ottoman Empire and the Europeans. Besides this importance, other gastronomical differences played their role in exposing the elites of the two countries to one another's culture. The Ottomans, used to small and private meals without dining rooms, with women eating separately, eating in silence and not using napkins, forks or knives, were shocked by European practices. This marked "gastronomic exoticism of Eastern versus Western eating habits." (*Ibid*.: 137)

The impact of the French Revolution brought forth the end of absolutist regimes in Western Europe, which reflected in the monarchs no longer claiming superiority to

"everything and everyone as God's representatives on earth" (De Vooght, 2011: 171). Unlike in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when a group of courtiers were assembled around the absolute monarch, the 19th century court dinners convened all sorts of people on an almost daily basis. This shows food helping kings and queens seem more ordinary (*Ibid*.).

A diplomat always wants to impress a guest with food from his or her country, but also shows respect by serving food from the guest's home country. For example, the hot dog has played a role in American foreign relations since June 1939, and a picnic organised by President Franklin D. Roosevelt for the king and queen of England. One of the main topics was American support for England in the forthcoming war. However, The New York Times shared the story on the front page with the title "King tries hot dog and asks for more" (Barry, 2009). This shows how important food is in diplomacy. It was ascertained that the king enjoyed a favourite American snack and even drank some beer, sending a message of friendship and understanding (*Ibid*.).

In the 20th century food took on a role "as an ideological weapon during the Cold War" (Standage, 2009: 156). The most known example of food being used as a weapon against the Communists, occurred during the Berlin blockade (from June 1948 to September 1949), when the Soviets blocked access to West Berlin by road, rail and canals. The Allies reacted by organising the Berlin Airlift to carry supplies to the people in West Berlin. A similar use of food was also demonstrated on a poster from 1949 created by the United States to bring attention to the Airlift, in which a girl is holding up a glass of milk, with more floating from an aircraft. The headline stated "Milk... new weapon of democracy" (*Ibid*.).

The next example dates from the fall of 1959, when the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, tasted his first American hot dog during a visit to the United States, after supposedly "the first bite had to wait until security agents waved a Geiger counter over the food." (Barry, 2009) Asked to comment on the hot dog he stated: "Ok, excellent, wonderful, but added that it wasn't enough." (WNYC.org, 2014) This shows the Cold War being fought on the "food front". The role of food in diplomacy is also registered in a letter by President Park Chung Hee of South Korea, telling President Lyndon Johnson that his soldiers fighting in Vietnam were miserable because of a shortage of kimchi, a traditional Korean national dish (Sang-Hun, 2008). After the Americans financed the delivery of kimchi, William Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State, supposedly concluded that the "Vietcong would never be able to hold the Koreans once kimchi arrived" (*Ibid*.). Sometimes state visits can be arranged around informal meals, which further diplomatic intimacy and "results in more positive social interactions between those who dine together." (Spence, 2016: 2). For example, in 2001 President George W. Bush invited Russian President Vladimir Putin to his ranch in Texas to discuss the situation in Afghanistan, as well as the Anti-Missile Treaty. On that occasion, a barbecue dinner was organised (Sanger, 2001). Chinese President Jiang Zemin was also received at Bush's ranch in Crawford, during his last visit to the United States, with barbecue serving as a message of more friendly relations. As home hospitality was previously granted to President Putin, Prime Minister Tony Blair and Crown

Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, it was concluded that "Mr. Jiang is receiving the highest level of reception." (Eckholm, 2002)

The nature of food served at diplomatic receptions and summits is very important for decision-making. For example, the sweet taste influences a friendlier attitude, while the bitter taste enhances hostility (Sagioglou and Greitemayer, 2014: 1589-1597). According to the former French Prime minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, "the table is the place where power has influence, where tensions are eased and where relations are built." (cf. Watfa and Pallister, 2017) The next section discusses the role of "food wars", manifested as embargoes and coercion in interstate relations, as well as their use as a political communication tool in intrastate relations.

## 'FOOD WARS' AND THE USE OF FOOD AS A MEANS OF DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION

The political dimension of food has so far rarely been mentioned in IR analyses, although it is a very potent source of power. As a matter of fact, it can be said that food is a deeply political category. One of the many purposes and functions of food is the one which is linked to interstate relations. Due to its vital role in the survival of the very base of any society – the population itself –food can serve as a very powerful tool of influence on certain actors' behaviour. In this context, it can be used as one element of coercive diplomacy, whereby embargoes (among other measures) are applied prior to the use of hard power, in order to alter intentions, plans and policies or prevent actions by different actors. The application of embargoes and blockades (the most recent example being Qatar)[3], food programs and politicisation (or even securitisation) of food shows that besides its predominant association with soft power and public diplomacy, it can serve as a means of hard power as well (Reynolds, 2010). In diplomatic discourse and practice, food can represent a means of communication, since according to Zhang, "food and its symbolic representation can be used to communicate ideas, values, identities, and attitudes." (2015: 568) Not only can it be used, but it has been used constantly in interstate communication, formal and informal encounters between political leaders, in building national image or in peace-building.

The fact that 'belonging' is very important when it comes to the role of food in shaping national identity is exemplified in numerous instances of the so-called "food wars": Israeli/Lebanese over hummus (Ariel, 2012), Israeli/Palestinian over falafel (Raviv, 2003), or Greek/Turkish over baklava (Bardenstein, 2010; Georges, 1984). Just how important is it to legally protect authenticity on the European market is emphasised by EU legislation allowing member states to protect their traditional products in line with one of three categories: "Protected Designation of Origin (PDO)", "Protected Geographical Indication (PGI)" and

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[3] In June 2017 Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt and United Arab Emirates, followed by a number of other countries, cut off their diplomatic and trade ties with Qatar, thus protesting against its relations with Iran and accusing the country of supporting terrorism. One of the consequences of Saudi Arabia closing its borders with Qatar was the reduction in food supplies, whereby food (in)security gained prominence as one of the most direct consequences of the political crisis felt by Qatari citizens (BBC, 2017).

"Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG)" (European Commission, 2017). To obtain a protection label for their products under one of the mentioned categories, EU member states also engage in 'food wars'. Besides the mentioned examples that are very well known globally, several disputes between Croatia and some neighbouring countries (Italy and Slovenia) should also be noted, regarding the use of labels for certain types of food or drink, occurring during the EU accession process. These include Croatian-Slovenian disputes over the "Kranjska kobasica" sausage (Carniolan sausage) or the "Teran" wine, which have caused frictions in interstate relations, while economic, but also identity issues were highlighted by both sides (Šišović, 2017).

The use of food in interstate relations can take many forms, formal or less formal, whose outcome might yield intended, but also unintended consequences. Food can thus become a medium for sending political messages and usually involves a lot of symbolism, which is supposed to reflect the very nature of the intended message, but also the image of the country. Yet, a sweet thing like chocolate recently managed to make bilateral relations between Croatia and Serbia, as well as Slovenia, taste bitter. In early December 2016 Croatian President Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović visited Dubrovnik on the occasion of Dubrovnik Defenders' Day. Besides participating in the formal celebrations and meetings, the president also dedicated some time in her protocol for visiting local children, to whom she gave presents. When the presents were opened, it was discovered that among a variety of candies, there was also one chocolate bar produced by Pionir, a Serbian company. Some parents expressed their discontent, setting off a series of reactions, some of which caused tensions in interstate relations. The Croatian President apologised for giving the children non-Croatian chocolate, and promised to "apologise to parents and send them Croatian products instead" (Hina, Jutarnji.hr, 2016). As one can imagine, this apology was deemed as a bad move by many domestically, but also in the Serbian public and among Serbian officials. This "Chocolate affair" revealed how food has the power of sending unintended, unwanted messages both to domestic, as well as the international audience, and thus can cause friction in inter-state relations.

By the end of the same month, another "Chocolate affair", but this time in Croatian-Slovenian relations occurred. As it was 'the most festive time of the year', the Croatian embassy in Ljubljana decided to send a convenient gift to the employees of the Slovenian Ministry of foreign affairs – a box of chocolates labeled 'Greetings from Croatia', produced by the Croatian company Kraš, and widely present on the Croatian market. What does the box look like? It's a blue square-shaped box containing a relief map of Croatia. Why is the appearance of the package important? Because Slovenian officials deemed it a provocation, since the map included part of the Adriatic Sea (Piran Bay), which, at that time had been (and still is) a subject of a bilateral border dispute between two countries. The gift was returned to the Croatian embassy in bags which had a printed sign 'I feel sLOVEnia' (Pavlić, 2016).

Both cases were widely considered as pieces of unsuccessful communication, provoking interstate tensions, which could have caused serious economic consequences as well. They are also far from being lone examples.

Except from its use in interstate communication, food also represents a very common tool in intrastate political communication and campaigns (Spence, 2016). During election campaigns politicians are judged on a daily basis, which includes their eating habits. UKIP's[4] leader Nigel Farage is a great example, drinking (mostly a pint of beer) during the Brexit campaign in the UK to present himself as normal and ordinary and to connect with the common man (Stanley, 2015 in Spence, 2016). Charles Spence even raised a question whether this kind of campaigning – using alcohol to convey a message – points to a new form of diplomacy: an "alco-diplomacy" (2016: 6). Donald Trump has also often taken the opportunity to win votes by eating fast food. However, he was criticised "for eating everyman's food on board of a private jet" (Zaru, 2016).

The following section discusses gastro nationalism, national identity, and branding, which have been developed by countries in their campaigns to familiarise the wider international audience with their national cuisine.

## GASTRO NATIONALISM – COMMUNICATING IDENTITY THROUGH FOOD

In the era of globalisation, the line between national and international, local and global, domestic and foreign is increasingly blurred. The growing intensity of different forms of communication and cultural exchange, the flow of people and goods create a state of complex interconnectedness between numerous subjects in the international environment. In such circumstances, issues of national identity and belonging appear as categories that are hard to preserve and protect from various influences and transformation.

As one component of national identity, culinary identity and tradition, local foods and national dishes are also exposed to the influence of such global trends, whereby the need for their protection seems ever more important. Although not exclusively connected to globalisation, the phenomenon of gastro nationalism appears as a persistent effort to preserve a claim over specific types of food or drinks, specificity of one nations' flavours and tastes or culinary experiences, offering them at the same time, under that national etiquette, to the global market. In other words, according to the findings of Atsuko Ichijo and Ronald Ranta, food is often regarded as 'national', thus bearing clear political connotations, while at the same time "the relationship between food and national identity has not been systematically addressed" (Ichijo and Ranta, 2016: 1). According to Chapple-Sokol gastro nationalism serves a nation "to invoke the power of its cuisine as the tool of the national brand, so when foreigners take a bite of food, they recognise its belonging to the country of origins, and strengthen their association with that country" (2013: 170). Therefore, efforts by different countries to attach a "national etiquette" to a certain type of food (or drink), the technique of preparing and serving food is closely connected to what is increasingly recognized as "food nationalism". With time, nations have become very innovative in promoting their food.

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[4] The UK Independence Party

Most modern states defined their national cuisines simultaneously with the birth of movements for independence. Often, they just highlighted something that already existed, but some states engaged themselves in creating national cuisines from fragments (Higman, 2012: 163). Once a national cuisine is established, a country can use it as a nation's brand. Nation-branding is a concept that "relies on marketing and nationalism to create a strong image and to build a good reputation of a country." (Anholt, 2007 cf. Chapple-Sokol, 2013: 169)

The French saw the globalisation process as an assault to their culture, with strong support from the state, which searched to regulate food production and distribution, as well as to monitor authenticity and quality. They achieved a great success with the "gastronomic meal of the French" winning a place on UNESCO's list of world-class Intangible Cultural Heritage (Higman, 2012: 172). President Nicolas Sarkozy started the bid by saying: "We have the best gastronomy in the world – at least from our point of view." (Sciolino, 2008) Their aim was the "global promotion and protection of the finest cultural expressions around the world" (Ibid.). This incentive was to protect "a great source of national pride" (*Ibid*.), which is very much active also in light of recent immigration waves to Europe. From the perspective of the Republic of Croatia, one important moment in recognising its culinary identity, which is by virtue of geography shared among several countries,[5] happened when UNESCO inscribed the 'Mediterranean diet' on its Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2013. Describing the Mediterranean diet as a "set of skills, knowledge, rituals, symbols and traditions (...)" UNESCO concluded that "eating together is the foundation of the cultural identity and continuity of communities throughout the Mediterranean (...) and a moment of social exchange and communication, an affirmation and renewal of family, group or community identity" (UNESCO, 2013).

Several countries have started programs to promote their national cuisines and Japan has launched a global sushi campaign, South Korea promoted kimchi, Taiwan developed a Gourmet Taiwan plan, Peru launched a Cocina Peruana campaign, the Malaysian government launched the Malaysia Kitchen for the World campaign, the Singapore government created Singapore Encore, the US government has established the Diplomatic Culinary Partnership Initiative, and China started a Chinese food festival at UN headquarters (for more see Zhang, 2015: 569).

The concept of a distinctive Japanese national cuisine or "Washoku" (traditional Japanese cuisine that highlights the ingredients, preparation and a way of eating) was invented "in response to the increasing influence of foreign cuisines" (Qian Ng, 2015) in 19th century. The reason for this later date is the fact that Japan was more "a borrower than an originator in the culinary field" (*Ibid*.). The development of Japanese cuisine involved "the trinity of cooking styles" (*Ibid*.) dependent on Chinese, Western and Japanese models. With the naturalization of new additions to their cuisine, they managed to preserve the notion of a national cuisine. In 2013 "Washoku was recognized by UNESCO as an UN intangible cultural heritage asset" (*Ibid*.).

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[5] Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portugal.

Because of the strong influence by its neighbours, Thailand's government started the "Global Thai program" (Qian Ng, 2015). The aim of the campaign was "not only to introduce delicious spicy Thai food to thousands of new tummies, open new restaurants and persuade more people to visit Thailand, but also to help deepen relations with other countries" (The Economist, 2002). The second program, labeled "Thailand: Kitchen of the World", attempted to educate the audience on the history of Thai cuisine. All these efforts present a "multilayered nation-branding" (Rockower, 2012: 238).

Inspired by Thailand's program, the Korean government announced its own campaign called "Korean Cuisine to the World" in 2009, with the aim of "making Korean food one of the five most popular ethnic cuisines in the world" (Chapple-Sokol, 2013: 175). It included increasing the number of Korean restaurants worldwide, as well as cooking programs at international cooking schools and the standardisation of Korean cooking methods. The former first lady Kim Yoon-ok has been actively engaged in raising global awareness on Korean cuisine. According to Kim Yoon-ok "Cuisine not only reflects the level of culture of a nation, but also represents its brand value", which makes the globalisation of Korean food a "crucial job for the government" (Yoon-ok, 2010 cf. Hyun-kyung, 2010).

Thus, the more attention attributed to a country's cuisine, the stronger the understanding of its culture. According to Rockower, the maxim for countries conducting gastro diplomacy is "To taste is to love us" (2012: 247).

## RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

In order to find out whether food is recognized as a soft power tool in everyday diplomatic practice, we conducted a preliminary quantitative research based on two e-questionnaires: one among diplomats accredited to the Republic of Croatia and the other among students of the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Zagreb. Since this was an initial research on gastro diplomacy as the developing field of diplomacy, we used the e-questionnaires to reach as many respondents as possible, and subsequent data, in two selected groups.

Although this preliminary research is very narrow in terms of respondents included and questions being asked, the responses we received gave us enough input to be able to make some conclusions regarding different uses of food in diplomatic practice, as well as an incentive for future, more comprehensive research focused on different gastro diplomacy strategies. We used a combination of open-ended questions, which "allowed the respondents to express an opinion" and close-ended questions, "which although limiting the respondents to a set of alternatives being offered, helped us receive initial information needed to evaluate different forms of using food in public diplomacy" (Foddy, 1993: 127). According to Vesna Lamza Posavec (2011: 17-39), open-ended questions are particularly useful as the additional explanation to the closed-ended questions and in this preliminary type of research when one does not possess enough knowledge on the subject matter.

### E-questionnaire with diplomatic personnel accredited in Croatia

The first e-questionnaire was composed of 13 closed-ended and 8 open-ended questions. Open-ended questions mostly offered single choices, except one regarding the person(s) in charge of food policy in a particular embassy. The combination of open and closed-ended questions enabled us to find out, first, whether diplomatic missions in Croatia use food as a soft power tool; second, how it is used in everyday diplomatic practice; and third, whether gastro diplomacy presents an integral part of their public diplomacy.

In conducting this survey, we decided to use the network already established through the cooperation of academic community (Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb) and embassies accredited to Zagreb. This cooperation enables students attending courses related to diplomacy to visit various embassies throughout semester and find out more on diplomatic practice via lectures, presentations and roundtables, but it also extends to the visits and lectures of ambassadors at the Faculty. The network provided us with the two relevant groups of respondents: diplomatic and student communities.

The first questionnaire was distributed by email containing a direct link to the on-line form in the period between 1 June and 1 August 2017 among 25 diplomatic missions (out of approximately 120 diplomatic missions based in Croatia or covering Croatia from third countries), which resulted in 15 responses received (Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil (two responses), Bulgaria, Canada (two responses), Japan, Spain, Slovenia, Turkey (two responses), the US, United Kingdom (two responses). This part of the survey encompassed a non-probabilistic intended sample, which was the most appropriate considering the type and goals of the research.

### E-questionnaire among students of the Faculty of Political Science

After receiving input from diplomats accredited to Croatia, we conducted the second phase of the preliminary research, building on the findings of the first phase. For that purpose, we used a Google online questionnaire as the main data collection tool, which was distributed to three generations of students who attended the course of Contemporary Diplomacy (academic years 2014/2015, 2015/2016 and 2016/2017, a total of 308 students) and to one generation of students who attended the course History of Diplomacy (academic year 2016/2017, a total of 48 students). The questionnaire was composed of 25 questions out of which seven were open-ended and was distributed in the period between 3 and 15 November 2017 through the e-learning platform (Merlin) and the intranet of the Faculty of Political Science. Again, the probabilistic occasional sample was used, resulting with 95 responses. The aim of this part of the research was to detect the familiarity of students with the terms used in the context of gastro diplomacy, perception of certain countries based on food experiences, the role of food as a public diplomacy tool and means of communication, as well as the extent to which food is used by Croatia as a public diplomacy tool.

In both cases, the level of anonymity was guaranteed to the respondents. In the case of diplomatic missions, respondents could be identified with specific country, but not personally. Within the student sample, researchers were familiar only with the groups of students which were encompassed without any specific references to their individual identities.

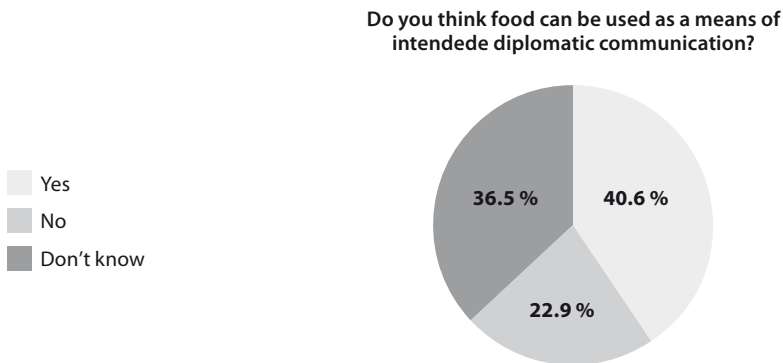## RESEARCH FINDINGS – THE USE OF FOOD IN DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE

Among the surveyed diplomatic representatives, 13 respondents find food to be important for the diplomacy of their county, while all of them use food as a tool of promotion. However, 11 respondents recognise they do not implement a gastro diplomacy strategy on a daily basis, with just 4 embassies receiving instructions from their ministries of foreign affairs regarding gastro diplomacy. The lack of a consistent gastro diplomacy strategy is also evident, with more than half of respondents (8) believing their country is not investing enough in it. Only 6 embassies serve food at every single event they organise, with the ambassador being the person in charge of the food choices (12), followed by diplomatic staff (3). The majority of embassies (9) mainly serve food from their own country (i.e. *feijoada*, *Pao de queio*, *coxinha*, *potica*, *baklava*, *sushi*, fish and chips, curry, etc.). Regarding the questions addressing the different uses of gastro diplomacy, we detected that 6 respondents consider food something that can play a role in reconciliation in international relations, while only one respondent thinks it can serve as means of radicalisation.

These results indicate a strong role for food in the public diplomacy practices of embassies accredited to the Republic of Croatia, however, a comprehensive gastro diplomacy strategic planning directed from the government is missing. Furthermore, embassies are using their national food and cuisine to promote their country and to communicate basic ideas they want their target audience to remember.

The first open-ended question in the second questionnaire was supposed to detect whether students are familiar with the term gastro diplomacy. In their responses they define it as: the diplomacy of food, spreading the national culture through national cuisine, foreign relations based on cuisine, a type of cultural and public diplomacy for a country's promotion by using national specialties and autochthonous dishes, as well as different techniques of their preparation, international cooperation at the table, using food to achieve certain national goals, a foreign policy instrument, sending message through food, diplomacy through stomachs, the promotion of national identity and cultural exchange with political motives. Another set of questions was aimed at detecting whether food influenced respondents' perception of a certain country, whereby 71 responded positively, while the consummation of a certain food managed to change one's already formed perception of a particular country among 43 respondents (29 for better, 14 for worse). Additionally, the consummation of a certain food encouraged 36 respondents to consider visiting a country of its origin, 19 were encouraged to learn more about the country, 11

to share information about the country with other people, while 16 were motivated to buy other products originating from that country. Italy is overwhelmingly recognized as a country using gastro diplomacy as a public diplomacy tool (59), while other countries such as Mexico (8), China (5), Japan (5), France (4) and India (4) are recognized as such to a far less extent. Similarly, Italy (49), China (15), Mexico (10), Japan (7), Thailand (5) and India (5) are perceived as countries which use food as a soft power tool.

In the next part of the questionnaire, we wanted to find out what kind of role students attribute to food as a public diplomacy tool: to what extent do they perceive it as a means of communication (sending intended or unintended messages), and to what extent as a means of strengthening the national identity. Among the received responses, 39 think that food can be used as a means of intended diplomatic communication (Graph 1). Particularly interesting are answers regarding the messages which Croatia could transmit through gastro diplomacy: an inviting, cooperative, friendly, eco-friendly and touristic country with rich historic heritage. On the other hand, in terms of potential negative outcomes of unintended messages that can be sent through food, 38.5 % of respondents think that food can cause radicalisation or a deterioration of interstate relations, while 50 % do not share that opinion. The follow-up question regarding the potential of food in generating provocations in diplomatic relations, shows that strong majority of respondents (63.2 %) think that food can serve such purpose.

**Do you think food can be used as a means of intendede diplomatic communication?**



Yes
No
Don't know

36.5 %   40.6 %

22.9 %

▲ *Graph 1.*
Food as a means of diplomatic communication,
N = 95

Graph 2 visualises the responses to the question "Do you think that food can serve as a means of strengthening national identity?" Collected data lead to the conclusion that a predominant majority (81.3 %) of 95 respondents recognise the potential of food in creating a distinctive brand and in a countries' efforts to improve their national image.

**Do you think the food can serve as a means of strenghtening the national identity?**

Yes
No
Don't know

9.4 %

9.4 %

81.3 %
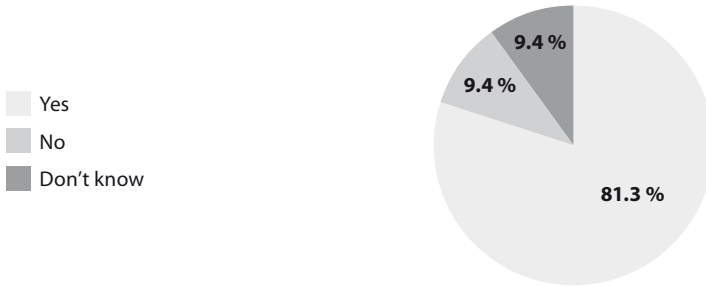
▲ *Graph 2.*
The role of food in strengthening the national identity,
N = 95

The third group of questions was aimed at detecting students' perception of the extent to which Croatia uses food as a public diplomacy tool. Although it is not surprising that a majority of respondents recognize tourism (68.8 %) and sports (25 %) as the most distinctive features of Croatian public diplomacy, the fact that only two students see gastronomy as a predominant public diplomacy tool can serve as an indicator that the use of gastro diplomacy is not sufficiently communicated among the wider audience in Croatia (Graph 3). This perception is further confirmed by 77.1 % of those who think that Croatia is not investing enough effort to use food for public diplomacy purposes.

**Which public diplomacy tool Croatia is using the most?**
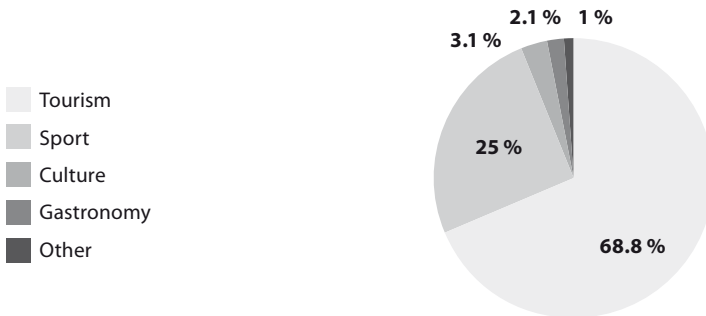
Tourism
Sport
Culture
Gastronomy
Other

2.1 %  1 %

3.1 %

25 %

68.8 %

▲ *Graph 3.*
Croatia's public diplomacy tools,
N = 95

## CONCLUSION

According to the preliminary research conducted among diplomats accredited to the Republic of Croatia, gastro diplomacy is very much present in their daily practice. However, an overall strategy of gastro diplomacy, coordinated by the government is still waiting to be developed in many countries. Although the survey was just an initial attempt to analyse the role of food in diplomacy, its results can serve as an indication of current practice, as well as an input to more comprehensive future research on gastro diplomacy. The part of the research conducted among students at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Zagreb indicates that they perceive a connection between food and a country's image, as well as the potential of food in interstate relations and communicating intended or unintended messages. However, when it comes to Croatia, other public diplomacy tools, such as tourism and sports, are more visible.

Several conclusions were reached upon in the article. Firstly, the use of food was detected as a public diplomacy tool within campaigns presenting the basic elements of strategic communication focused on a very broad audience. Secondly, it is very much incorporated in every country's historical heritage. Thirdly, the food is used in interstate as well as intrastate political communication, transferring a different range of messages: from understanding and friendship to coercion or "food wars". And finally, food is used to transmit nationalism and to increase a nation's brand status. All the aforementioned elements taken together constitute a developing soft power tool.

*Wine discourse is of huge importance when it interlinks with diplomatic discourse. It is no longer wine but diplomacy that is poured in the crystal glasses; it is diplomacy that excites the palatal sense in the diplomat's mouth and it is diplomacy that intoxicates the mind of the diplomat.* (Constantinou, 1996: 139)

The same goes for food. However, there is a limited academic interest on gastro diplomacy, food diplomacy or culinary diplomacy within the discipline of IR. Having in mind that food is widely used in everyday diplomatic practice, that it possesses symbolic power in building and communicating national identity, and that it presents a medium for transferring different types of messages to different audiences, one can conclude that current academic research and theory lag behind the practice to a great extent.

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# ULOGA HRANE U DIPLOMACIJI: KOMUNICIRANJE I "OSVAJANJE SRCA I DUŠE" HRANOM

**Đana Luša :: Ružica Jakešević**

**SAŽETAK** *Hrana kao esencijalni sastojak ljudske egzistencije oduvijek je igrala važnu ulogu u među-državnim odnosima i diplomatskoj praksi te je bila korištena kao medij kroz koji se projicira utjecaj, komu-niciraju kultura i identitet te poruke koje izražavaju prijateljstvo ili neprijateljstvo. Uloga hrane sve je istak-nutija u javnodiplomatskoj praksi različitih država, dok su akademska razmatranja gastrodiplomacije, kulinarske diplomacije ili diplomacije hranom do sada bila ograničena unutar discipline međunarodnih odnosa. Cilj je članka predstaviti različite aspekte ovog novog interdisciplinarnog polja istraživanja široj akademskoj zajednici, polazeći od hipoteze da hrana u sve većoj mjeri postaje prepoznata kao službeno sredstvo meke moći i javne diplomacije. U članku se prezentiraju rezultati inicijalnog istraživanja provede-nog među diplomatima akreditiranima u Republici Hrvatskoj te anketnog istraživanja provedenog među studentima Fakulteta političkih znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.*

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# PRIKAZI KNJIGA

*BOOK REVIEWS*

Divina Frau-Meigs, Irma Velez i Julieta Flores Michel (ur.)

**PUBLIC POLICIES IN MEDIA AND INFORMATION LITERACY IN EUROPE: CROSS-COUNTRY COMPARISONS**
Routledge, London, New York, 2017., 304 str.
ISBN: 978-1-138-64437-3

Knjiga *Public Policies in Media and Information Literacy in Europe* objavljena je u suradnji s Europskim udruženjem za istraživanje i obrazovanje u području komunikacije (ECREA), a jedinstvena je ponajprije zbog toga što je riječ o prvoj i za sada jedinoj analizi, odnosno mapiranju medijske i informacijske pismenosti u 28 europskih zemalja, a to su redom: Austrija, Belgija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Bugarska, Cipar, Češka, Danska, Estonija, Finska, Francuska, Grčka, Hrvatska, Irska, Italija, Latvija, Litva, Mađarska, Nizozemska, Njemačka, Poljska, Portugal, Rumunjska, Slovačka, Srbija, Španjolska, Švedska, Turska i Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo. Pomoću kvalitativnih i kvantitativnih metoda istraživanja analizirala su se nacionalna izvješća koja su sastavili stručnjaci za medijsku i informacijsku pismenost u svakoj zemlji prema unaprijed razrađenom i usklađenom okviru. U knjizi je detaljno prikazano trenutno stanje i mjesto medijske i informacijske pismenosti u obrazovnom i civilnom sektoru, trenutne politike u tom području, primjeri dobre prakse te cjelovita komparativna analiza navedenih europskih zemalja. U knjizi je također prikazan razvoj medijske pismenosti u Europi te razlike u trendovima i pristupu medijskoj i informacijskoj pismenosti na različitim razinama, ponajprije u području javnih politika i ključnih dionika, potom financiranja programa medijske i informacijske pismenosti, uloge obrazovnog sustava te postojećih praksi i njihovih utjecaja u svakoj od 28 analiziranih zemalja.

Knjiga je podijeljena u tri cjeline i ukupno osam poglavlja. Autori svakog poglavlja stručnjaci su u području medijske i informacijske pismenosti te je u pisanju svakog poglavlja sudjelovalo troje autora iz različitih europskih zemalja. Prva cjelina „Global analysis of European public policies in MIL" donosi pregled i detaljnu interpretaciju analiziranih politika medijske i informacijske pismenosti u Europi. Urednice knjige i ujedno autorice ovog poglavlja detaljno pojašnjavaju nastanak i razvoj medijske i informacijske pismenosti, ključne dokumente i odredbe te stanje u svakoj analiziranoj zemlji s obzirom na različite aspekte, kao što su pitanje financiranja i ulaganja u obrazovanje. Druga cjelina nosi naziv „MIL dimensions across countries: a qualitative approach" te kroz pet zasebnih poglavlja donosi prikaz ključnih kvalitativnih rezultata analize nacionalnih izvješća. Interpretacija je dopunjena specifičnostima konteksta svake zemlje, njezine kulture, politike, društvenih vrijednosti, tijeka povijesnog razvoja i ključnih dionika u području medijske i informacijske pismenosti. U trećoj cjelini „Critical perspectives" autori kroz dva tematska poglavlja donose pregled primjera dobre prakse i pozitivnih trendova u području medijske i informacijske pismenosti te raspravljaju o mogućnosti prenošenja i provedivosti pojedinoga trenda, primjerice u područje medijsko-informacijske pedagogije. Cjelina završava teorijskim i kritičkim pogledom na javne politike medijske i informacijske pismenosti te sumiranjem rezultata i naglašavanjem prepoznavanja prilika i mogućnosti za implementaciju novih programa javnih i obrazovnih politika, kao i unaprjeđenje onih postojećih.

Vrijednost ove knjige nalazi se u njezinoj sveobuhvatnosti, posebice s obzirom na to da se radi o detaljnoj analizi koja medijsku i informacijsku pismenost promatra iz svih kutova koji djeluju na njezin razvoj, počevši od samog definiranja pojma, preko povijesnih, kulturnih, društvenih i političkih čimbenika do obrazovne uloge, civilnoga sektora i u konačnici

svih građana. Upravo je zato ovo trenutno jedina knjiga koja u kontekstu proučavanja medijske i informacijske pismenosti detaljno analizira i ulogu javnih politika, ali i svih sudionika u procesu njihovih stvaranja i donošenja. Sadržaj knjige je vrijedan i zbog toga što su prikazane političke, društvene i ekonomske promjene koje su se dogodile u svakoj od analiziranih zemalja, a koje su izravno utjecale na ulogu i važnost medijske i informacijske pismenosti u svakoj pojedinoj zemlji.

Knjiga *Public Policies in Media and Information Literacy in Europe* izuzetno je korisna literatura namijenjena svima koji se bave pitanjima medijske i informacijske pismenosti – studentima, znanstvenicima, udrugama, edukatorima, ali i svim dionicima koji izravno sudjeluju u stvaranju javnih i obrazovnih politika u Europi.

**Leali Osmančević**

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Maria Edström, Andrew T. Kenyon and Eva-Maria Svensson (eds)
**BLURRING THE LINES – MARKET-DRIVEN AND DEMOCRACY-DRIVEN FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION**
NORDICOM, University of Gothenburg, Göteborg, 2016, 206 pp
ISBN: 978-91-87957-36-9

The freedom of expression stands as a basic human right. As such, it is inscribed in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also a prerequisite for democracy; however, the contemporary changes brought forth by the transformation of everyday life through digitisation and social media have called for a new angle in the ongoing debate on freedoms of speech and expression. This collection of essays is the result of the research project Market-Driven and Democracy-Driven Freedom of Expression (and, subsequently, a 2015 conference Communicative Democracy: Protecting, Promoting and Developing Free Speech in the Digital Era), piloted by two of the book's editors, Maria Edström and Eva-Maria Svensson. The three editors, Edström, Svensson and Andrew T. Kenyon immediately anchor the importance of free speech in the context of free media at the very beginning of the book.

The anthology at hand is composed of three parts with a total of 17 essays. The first tackles the relationship between free speech and state governance, the second deals with journalism and advertising, and the final section investigates control over media content. Political philosophy and legal studies dominate the first section of the book, as freedom is often theorised as something both positive (freedom for) and negative (freedom from). In that regard, topics such as freedom of expression as public service and "the People's Internet" are presented in the opening part of the book. The topic of the financial crisis is also tackled here, as Katharine Sarikakis explains how it reflected on free speech in the Greek context.

The blurring of lines between journalism and advertising – the rise of 'advertorials' in the digital realm is the main focal point of the second part. The authors lament the shift from the classical advertising space to newer methods, warning of the dangers of incorporating ads in editorials and native advertising (the practice of disguising ads as journalistic content) all of which has occurred as a result of audiences becoming users. Perhaps the best essay from the volume finds its place in this section. Crystal Abidin and

Mart Ots conducted a case study of Influencers – microcelebrity bloggers – in Singapore whose online strategy to defame telecom companies in order to divert their followers to the telecompany that hired them to launch their online campaign was leaked to the public. Abidin and Ots offer a crystal-clear case of market-driven freedom of expression (or the lack there of, as bloggers were paid to "express" themselves and slander mobile service providers).

The final section of the book deals with restrictions and control over media content, the relationship between governance and free speech. The most notable contribution here is David Brax's input on hate speech and freedom of speech, and the notion that stands out is the idea that free speech is instrumental for citizen participation. He presents the the theory of "prioritarianism", which favours hate speech regulation, and counts the costs and benefits that befall individuals or groups with the most unfortunate position in a society. Marta Martín-Llaguno's essay on the legal restrictions on advertising in Spain is as well an informative read with a good example of how the freedom of speech is limited market-wise, in this case to combat sexism toward women.

Even though, as its title asserts, the subject here is on the opposing motives that influence market-driven (economic) and democracy-driven (political) freedom of expression, reading this book one cannot fail to notice that its title does it justice. The freedom of expression and freedom of speech are elusive topics here, as if the concepts are blurred out by wider the discussion and the debates surrounding the cases at hand. Perhaps the length of these brief essays is to blame, but it occasionally seems that the topic is something else other than the freedom of expression. The core of the freedom of expression in general, however, remains as it is defined by social and cultural contexts and comes with legal, ethical and moral dimensions, as Ulla Carlsson points out in the book's opening remarks. It is useful to point out that many of the authors come from Nordic countries (as the collection is issued by Nordicom) resulting in the abundance of small legislative and media case studies of Sweden and Norway. Coincidentally, the book's release in 2016 corresponds with the 250th anniversary of the Swedish Press Act, the world's oldest constitutional guarantee of press freedom and freedom of speech.

This book is an interesting collection of essays on the freedom of expression, but it is neither ground-breaking nor essential.

**Emil Čančar**

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Zbornik radova 7. regionalne konferencije Vjerodostojnost medija: novinarstvo i ljudska prava donosi sedam tekstova organiziranih u tri poglavlja, koji, svaki na specifičan način, razmatraju medije u kontekstu izvještavanja u službi/funkciji ljudskih prava, odnosno raspravljaju o odnosu medija prema ranjivim skupinama (kategorijama stanovništva), koje su zakinute kako u pogledu svojih političkih i građanskih prava tako i u pogledu otvore-

nosti komunikacijskih kanala i platformi za prezentaciju svojih stanja, problema i glasova. Izbjeglice i migranti, kao jedna od tih ranjivih skupina, kojoj je posvećeno jedno od poglavlja ovog zbornika, u posljednjih su nekoliko godina značajna i izrazito prisutna tema medijskog izvještavanja, no u biti riječ je o izvještavanju *o* toj skupini, a ne *za* tu skupinu. Drugim riječima, medijsko izvještavanje o izbjeglicama i migrantima rijetko je inkluzivno i isključuje ih iz javnog diskursa, odnosno rijetko im (ili nikako) omogućava da očituju svoje zahtjeve, svoja iskustva i svoje perspektive. Stoga je analiza medijskog izvještavanja o migrantskoj krizi, predstavljena u ovom zborniku radova, veoma važna za razumijevanje pristupa medija toj zakinutoj skupini i za proučavanje načina njezina medijskog portretiranja. Poglavlje *Izvještavanje o izbjeglicama i migrantima* bavi se kroz tri teksta formama medijskog izvještavanja o toj skupini. Analizira se na koji se način kreira agenda kada su u pitanju izbjeglice i migranti, koji izvori u medijskom izvještavanju dominiraju te na koji se način i vizualno, putem fotografija, u medijima portretiraju izbjeglice i migranti. Analizom sadržaja i analizom diskursa autorice tekstova nastoje odgovoriti na pitanje je li i u kojoj mjeri medijsko pokrivanje izbjegličke krize uopće u funkciji ostvarenja ljudskih prava izbjeglica i migranata, među kojima i prava na pošteno, profesionalno i dostojanstveno predstavljanje u medijima. Značajan doprinos ovog poglavlja dobivanju potpune slike o medijskom portretiranju izbjeglica i migranata ogleda se u tome da je analiza u tekstovima obuhvatila kako *online* medije (profile svjetskih medija na Twitteru i mrežne stranice) tako i klasične, *offline* medije (tiskane medije).

Druga osjetljiva skupina kojoj je posvećeno jedno poglavlje u zborniku jesu djeca. Poglavlje *Prava djece u medijima* pokušava doći do odgovora na pitanje u kojoj su mjeri, u medijskom izvještavanju o djeci (posebno u kontekstu nasilja nad djecom), ispoštovani etički standardi i prava djece. I u ovom poglavlju posebno se ističe sveobuhvatnost pristupa, s obzirom na to da se analizira i propituje ne samo način medijskog izvještavanja nego i percepcija javnosti o tom izvještavanju, kao i efikasnost mehanizama regulacije i samoregulacije u unaprjeđenju medijskog izvještavanja o djeci.

Osim navedenih poglavlja izuzetno je značajna i teorijska elaboracija fenomena ljudskih prava i medijske, odnosno novinarske odgovornosti, kojom je ovaj zbornik zapravo otvoren. Ljudska prava, kao koncept i fenomen suvremenog doba i društva, kontekstualizirana su u okviru europskih dokumenata te se nastoji ukazati kako odgovorno novinarstvo u svojoj osnovi i svom fokusu stalno i uvijek mora imati njihovu zaštitu i afirmaciju.

Knjiga *Mediji, novinarstvo i ljudska prava* zagovara odgovorno novinarstvo i vjerodostojnost medija, kao ključnih platformi za artikulaciju i zagovaranje ljudskih prava, te kritički i analitički propituje koliko su mediji u regiji jugoistočne Europe danas blizu (ili daleko od) takve, gotovo idealističke i utopističke vizije društvene uloge i odgovornosti medija. Ova knjiga predstavlja značajan doprinos medijskoj analitici i medijskim istraživanjima u zemljama u regiji te je kao takva važan i relevantan izvor ne samo znanstvenih saznanja o stanju medija i ljudskih prava nego i inovativnih istraživačkih i analitičkih pristupa, i u tom kontekstu može poslužiti kao poticaj za daljnja istraživanja studentima novinarstva, medijskih studija i komunikologije, kao i istraživačima i medijskim analitičarima. Rezultati istraživanja predstavljenih u ovom zborniku nude i izvanredan uvid u medijsko portretiranje ljudskih prava i ugroženih društvenih skupina pa u tom smislu i ovaj zbornik slijedi polaznu ideju konferencije Vjerodostojnost medija, koja u posljednjih osam godina nastoji biti regionalni *hub* medijskih istraživanja i platforma za predstavljanje istraživačkih nalaza

i rezultata, posebno mlađih istraživača. Zbornik će, bez sumnje, naći svoj put do čitateljske publike u susjednim nam zemljama te će im biti kvalitetan i relevantan izvor podataka i analiza, ali i značajna „podloga" i oslonac za daljnje promišljanje o važnosti i odgovornosti medija u promoviranju koncepta ljudskih prava u demokratskom društvu, ali i u izvještavanju koje se temelji na javnom interesu i koje je inkluzivno u pogledu svih različitosti i svih pojedinaca i skupina koji imaju želje i potrebu da se njihov glas u medijima čuje, a njihov interes u društvu kroz medije prezentira.

**Lejla Turčilo**
(iz recenzije)

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*Crossing Borders and Boundaries in Public Service Media*, edited by Gregory Ferrell Lowe and Nobuto Yamamoto, speaks about a change in public broadcasting services in the networked media environment, the relationship between governments, market and civil society, and changes within the public services in terms of institutionalisation and operationalisation. This book, divided into three sections, each consisting of four to five thematically related articles is published by Nordicom and presents a "collection of a culmination of discourse during and since the RIPE@2014 conference in Tokyo" (p. 7).

The first article "Crossing Borders and Boundaries in PSM Heritage, Complication and Development" explains key terms that are important for understanding the following articles: crossing, borders and boundaries, and addresses
"four highly problematic boundaries for PSM that are rooted in the public service broadcasting heritage. That historic grounding depended on A) national governments, that B) mandated public corporations to conduct 'broadcasting' as the core task via C) non-commercial, or at least non-profit, operations, and for a long period organised D) as monopoly institutions to accomplish the mission of 'universalism'". (p. 11)

The first section *Broadcasting & Networked Communication* begins with article "Broadcasting in the Post-Broadcast Era Technology and Institution in the Development in the of Public Service Media" that addresses the importance of continuity in the context of change and deals with media technologies as subject to social shaping (p. 31). According to Taisto Hujanen PSM cannot be understood as a separate and distinctive from PSB because "broadcast radio and television connects with interactive, participatory forms of networked communications" (p. 32) with "the media users as the most crucial factor in the social shaping of information and communication technologies" (p. 37).

Universal access as a building block in the concept of public service broadcasting is one of the key premises of the chapter "The PSM Paradox with Net Neutrality" by Marko Ala-Fossi. "It analyses institutional characteristics of broadcasting and networked communications as technologies, focusing on differences of decisive importance between the universality principle and the online principle of net neutrality, thereby highlighting problems of crucial relevance in the transition from public service broadcasting to public service media." (p. 47)

Sylvia Harvey, in the chapter "Above Us the Sky. The New Battle for Borders in Spectrum Allocation", talks about the ongoing battle over the use of spectrum frequencies between mobile phone companies, that claim to need more spectrum to support the transmission of online data, and digital terrestrial broadcasters that deliver free and universally available content, in Europe. Tanja Meyerhofer claims that, in practice, "PSM has no real choice but to embrace marketisation because that is pre-requisite for participation in today's media environments and the contemporary context for connecting with public communities across multiple platforms" (p. 78). Beside the competition as a consequence of the marketisation, co-operation is needed in this media environment for public service to be able to produce high-quality programmes. "The hybrid dynamic between acting both competitively and co-operatively is called "coopetition" (e.g. Küng et al. 2008). This dynamic interaction with, and integration increasingly defines operational practice in media systems everywhere today." (p. 78) The growth and development of partnerships, collaboration, alliances and so forth are therefore in large part the consequence of marketisation. (p. 87)

The first chapter of the section *The State, the Market and the Civil Society* focuses on the public service media in Europe to demonstrate the importance and potential of a human rights approach (p. 95). Minna Aslama Horwitz and Hannu Nieminen "examine the rationale and potential for making a case for contemporary PSM based on communication as a human right, an emerging perspective in media policy discourse that is highly relevant for legitimating public service provision in both young democracies and those generally considered to be highly developed" (p. 22). In terms of PSM, the key categories for understanding the communication rights' map are: access to information, the availability of the relevant content for all the citizens equally, citizens' competence to understand information, dialogical rights – "availability of public spaces that allow citizens to publicly share information, experiences, views, and opinions on common matters" (p. 99) – and protection of privacy and personal data.

The contradictory requirements of public service broadcasting in a democratic nation are examined in the study by Takashi Ito. Focusing on Japan's Nihon Hoso Kyokai [NHK] article "International Broadcasting and Editorial Independence" deals with the control of government and lawmakers over the public service, especially when it comes to forming the international image of the state. The author argues that the existing legal system enables the government to use NHK as a tool for promoting their policy purposes, which is visible from increased government pressure over the last two decades. Because of the crossing of national borders, public service media is more likely to be under the scope of a government who sees the opportunity to use it as a form of soft power tool in international public diplomacy. Analysing the example of Taiwan, Hui-Ju Tsai argues that the independent approach is the best way to respect boundaries between the state and the public service organisation (p. 121). From the beginning of the television era in Taiwan in the 1960s, television was primarily a propaganda service. Taiwan public television system (PTS) was not formatted until 1998, mainly because of political interference, and 2000 brought a new alliance between media reform and civil groups, press unions and green groups that helped the realisation of PSM (p. 127-13The role and public orientation of the Hong Kong's public service were threatened by political interference in the mid-2000s. The Article "PSB and Press Freedom in the 2010s: Challenges for Radio and

Television Hong Kong" explains how RTHK is trying to keep editorial independence from the ongoing pressures of the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) whose "influence is creating a challenging media" (p. 139). A survey conducted in 2012 examined a state of the press under the Tsang administration during the 2005-2012 period. 87% of respondents agreed that the press freedom had decreased in that period and 60% expected less freedom under the new administration, with more restrictions and pressures (p. 140-141). In the next chapter Bouzaiane Zaid explores the complex process of media reform in transitional democracies. Using the combined method of document analysis and qualitative in-depth interviews on the case of the competitive authoritarian regime of Morocco, the author explains the two boundaries of pivotal importance: between the state and the public, and between history and contemporary needs. (153)

In the *Public Service Media and the Commons. Crossing Conceptual and Institutional Boundaries*, the opening article of the third section "Crossing Institutional and Operational Boundaries", Corinne Schweizer outlines different institutional and conceptual boundaries that need to be crossed for common concepts to be valued as a narrative for legitimating PSM in the digital age (p.171). She uses new commons identified by Charlotte Hess to explain the role of the public services. Four of those new commons can be found in PSM – infrastructure (frequencies), neighbourhood commons (between the local and global), knowledge and cultural commons (the role of public services) (p. 174). The author suggests five ways to see PSM through the commons perspective: 1) to construct PSM from its purpose and position in society, 2) to highlight the organisational structure, 3) focus on a process of content creation, 4) address the question of access to content and 5) to look at the outcomes of the PSM - its impact on society. Each of those ways means different philosophical, cultural, and structural boundaries to be crossed (p. 178-180).

In the next chapter Lizzie Jackson claims that Mediascope "comprised of computer code, extends the potential creative palette for PSM and commercial operators alike, and offers the ability to 'tag' (label) and deliver personalised content at the right time and place for the user on the device he or she prefers." (p.189) Using the practices from four different media organisations: The Guardian, The Huffington Post, Nesta and DuckDuckGo, the author argues that in order for PSM to succeed in this complex system, people working in these organisations have to understand the architecture of networked media and communications. The unusual international popularity of the Danish-German co-production Forbrydelsen (The Killing), is the main theme of the article by Trisha Dunleavy. Triple storytelling structure involving police, family and political domains, crossover strategy, aesthetics sophistication and cinematic aesthetics and narrative complexity are some of the characteristics that have contributed to the exportation of crime series produced by Denmark's PBS to 159 countries.

The chapter "PSM Going Global? Navigating the Trans Border Rights Minefield" problematises the complexity of the fulfilment of Intellectual Property [IP] rights in the global media environment of the public service media. Benjamin J. Bates "reviews industry and academic research about the viability of distributing broadcast signals and content across national borders." (p. 215) In the last chapter, "Crossing Boarders for Innovation, Content Development for PSM at Yle," Sari Virta & Gregory Ferrell Lowe explain the crucial importance of crossing boundaries to achieve innovation in PSM content development. Analysing the case of the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation (Yle) the authors focus on

the characteristic challenges and practices in boundary crossing at three levels: the organisational, the group (or team) and the individual.

Consisting of articles that consider different theoretical approaches regarding crossing borders and boundaries, this book offers a valuable insight into the position and role of a public service in today's complex media environment.

**Zrinka Viduka**

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Tim Highfield

**SOCIAL MEDIA AND EVERYDAY POLITICS**
Polity Press, Cambridge and Malden, 2016, 220 pp
ISBN: 978-0-7456-9134-3

The book Social Media and Everyday Politics tackles the most pervasive practices we are witnessing today, as well as the personal and political significance of multiple social media sites and the ways they collide. It examines user practices concerning political contexts as a large part of everyday life occurring in the digital world. Through seven thematically distinctive yet complementary chapters, Tim Highfield emphasises various online participatory and engaging areas such as commentary, discussions, publishing images, videos, memes, GIF-s etc. Describing in detail online practices from both strands, active publics, and policy makers, Highfield proves how they all together create wider socio-political impact. Filled with up-to-date global examples, the book vividly explains what major role social media have in the unfolding of the events and what are the socio-cultural implications of political discussion on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Tumblr, Youtube, blogs, etc.

The digital arena is now, more than ever, the field's main research interest since it represents the formation of public opinions in seconds. In a Habermasian approach, some argue that the online public sphere does not exist, and disapprove of its potential to influence and change the mainstream policies. On the other hand, Highfield points out exactly the opposite. Focusing on how sometimes seemingly mundane conversations on social media, actually impact the political arena and can take political dimensions which are beyond our imagination. Easily read, the content is based on his previous research projects and empirical studies. Addressing a wide range of social media topics, from selfies to election campaigns, riots, crises and collective action, the book explores how social media has become an extension of our realities.

The overarching topic is the intersection of the personal and the political. Furthermore, this dichotomy is the main referential point of almost every social media site. The intertwined spectrum of normal, everyday personal usage of social media tends to evolve into a larger political scope, and vice versa. Something strictly political, now becomes part of everyday life. Especially when it comes to gender, LGBT and anti-mainstream issues, the political easily becomes personal. An example describing this collision is #freethenipple campaign which attempted to disentangle taboos of breastfeeding. Women gathering and taking action through formed online communities, helped with breaking the silence and pointing at the larger problems of society. Topics once unreachable, are now easily embraced through digital activism and self-organised debates occurring in online spaces.

Further, Highfield explains ritualised forms of social media usage, which are the standardised practices of users, responding to various events. Sometimes these practices may take political dimensions. In this sense, the abundance of mundane commentary appearing on social media sites may grow into a cultural reference point and impact higher structures of the society. Examples are the #blacklivesmatter movement or #JesuisCharlie. In contemporary society, language, practices and expressions have evolved through social media. Whether we accept it or not, the importance and the scope social media has on our understandings remains certain. The book's theoretical background, therefore, brings out new concepts, such as ambient journalism, introduced by Hermida (2010), which refers to constant "live" coverage of social media sites. There is no "one sole narrative trajectory" around a particular subject that everyone follows (p. 43). Social media culture is a place where comedy meets serious topics, where mocking is a standard and cynical humour frames the events through public commentary. If we want democracy, this is where we have it. Narratives and counter-narratives are formed and spread in the speed of a second, and although topics overlap on different sites, each one has a distinctive role and brings a different experience to its users. Whether it is just a usage of images, short texts or videos, each site is specific and adds another perspective to the story.

However, one important question arises here. If we are in the realm of the complete freedom of expression, then some may abuse this position and spread hate speech. Everyone has the right to state her opinion, which sometimes leads to extreme polarisation. Later chapters show how political expression evolves in online media environments, shedding light on breaking news, scandals and crises, and taking a closer look at collective and connective action on social media.  Platforms for vocalising opinions and sharing experiences, as the recent #MeToo campaign proved again, are a form of solidarity expression. Another major influence comes from live-streaming and updates from demonstrations, marches, etc. Social media accompany these events and serve as a means of communication between protesters, publics and authorities. Sometimes, after social movements have finished, some hashtags remain running (e.g. #OccupyWallStreet, #everydaysexism, #AliveWhileBlack). These call for the importance of "treating the online as part of an extended, hybrid media and political system" (p.120), not just an isolated setting.

The last two chapters are focused on institutional context, politicians and the online practices of election periods. Filled with a theoretical background and new insights into the development of interactions between politics and the participatory public, the book concludes with the limitations and implications of this changing face between everyday social media and politics.

Yet, Highfield admits, methods for studying social media are still in the development and need to evolve more for future research. Data collection is tricky and sometimes messy to analyse, due to the large amount of information and their constant flow and changes. It is a question of framing the time period and using specific searches (e.g. through hashtags) which makes it manageable. Case studies of various media events are a way to explore broader meanings and consequences they have on the society. Written in a language everyone can understand, and sometimes funny, the book is a valuable piece for all students, media scholars, researchers and everyone interested in online communication studies.

**Anja Stević**

Nico Carpentier

**THE DISCURSIVE-MATERIAL KNOT: CYPRUS IN CONFLICT AND COMMUNITY MEDIA PARTICIPATION**

Peter Lang, New York, Bern, Frankfurt, Berlin, Brussels, Vienna, Oxford & Warsaw, 2017., 471 str.
ISBN978-1-4331-3753-2

Knjiga *The Discursive-Material Knot: Cyprus in Conflict and Community Media Participation* (Diskurzivno-materijalni čvor: sukob na Cipru i participacija medija zajednice), objavljena 2017. godine, sastoji se od tri cjeline ili platforme, koje zajedno s uvodom i opremom (podaci o knjizi, sadržaj, popis literature i prilozi) obuhvaćaju 471 stranicu. U uvodu pod naslovom „The Introduction of a Triptych" (Uvod u triptih) autor predstavlja čitateljima svoje djelo nastalo kao rezultat istraživačkog projekta o sukobu na Cipru i ulozi medija zajednice u transformaciji tog sukoba. U projektu je sudjelovalo više znanstvenika s Cipra i iz inozemstva, a prezentira ga belgijski teoretičar medija Nico Carpentier u ovoj knjizi koja zaslužuje pozornost ne samo svojom inovativnom strukturom već i sustavnim, temeljitim, rigoroznim i sofisticiranim kombiniranjem diskurzivno-materijalne nehijerarhijske ontologije, teorije političke participacije i istraživačkog dizajna. Struktura knjige u skladu je s cikličkom, iterativnom i nehijerarhijskom logikom kvalitativnog istraživanja. Dijelovi knjige međusobno su ovisni, iako se mogu čitati i autonomno. Prve dvije platforme predstavljaju teorijski i konceptualni okvir koji autor u trećoj platformi primjenjuje u historijskoj analizi ciparskog sukoba i analizi uloge medija zajednice, prvenstveno Ciparskog centra medija zajednice (CCMC) i MYCY radija koji djeluje u okviru tog centra. Prvi, teorijski dio knjige „Reconciling the Discursive and the Material – A Knotted Theoretical Framework" (Pomirenje diskurzivnog i materijalnog – zamršen teorijski okvir) najkompleksnije je i najzahtjevnije poglavlje. Sastoji se od šest cjelina u kojima autor predstavlja ključne pojmove: diskurzivno, diskurzivne strukture, djelovanje (*agency*) i materijalno, kao i dvije dimenzije svog „zamršenog" teorijskog okvira: s jedne strane dimenziju djelovanja (*agency*) i materijalno kao komponentu djelovanja, a s druge strane dimenziju struktura i njihovu diskurzivnu komponentu.

Glavni argument autora jest da se odnos diskurzivnog i materijalnog treba shvatiti kao čvor u kojem ni jedna od komponenata nije nužno dominantna, a one su „intrinzično, intenzivno i intimno isprepletene" (2017: 13), iako se iz analitičkih razloga koriste odvojeno. Autor svoj teorijski okvir utemeljuje u diskurzivnoj teoriji francuskih filozofa Ernesta Laclaua i Chantal Mouffe koju su razvili u knjizi *Hegemonija i socijalistička strategija* (1985.). Kao razloge navodi to što makrodiskurzivna teorija Laclaua i Mouffe omogućuje nehijerarhijsko poimanje odnosa između diskurzivnog i materijalnog koje neće privilegirati ni jednu stranu. Prema Carpentieru, pozicioniranje diskursa na makrodruštvenu razinu olakšava dijalog s materijalističkim pristupima unutar teorije diskursa. Uvođenje dimenzije djelovanja/struktura autor smatra važnim kao protutežu neutemeljenim kritikama strukturalizma u okviru teorije diskursa, kao i kritikama upotrebe pojma djelovanja u novim materijalističkim teorijama. Carpentier pokazuje kako je makrotekstualni i makrokontekstualni pristup diskursu upravo zbog široke i uključujuće konceptualizacije diskursa lakše povezati s diskusijom o materijalnom, a time i primijeniti na analizu transformacija sukoba. Pritom nudi temeljito, ali i usmjereno čitanje diskurzivne teorije Laclaua i Mouffe koje omogućuje čitateljima, osobito onima koji se tek prvi put susreću s hermetičnom i kompleksnom teorijom ovog kontroverznog para, da se prilično jednostavno probiju do razumijevanja

njezinih osnovnih koncepata. U drugom dijelu knjige naslovljenom „Participation, Community Media, and Conflict (Transformation)" (Participacija, mediji zajednice i sukob (transformacija)) autor svoju diskurzivno-materijalnu ontologiju dalje razvija u sustavnoj teorijskoj elaboraciji pojmova participacija, mediji zajednice, konflikt i rješavanje sukoba. Treća platforma s naslovom „The Cyprus Conflict" (Ciparski konflikt) na samom početku predstavlja povijesni kontekst sukoba između ciparskih Grka i Turaka i ulogu nacionalizama obiju strana u tom sukobu, i to kroz sustavnu primjenu diskurzivno-materijalnoga teorijskog okvira ocrtanog u prva dva poglavlja. Analiza dokumenata ovdje je obogaćena i vizualnim materijalima koje je autor prikupio u okviru istraživanja sjećanja na „ciparski problem". Historijska analiza omogućuje uvid u kontekst u kojem djeluju participativni mediji zajednice na Cipru čiju ulogu u transformaciji ciparskog sukoba od *antagonističkog* prema *agonističkom* autor detaljnije analizira u drugom dijelu treće platforme. Za razliku od destruktivnih antagonističkih sukoba gdje se pozicije sukobljenih strana doživljavaju kao nekompatibilne, a protivnici kao neprijatelji, agonistički sukobi uključuju takvu subjektivnu poziciju aktera u kojoj oni uvažavaju legitimitet svojih protivnika. Agonistički sukobi su i dalje borbeni i angažirajući. Uključene strane u agonističkim sukobima ne moraju prepoznati mogućnost racionalnog rješenja konflikta, no svjesne su da dijele zajednički simbolični prostor u kojem se sukob odvija. Autor ovdje istražuje označiteljske i identitetske prakse kroz analizu diskursa producenata, volontera, gostiju u studiju i publika medija zajednice te participativnih kontrahegemonijskih asamblaža koji se formiraju u interakciji s materijalnim okruženjem (materijalne prakse, tjelesni pokreti, organizacija prostora i opreme, operiranje s protostrojevima, protok ljudi, roba i kapitala itd.). Guattarijev pojam *protostroja* Carpentier koristi da opiše materijalnu komponentu različitih organizacijskih asamblaža, što uključuje različite alate, radijsku opremu, uredski materijal i slično. Carpentier svoju diskurzivno-materijalnu analizu temelji na fragmentima emitiranog radijskog programa, na intervjuima s producentima, gostima i volonterima te na grupnim diskusijama s publikama medija. Autor pokazuje kako su se analizirani mediji zajednice svojim participativnim inkluzivnim praksama profilirali kao alternativa hegemonijskim matičnim (engl. *mainstream*) javnim i komercijalnim medijima. Doprinos medija zajednice izgradnji mira i transformaciji destruktivnih antagonizama u konstruktivne agonističke sukobe odvijao se kroz niz reartikulacija: prevladavanje/decentralizaciju podjela, rekonfiguraciju vremena, dekonstrukciju homogenog *ja* (*self*) i elaboraciju troškova uzrokovanih sukobom. Autor pokazuje kako su tim reartikulacijama mediji zajednice stvorili takav prostor (materijalnog) zajedništva i mjesto susreta različitih zajednica gdje zajedništvo ne ignorira razlike ni sukobe generirane razlikama. Iz toga proizlazi zaključak o doprinosu participacije, inkluzivnosti i uvažavanja razlika transformaciji sukoba i izgradnji mira. Važnu ulogu u tom smislu imaju participativne inkluzivne prakse i horizontalna organizacijska struktura. Carpentierova knjiga predstavlja značajan iskorak u teorijskom smislu. Taj se iskorak očituje u razvoju teorijskog okvira koji uspješno povezuje teoriju diskursa i novu materijalističku teoriju tako da uspijeva prevladati njihov inherentni dualizam, ali i obraniti humanizam teorije diskursa. Riječ je o djelu koje osim toga daje nov, interdisciplinaran i sustavno razrađen teorijski pogled na teoriju medija zajednice, teoriju participacije i rješavanja sukoba. Istovremeno, ona predstavlja i odličan metodološki predložak za primjenu analize diskursa u istraživanjima uloge medija zajednice u procesima izgradnje društvene kohezije, transformacije sukoba i društvene promjene. U tom je smislu iznimno korisna istraživači-

cama i istraživačima koji se bave transformacijom sukoba i izgradnjom civilnog društva i medija zajednice u postsocijalističkim društvima.

Poseban je doprinos ove knjige sustavna primjena otvorenog, nehijerarhijskog i nehegemonijskog teorijskog okvira na svim razinama: ontološkoj, teorijskoj, konceptualnoj, metodološkoj i interpretativnoj. Na taj način ona je ne samo odličan teorijski i metodološki predložak već i „prirodna" sastavnica budućih nehegemonijskih participativno-agonističkih teorijskih i istraživačkih asamblaža.

**Antonija Čuvalo**

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Mirela Španjol Marković

**MOĆ UVJERAVANJA: GOVORNIK, GOVOR, PUBLIKA: PRIRUČNIK ZA JAVNO NASTUPANJE I POSLOVNO PREZENTIRANJE**
Ciceron komunikacije, Zagreb, 2016., 272 str.
ISBN 978-953-59320-0-0

Knjiga Mirele Španjol Marković *Moć uvjeravanja: govornik, govor, publika: priručnik za javno nastupanje i poslovno prezentiranje* praktični je priručnik kojemu je cilj osnažiti komunikacijske vještine publike te kojemu će se svatko uvijek iznova rado vraćati, navodi se u predgovoru koji potpisuje komunikacijska savjetnica Ana Šimunović. Knjiga je podijeljena na tri dijela. Prvi dio „Zašto retorika danas?" pokazuje kako retorika može biti važan čimbenik osobnog i poslovnog uspjeha pomoću kojega je moguće ostvariti utjecaj, ali i moć. Iako je retorika vještina i umjetnost, Španjol Marković podsjeća na njezin interdisciplinaran karakter i suradnju s ostalim znanstvenim disciplinama. Govorništvo se može naučiti, a za to je, autorica ističe, važno poznavati strukturu govora, načela argumentacije, ali i osobine publike, dodajući kako se do uspjeha dolazi predanim radom (19). Interes za retoriku povećao se u doba višestranačja i tržišnoga gospodarstva, pri čemu političari postaju suvremenim trgovcima koji prodaju svoje ideje (21). Autorica nadalje progovara o upotrebi retorike u medijima, PR-u, marketingu, prodaji, glumi te politici. Podsjećajući na zlatno doba televizijskog novinarstva i na legendarne televizijske voditelje, autorica naglašava pogubne učinke komercijalizacije i *infotainmenta* koji se manifestiraju kroz potiskivanje brige za jezičnim izričajem, obrazovnom ulogom medija te sveopćom redukcijom i koncentracijom informacija (29). Retorika postaje važan alat u izgradnji imidža te u korporativnom komuniciranju, ali i u održavanju vidljivosti poruke kroz govorne elemente, što autorica pokazuje kroz prikaze domaćih i inozemnih govornika i njihovih osobnosti. Da retorika može imati i manipulativan karakter podsjeća nas njezina primjena u Drugom svjetskom ratu, oslanjanjem na psihologiju mase, ali i u Domovinskom ratu (64)Drugi dio knjige strukturiran je kao priručnik govorništva s praktičnim vježbama koji kroz tri poglavlja pokriva najvažnije teme. Tako prva podcjelina „Govornik – dobro pripremljen izvođač" obrađuje pitanja straha i treme uoči javnog nastupa. Razlozi treme su višestruki, no autorica naglašava kako je riječ o naučenome strahu, a ne urođenome, donoseći savjete kako savladati strah i tremu. Trema se može potisnuti samo kontinuiranom vježbom, pozitivnim mislima, ali i oslanjanjem na vježbe disanja koje mogu utjecati na izvedbu, posebice na govor. Autorica nadalje podsjeća kako je za govornika presudan prvi dojam, ali i dodaje kako je najbolji način da spoznamo sebe razumijevanje kako nas drugi vide (93). Postizanje vjero-

dostojnosti moguće je tako da živimo vlastita uvjerenja, a jačanju vjerodostojnosti govornika pridonose usklađenost verbalne i neverbalne komunikacije, dosljednost, osobine te originalnost i neponovljivost „ljudske marke" (103). Druga podcjelina „Govor – sredstvo uvjeravanja" analizira jedan od najvažnijih dijelova persuazije. Persuazija obuhvaća pet razina: verbalnu, govornu, neverbalnu, tehničku i dijalektičku (111). I dok su na verbalnoj razini u središtu riječi, na govornoj razini najviše se pažnje pridaje glasu koji se, iako je genetski naslijeđen, može promijeniti, ističe autorica, podsjećajući kako na vokalnu izvedbu utječu smirenost i samopouzdanje. Autorica nadalje donosi vježbe za glas napisane u suradnji s Dunjom Lakuš, trenericom govora i stručnjakinjom za glas. Glas je moćan alat koji utječe na interpretaciju poruke te ujedno i važan element neverbalne komunikacije. No, javni nastup može biti bolji i uz korištenje bilježaka i pomagala, o čemu govori tehnička razina, koja nastoji iskoristiti prednosti novih komunikacijskih kanala i alata (*power point*, *flip-chart*, mentalne mape) za jačanje interakcije s publikom. Konačno, dijalektička razina razmatra pripremljenost govornika za javni nastup, posebice za neugodna pitanja, ali i ublažavanje kritika. Autorica daje savjete i kako postupati u situacijama u kojima ne znamo odgovor na neko pitanje (170).

Pripremu govora autorica slikovito uspoređuje s pečenjem kolača koje se odvija kroz nekoliko međusobno povezanih koraka. Govorna izvedba kulturološki je uvjetovana, podsjeća Španjol Marković, ističući razlike između američkog i europskog pristupa. Američka publika govorništvo promatra kroz industriju zabave, cijeneći pritom entuzijazam, dinamiku govora, iskrenost, samopouzdanje, strast i originalnost (179-180). Struktura izlaganja oslanja se na tri glavna elementa – uvod, glavni dio i zaključak, koji iziskuju kreativnost. Posljednja karika u lancu, ujedno i treća podcjelina poglavlja, odnosi se na publiku, kojoj se treba prilagoditi psihološki, ali i sadržajem. Dobra dikcija i pravilna upotreba rečeničnog naglaska osiguravaju logiku u govoru, upozorava autorica, ističući nužnost kontinuiranog usavršavanja. Trajanje izlaganja ovisi o mnoštvu čimbenika od kojih se ističu prigoda i publika, a balansiranje između dugih i kratkih formi doprinosi jačanju vještine govorenja. Pozitivna komunikacija doprinosi kvaliteti komunikacije općenito, a pojedinac može povećati svoju sugestivnu moć na Druge prenošenjem entuzijazma, jačanjem zanimanja za sugovornike, izbjegavanjem negativnih formulacija te maksimalnim korištenjem prostora (220-223). Na kraju, autorica donosi pregled najčešćih pogrešaka u prezentacijama, kao i mnoštvo poticajnih citata na temu govorenja i govorništva. Posljednja, treća cjelina „Vještina vođenja dijaloga" stavlja naglasak na debatu kao jedan od oblika konverzacije koji pokazuje umijeće i vještinu komunikacije. Za uspješno provođenje debate važno je poznavati pravila, ali i argumentaciju koja može obuhvaćati iznošenje stava temeljenog na tvrdnji i na dijalektici (251-252). Iako je smisao debate kroz govornu kulturu jačati demokratizaciju u društvu, autorica upozorava kako dobar govornik ne mora biti i dobar debatant, posebice zbog nemogućnosti zadržavanja takta ili loših slušateljskih vještina (253). Koji su elementi konstruktivnog, destruktivnog te manipulativnog u govoru samo su neka od pitanja na koje posljednja cjelina priručnika nastoji odgovoriti.

Priručnik Mirele Španjol Marković na iscrpan i sveobuhvatan način obrađuje ulogu retorike u suvremenom društvu te osobito naglašava koliko je retorika važna u persuaziji. Poseban doprinos priručniku čine praktične vježbe kreirane na temelju autoričina višegodišnjeg iskustva u radu i podučavanju retoričkih vještina, kao i primjeri govora za određene prilike (promaknuća, motivacijski govori, govori na poslovnim sastancima itd.). Riječ je o

vrijednoj knjizi koja je namijenjena studentima, akademskoj zajednici te svim pojedincima koji žele analizirati i poboljšati svoj govor, ali i poboljšati vlastite komunikacijske i prezentacijske tehnike kao doprinos izgradnji privatnog i poslovnog imidža.

**Tanja Grmuša**

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Tomislav Birtić, Ankica Tomić, Sanja Modrić

**VODIČ ZA PISANJE I SAVJETI ZA VEĆINU „NERJEŠIVIH" SITUACIJA U NOVINARSKOM POSLU**
24 sata, Zagreb, 2016., 215 str.
ISBN 978-953-323-332-1

Priručnik u izdanju 24 sata čiji su autori Tomislav Birtić, Ankica Tomić i Sanja Modrić tematski je podijeljen u tri velike cjeline: 1) Savjeti za „nerješive" situacije, 2) Primjeri pogrešnog pisanja i 3) Vrijednosti i standardi novinarstva. Osim toga, sastavni dio knjige čine Kodeks časti Hrvatskog novinarskog društva, Publicistička načela te Zakon o medijima.
Govoreći o načelima pisanja, Birtić navodi kako je važno da informacija bude jednostavna i razumljiva za obje strane – novinara i čitatelja, a to ujedno i privlači publiku. Mnogo je pravila o odabiru odgovora na 5 W pitanja, no Birtić sugerira kako odabir jednoga od njih ovisi o važnosti pojedinoga događaja. Uloga teksta, a posebice njegove kvalitete, jača usporedo s pojavom tržišne utakmice, podsjeća Birtić, dodajući da primjeri lošeg pisanja iz prakse pokazuju kako novinari ipak nisu dobri pisci (23-30). Zbog toga je suradnja s lektorima iznimno važna, zato što njihov nadzor nad jezičnim izričajem te preciznošću informacija može doprinijeti i jačanju kvalitete medija. Govoreći o oblicima medijske komunikacije, Birtić naglašava kako je važno da novinar u pisanju zadrži neutralan stav. Postoji razlika u percepciji medijskih tekstova između žena i muškaraca s obzirom na emocije, podsjeća autor, dodajući kako je oslanjanje na emotivne apele jedan od alata u kreiranju privlačnih naslova i podnaslova (76). Osvrćući se na primjere kakvi bi oblici medijske komunikacije trebali biti, autor stavlja naglasak i na proces selekcije vijesti u ultrakratkim formama. Iako odabir sugovornika ne ovisi uvijek o novinarima, Birtić naglašava (85) kako je važno da se novinari uzdignu na razinu osobe s kojom razgovaraju, što će biti jamstvo očuvanja kredibiliteta i te osobe i novinara, ali i medija koji pojedini novinar ili novinarka predstavljaju.
Druga cjelina „Primjeri pogrešnog pisanja", koju potpisuje Ankica Tomić, donosi primjere najčešćih jezičnih pogrešaka (pisanje č i ć, pisanje dvoglasnika *ie*, pisanje velikog i malog slova, upotreba glagola, prijedloga i navezaka, razlikovanje živog i neživog, pogrešna upotreba negacije, inflacija internacionalizama, logičke pogreške), ali i jezične norme koja je prisutna u redakciji *24 sata* (102-111).
Treća cjelina „Vrijednosti i standardi novinarstva" autorice Sanje Modrić opisuje sedam standarda za prikupljanje i obradu informacija u svim izdanjima 24 sata, u kojima se uz analizu profesionalnih standarda donose i brojni savjeti za mlade kolege/novinare početnike. Tako prvi standard „Želimo utvrditi istinu" (115) naglašava važnost točnih podataka, razlikovanja informacije od stava, kao i provjere svih sadržaja (tekstualnih i vizualnih) prije objave. Odnos novinara i izvora temelji se na povjerenju koje može biti narušeno nenamjernim otkrivanjem identiteta. Stoga autorica savjetuje upotrebu flastera za obitelj i prijatelje kao najbolju zaštitu. Nadalje, u izvještavanju o političkim kampanjama i izborima treba voditi računa o porukama koje sadrže govor mržnje, kao i o prezentiranju

i interpretiranju rezultata predizbornih anketa (125). Od ostalih opasnosti za istinitost u izvještavanju navode se jednostrana priopćenja, brifinzi s izvorima koji potom traže anonimnost te poštivanje embarga. Glasine i anonimne dojave svakako treba provjeriti, naglašava Modrić (129), a dodatni problem može činiti opremanje teksta, kao i navođenje ispravka ili demantija. „Želimo raditi za javnost" (132) drugi je standard kojim se nastoji ispuniti javni interes, zatim kontrolirati vlast, organizacije i institucije s ciljem otkrivanja nezakonitog postupanja bilo kojeg aktera. Nadalje, važno je izbjegavati predrasude i diskriminaciju na bilo kojoj osnovi, a posebice u izvještajima o počiniteljima kaznenih djela (134). Suradnja s javnošću podrazumijeva objavljivanje njezina mišljenja, pod uvjetom da je istinito, a ne izmišljeno, ističe Modrić (135). „Želimo biti neovisni" (136) treći je standard koji neovisnost promatra kao jamstvo nepristranosti. Pritisci su jedan od izazova s kojima se novinari svakodnevno susreću, no važno je znati oduprijeti im se, ističe Modrić (137), što mogu samo obrazovani novinari. Nadalje, novinari su dužni izbjegavati svaku mogućnost sukoba interesa, s obzirom na to da sukob interesa može utjecati na njihovo djelovanje promjenom perspektive prema osobi/događaju o kojem se izvještava. Stoga je distanca prema izvorima, pa čak kada su u pitanju i članovi obitelji, najbolje rješenje. Nedopustivo je primanje ili traženje privilegija. „Želimo biti pošteni" (143) četvrti je standard koji ovaj priručnik zagovara, naglašavajući ulogu korektnosti kroz nekoliko dimenzija: prema javnosti, izvorima, poslovnim suradnicima, kolegama te konkurenciji. Poštenje može narušiti i iznošenje optužbi koje mogu biti motivirane brojnim razlozima, a time i narušiti vjerodostojnost medija. Manipulacija je moguća i tijekom intervjua, stoga je autorizacija tog oblika medijske komunikacije preduvjet jačanja povjerenja između obiju strana (149). Peti standard „Želimo biti obzirni" (150) odnosi se na poštivanje privatnosti osoba i njihova integriteta. Postoji li razlika u pravu na privatnost između javnih i privatnih osoba pitanje je koje se nameće. Obzirnost mora biti naglašena u izvještajima iz sudnice, prilikom komuniciranja sa žrtvama tragičnih događaja ili s ljudima nenaviklim na medije. Posebnu zaštitu identiteta zaslužuju djeca, mladi i bolesnici kako bi se izbjegla sekundarna viktimizacija. Donose se i smjernice za izvještavanje o samoubojstvima, ali i vjerskim osjećajima. „Želimo se držati redakcijskih procedura" (161) ističe se u sljedećem standardu, s obzirom na to da uređeni organizacijski ustroj, kao i timski rad, doprinose i boljem radnom učinku. Redakcijske procedure odnose se na poštivanje piramide odlučivanja, na čijem je vrhu urednik, zatim oslanjanje na kompetentnost autora za pokrivanje/praćenje određenog područja te isticanje autorstva kao svojevrsne legitimacije, ali i preuzimanja odgovornosti (163). Rad s novinarima obuhvaća proces mentoriranja mlađih kolega te jačanje debate kao doprinosa demokratizaciji (164). Nadalje, podsjeća se na to čemu služi zakonski okvir te da svaki novinar ima pravo na prigovor savjesti. Konačno, posljednja sedma skupina standarda „Teške povrede novinarske etike" (167) analizira postupke koji mogu diskreditirati profesiju ili medij za koji se izvještava, a neki od njih su: svjesno iznošenje laži, svjesno iskrivljavanje činjenica, prešućivanje, plagiranje, pogodovanje, mito te otkrivanje informacija trećim osobama.

Priručnik *Vodič za pisanje i savjeti za većinu „nerješivih" situacija u novinarskom poslu* na jednome mjestu sjedinjuje i rješava dileme s kojima se susreću mladi novinari na početku svog profesionalnog razvoja. Iako je riječ o internom priručniku medijske kuće čiji su sadržaji u znanstvenoj literaturi često prikazani u negativnome kontekstu s obzirom na uređivačku politiku i poslovni model, priručnik osigurava značajan doprinos u jačanju kvalitete

novinarskog pisanja. Kritičari će reći da govori o pisanju za izdanja 24 sata koje je drukčije i dominantno kraćih oblika medijske komunikacije, no djelo progovara o problemima zajedničkima većini novinara i urednika – kako oblikovati i distribuirati medijski sadržaj poštujući pritom profesionalna načela struke. Priručnik je namijenjen studentima novinarstva, komunikologije i ostalih medijskih studija te svima koji žele proučavati kreiranje medijskog sadržaja.

**Tanja Grmuša**

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Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier, Andreas Hepp, Ilija Tomanić Trivundža, Hannu Nieminen, Risto Kunelius, Tobias Olsson, Ebba Sundin and Richard Kilborn (eds)

**JOURNALISM, REPRESENTATION AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE**
edition lumière, Bremen, 2015, 295 pp
ISBN: 978-3-943245-37-0

As highlighted in the introduction written by Leif Kramp, Nico Carpentier and Andreas Hepp under the interesting title "Researching the Transformation of Societal Self-Understanding" this book focuses on "the challenges that are an intrinsic motif of transition periods like the one our societies, cultures and academia are currently experiencing in the face of digital media imperatives." In those terms, as pointed out by the authors, an important, "fundamental" question is raised "How does research reflect the never-ending flow of new ideas, drafts, risks and opportunities, overcoming borders and limits between crisis and euphoria?"

The answers to the question come in two parts of the book. The first, entitled "Research" covers, in total, five sections while the second part presents the abstracts of the doctoral projects discussed at the 2014 European Media and Communication Doctoral Summer School, in total 41 doctoral projects from 21 countries.

The first section Journalism and the News Media contains three chapters. Leif Kramp is the author of the chapter "The Rumbling Years. The Communicative Figurations Approach as a Heuristic Concept to Study – and Shape – the Transformation of Journalism" discusses "the profound transformation processes" that media digitisation has brought us and "that challenge journalism on various levels" faces in terms of the marginalisation of journalism "by other sources of information and an overall change of media use and appropriation." The second chapter "New Challenges for Journalism Education. A Contribution to UNESCO Politics" written by Bertrand Cabedoche considers journalism education, as well as the role played by UNESCO as a promoter of responsible journalism. The third chapter "Risk Discourse in News Media. Power to Define Danger?" by Eimantė Zolubienė "outlines a research design for systematically investigating the media's risk discourse as it appears across different areas such as economic, political, health, cultural, environmental or technological problems."

As the first section, the second section Representation and Everyday Life, presents three chapters. Ebba Sundin's "The Role of Media Content in Everyday Life. To confirm the nearby world and to shape the world beyond our reach" discusses four classic works (Walter Lippmann, Marshall McLuhan, James W. Carey and John B. Thompson) "with the focus on the assumptions of media's role in interpreting the world." The second chapter

"Media Representations of Suffering and Mobility. Mapping Humanitarian Imaginary Through Changing Patterns of Visibility" by Saiona Stoian, wishes to answer "how the visibility patterns of suffering, informed by the humanitarian imaginary, are further incorporated into a certain understanding of the mobility/immobility dialectic, and how this incorporation affects, in return, the way we view suffering." Maria Schreiber's chapter "The Smartphone is My Constant Companion". Digital photographic practices and the elderly" offers "an empirical example that combines the analysis of text and picture" to show "how a sixty-two-year-old woman adopted the smartphone as her "constant companion" and her use of photography.

Section three entitled Public Sphere, Space and Politics has four chapters. "Bringing Qualities Back in. Towards a New Analytical Approach for Examining the Transnationalisation of Public Spheres" by Alexandra Polownikow develops "a normative argumentation and an analytical concept to further the study of the transnationalisation of the public sphere by incorporating media content qualities." In chapter "Three Levels of the Crisis of the Media – and a Way Out" written by Hannu Nieminen the fundamentally changed role of the media over the past 30 years is discussed and "two main scenarios of the future role of the media, one pessimistic and one optimistic" are offered as answers. The chapter "Beyond Space and Place. The Challenge of Urban Space to Urban Media Studies" by Simone Tosoni tackles the extension of "the phenomenological conceptualisation of space into a fully-fledged relational one" in order to overcome its limitations. In the final chapter of the section entitled "Employing a Rhetorical Approach to the Practice of Audience Research on Political Communication", Magnus Hoem Iversen argues "that the tradition of rhetoric includes certain perspectives that can be employed in the 'cultural tradition and reception analysis' – especially if one's area of inquiry is different forms of political communication" and how "one should further examine how rhetoric can strengthen contemporary reception analysis." In these terms he offers two approaches, also called concepts.

Section four Rethinking Media Studies offers three chapters. First, "Socialist Feminism and Media Studies. An Outdated Theory or Contemporary Debate?" by Georgina Newton examines "the origins and criticisms of early socialist feminism" as well as "the more recent developments." Irena Reifová's chapter "Theoretical Framework for the Study of Memory in Old and New Media Age" deals with the "discipline of memory studies" and wants to "shed light on concepts which are useful starting points for enquiry into connections between memory and the workings of communication media." Using Estonia as an example, the third chapter "I Have Nothing to Hide. A Coping Strategy in a Risk Society" by Maria Murumaa-Mengel, Katrin Laas-Mikko and Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt "explores how the "nothing to hide" argument can be conceptualised as a coping strategy in complex informational privacy situations."

The last section is entitled Academic Practice and has three chapters. Nico Carpentier is the author of the first chapter "Recognising Difference in Academia. The Sqridge as a Metaphor for Agonistic Interchange" that reflects on various "conflicts in academia" such as "political and paradigmatic conflict, struggles between critical and administrative research, as well as linguistic, cultural, organisational, personal, resource-driven and competition-driven conflicts."

In the chapter "A Practical Guide to Using Visuals to Enhance Oral Presentations in an Academic Context" François Heinderyckx "offers guidance in deciding whether or not a

presentation should be accompanied by visual aids." The last chapter of the book "The Digitisation of Science. Remarks on the alteration of academic practice" by Leif Kramp, analyses how digitisation fundamentally changes academic practice.

The second part of the book that offers abstracts of doctoral projects by PhD students is an important additional feature of the book as it provides young scholars with the opportunity to show their work and receive evaluation and equally important feedback.

**Dunja Majstorović**

# INFORMACIJE

*INFORMATION*

6th International Conference
**COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES IN TODAY'S WORLD**


**CALL FOR PAPERS**


Time: **April 17–19, 2018**
Place: **St. Petersburg, Russia**
Working language: **English**


Theme for 2018:
**Emotions vs. Rationality in Mediated Discussions**


Emotions have always been part of the public discourse as a key baking agent polarizing social groups, helping to aggregate interests, and shaping decision-making. From protest solidarity to compassion fatigue, it is the emotions that distance the public sphere from its reason-based ideal and at the same time make the discussions more appealing to media audiences. And while rationality has produced a major line in media studies, emotions *per se* have been a smaller research focus. Today, we still lack knowledge on how emotional and rational arguments go together in mediated discussions, especially in comparative perspective.

And this lack has become even more acute in the 2010s, with the extreme 'emotionalization' of election campaigns and referenda, 'border-building thinking', the new rise of international militant rhetoric,, use of televised shock by terrorists, and affective debates on social networks virtually everywhere including the USA, Europe, Russia, and the Middle East. In the climate of information spinning and alt-news, the Habermassian all-encompassing public sphere seems impossible as never before. But at the same time, computer-mediated communication has opened doors for cross-cultural solidarity campaigning on inequalities and human rights, as well as to opportunities of visual ad audiovisual expression of feelings on a mass scale.

Thus, the conference is seeking contributions that deal with rationality, irrationality, emotions and affects in mediated communication. We especially welcome comparative research but do not limit ourselves to it, as case studies may be crucial for understanding trends. The aim of the conference is to go beyond statements on 'fake news' and 'propaganda reborn' and to look deeper into causes and consequences of the communicative shifts of the recent times. We hope to link communication researchers to their colleagues in wider social sciences, including sociology, public memory studies, social psychology, and international relations, as well as to linguists, mathematicians, and computer scientists interested in media research.

In 2018, the conference will have three tracks:
>The 'Theory' track, traditional for the conference, will deal with emotionality and rationality in communication from a variety of theoretical perspectives.
>The 'Political&Social' track will explore the linkages between emotionality in politics and that in political communication, emotions in political talk in media and social communicative milieus, rationality and affect in public argumentation, and other aspects of emotionalized media discussions on the issues of today's agendas.
>The 'Tech&Methods' track will focus on detecting emotions and linking it to other methodologies of social research including (but not limited to) automated methods such as social network analysis, detection of discussion topics, or user homophily studies. Here, the goal is to link the methods and the national/comparative contexts for better understanding of the changes in communication around the world.

**Deadlines and other dates**

Please send us an abstract of **max 300 words** specifying the scope, method, and main results of your research paper by **January 15, 2018** to applicationspb2017@spbu.ru as MS Word or Adobe Acrobat files attached to the letter.

All applications will be double-blind peer-reviewed, so please attach the names, titles, contact details, and affiliations of the authors on a separate sheet.

January 26, 2018 – notifications of acceptance and informing on visa support
February 10, 2018 – deadline to confirm participation
February 15, 2018 – deadline for sending in the documents for visa support
February 20, 2018 – deadline for accommodation advice
March 1, 2018 – deadline for early-bird registration
April 1, 2018 – deadline for regular registration
Please note that there will be no on-site registration payment procedures; please ensure your participation by paying the participation fee before April 1, 2018.

*More information at:* http://eng.jf.spbu.ru/comparative_media_studies/284.html

**Conference Call
Centres and Peripheries:
Communication, Research, Translation**

ECREA
2018
Lugano

**ECREA's 7th European Communication Conference**

**The European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) in partnership with USI Università della Svizzera italiana call for proposals to be presented at the 7th European Communication Conference, to be held in Lugano, Switzerland, from 31 October to 3 November 2018.**

ECREA and USI are delighted to host the 7th European Communication Conference (ECC). The Conference has chosen the key theme of "Centres and Peripheries: Communication, Research, Translation". Organisers call for proposals that address the main conference theme and which relate to each ECREA Section, Network or Temporary Working Group.

### Conference theme

This conference aims to analyse and to address the theme
**"Centres and Peripheries: Communication, Research, Translation"**
in communication from a multiplicity of perspectives.

**First**, the conference examines the issues of "core" and "margins", inviting scholars to stretch the boundaries of media and communication research as an academic discipline. We welcome presentation of research that seeks to take communication and media studies to new territories and new fields of application.

"Stretching" media and communication research means bringing attention to underdeveloped fields of research and bringing theories, approaches and methods from other academic fields and disciplines into view. Academic subjects previously not concerned with aspects of mediated communication now acknowledge the role of media and communication processes for their discipline. This is both a challenge and an opportunity for the future role and socio-cultural impact of media and communication research.

**Second**, the key conference theme of centres and peripheries means reconsidering geographical, cultural and linguistic borders or boundaries. Many areas of media and communication research have been dominated by American and European scholarship,

but these traditions can learn methodological and theoretical insights coming, for example, from Asian, South American and African research. In this regard, as the subtitle of the conference emphasizing "translation" suggests, this also requires re-examination in the continual dominance of the English language in academic affairs. There is no doubt that the English language has become the *lingua franca* in the scientific community, allowing scholars from different countries to communicate and to access each other's work. Nevertheless, the English language-centrality needs to be questioned and discussed in a plurilingual setting such as the Swiss context and, in particular, when findings in other languages are marginalized, considered peripheral or less important. This is why special panels addressing this topic will be organised during the conference.

Reconsidering borders, however, goes beyond mere reflection and deals with the materiality of communication flows. In the present global context of migration and mobility, and where terms such as flow, mobility, multi-cultural, multi-perspective, transcultural, hybrid and fragmented are ubiquitous, the issue of what we consider as communicative centres and peripheries is highly important. We thus also invite contributions that focus on the stability and fragility of the concepts of "centre" and "periphery". This topic addresses historical and spatial instability, understanding and explaining how certain physical or immaterial entities become centres – or peripheries – for certain issues in critical times (e.g., the Silicon Valley for technological innovation related to the Internet, online communication and network societies).

**Third**, the key concepts of centres and peripheries in communication are associated with economic and political power. Communication flows often go from rich (central) countries to poor (peripheral) ones. Within single countries distribution of resources are often unequal in terms of information and connectedness between privileged and unprivileged areas (e.g., urban peripheries and rural areas). People in disadvantaged areas are often excluded by flows, forms and practices of communication that are taken-for-granted in richer regions. In this regard, we also welcome contributions addressing European "divides", exclusions or fights for inclusion from a communication perspective.

### Submission and deadline
Proposals for individual papers, panels, and posters can be submitted to one of ECREA Sections, Temporary Working Groups and Networks through the ECREA 2018 submission platform until **28 February 2018**.

*More information at:* http://www.ecrea2018lugano.eu/

## IAMCR 2018 | 20-24 June | Eugene, Oregon, USA | Call For Proposals

The International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) invites submissions of abstracts for papers and panel proposals for the IAMCR 2018 conference to be held 20-24 June at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon, USA. The deadline to submit abstracts is 23:59 UTC on **31 January 2018**.

Proposals for consideration by IAMCR's thematic sections and working groups must be submitted via the Open Conference System.

**Reimagining Sustainability: Communication and Media Research in a Changing World**

IAMCR conferences address a wide diversity of topics defined by our 31 thematic sections and working groups. We also propose a single central theme to be explored throughout the conference with the aim of generating and exploring multiple perspectives on a shared set of issues. This is accomplished through plenary and special sessions, and in the meetings of the sections and working groups. For IAMCR 2018, the central theme is *Reimagining Sustainability: Communication and Media Research in a Changing World.*

As part of its Sustainable Development Agenda, the United Nations defines sustainability as harmonizing three core elements, environmental protection, social inclusion, and economic growth, so as to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It calls for concerted efforts towards building an equitable and resilient future for people and planet.

There is an immediate need to promote responsible and sustainable management of natural resources and ecosystems that incorporate local and global reflection and action. This inevitably raises urgent issues of entrenched power, social justice, democracy, and the need to eradicate poverty, raise basic living standards, and address the present climate crisis.

This ambition is currently under attack. In spite of overwhelming scientific evidence, climate change denial is used to build public support for unsustainable environmental practices and policies while corporate greenwashing promotes the perception that these practices and policies are in fact environmentally friendly. Encouraged by the rise of populism and ever-smaller media bubbles, intolerance is on the upswing around the world. Inequality is outpacing economic growth. Wealth is ever more concentrated.

We find it imperative in these times that IAMCR and its members expand and extend our understanding of current and emerging models of sustainability, the struggles that surround them, and their multiple relationships with communication and media.

We encourage proposals that address these intersections by revising and remixing theories, practices, and institutions that move beyond merely sustaining – towards thriving societies and cultures. How are they contended, globally, nationally and locally, by actors that include governments, industry, advocacy organisations, community groups, and the environmental justice movement? The State of Oregon, for example, has a history of commitment to sustainability and the environment. When the Trump administration announced its intention to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, signed by 194 other countries, Oregon, along with 23 US states and territories representing more

than 50% of the country's population and responsible for 40% of its $CO_2$ emissions, broke with the federal government and committed to supporting the agreement. Worldwide grassroots community groups and activists are coming together in an emerging environmental justice movement committed to sustainability, but also to social change.

The role of communication and media in both promoting and impeding sustainability has increasingly been the focus of commentary and research. Material communication systems consume energy in their manufacture and use, contribute to problems of pollution and waste, and in their dominant commercial forms, support and encourage a general culture of unsustainable hyperconsumption. What alternatives would advance the full and equal access to diverse information and comprehensive knowledge bases that UNESCO advocates as central to achieving sustainable societies?

We encourage participants to address these issues, in relation to both prevailing systems of communication and the systems now emerging around the application of artificial intelligence, the rise of automation and robotics, and the internet of things. We also welcome analysis that reassesses and reimagines sustainability in relation to openness, transparency, accessibility, and the recomposition of power, as we continue to explore the implications of media and communication in an interconnected world.

### The conference venue

The University of Oregon in the Pacific Northwest offers an ideal location to discuss these issues. The university is a national leader in campus sustainability through the efforts of administration, faculty, staff, students and the larger community and is actively engaged in greening facility operations, innovative research, supporting and encouraging student initiatives, implementing environmentally and sustainability focused curriculum, and sponsoring public service initiatives.

The City of Eugene takes a comprehensive approach that places equal importance on advancing social equity, economic prosperity, and environmental health. It is home to a number of grassroots initiatives for sustainability.

The State of Oregon has a long history of commitment, vision, and innovation to sustainable lifestyles locally as well as addressing global climate change.

We look forward to IAMCR members engaging with these issues at the 2018 conference hosted by the University of Oregon, in Eugene, Oregon.

### Submission of Abstracts

Each Section and Working Group of IAMCR has issued its own Call for Papers, based on the general thematic outline above. Abstracts should be submitted from 9 November 2017 through 31 January 2018. Both individual and panel submissions are welcome and early submission is strongly encouraged.

### Deadline

The deadline for submission of abstracts is **31 January 2018** and will not be extended. Decisions on acceptance of abstracts will be communicated to applicants by their Section or Working Group Heads no later than **15 March 2018.**

*More information at:* http://oregon2018.iamcr.org/

**Upute suradnicima**

Interdisciplinarni časopis *Medijske studije* otvara prostor za međunarodnu znanstvenu i stručnu raspravu o medijima, komunikacijama, novinarstvu te odnosima s javnošću unutar kulturnog, povijesnog, političkog i/ili ekonomskog konteksta. Na suradnju su pozvani autori čiji radovi (prilozi) ispunjavaju kriterij relevantnosti i znanstvene izvrsnosti. Radovi ne smiju biti djelomično ili u cijelosti već objavljeni, ne smiju biti u procesu objavljivanja u nekom drugom časopisu, zborniku, knjizi i sl., niti smiju biti prijevod takvih radova. Za sve navedeno autori preuzimaju odgovornost. Uvjet za objavu rada u časopisu jesu dvije anonimne, pozitivne recenzije međunarodnih medijskih stručnjaka.

Radovi se šalju isključivo u DOC formatu elektroničkom poštom na adresu: ms@fpzg.hr. Zbog anonimnih recenzija u posebnom dokumentu treba poslati ime, odnosno imena autora/autorica s mjestom zaposlenja, podatcima za kontakt (adresa/telefon/e-adresa) te kratku biografiju.

Radovi moraju biti napisani na hrvatskom ili engleskom jeziku, fontom Times New Roman, veličina 12, prored 1,5. Sve stranice trebaju biti numerirane. Na prvoj stranici trebaju biti ispisani naslov rada te sažetak koji upućuje na zadaće i cilj rada, metode istraživanja te najvažnije rezultate (100 do 150 riječi s popisom ključnih 5 do 6 riječi), sve na hrvatskom i na engleskom jeziku. Na dnu stranice u bilješci možete navesti zahvale kao i detalje o projektu (naziv i broj), ukoliko je članak nastao kao dio nekog projekta. Očekivani opseg rada (uključujući bilješke, bibliografiju i mjesta za grafičke priloge) je između 5000 i 6000 riječi. Citirani izvori navode se u tekstu (a ne u bilješkama) u skraćenom obliku, npr. (Dahlgren, 2009: 67) ili (Gillespie i Toynbee, 2006). Kod više bibliografskih jedinica istog autora iz iste godine, navodi se: (2006a), (2006b), (2006c) itd. Na kraju teksta pod naslovom *Literatura* navodi se samo citirana literatura, abecednim redom. Obavezno navedite DOI broj uz svaku bibliografsku jedinicu koja ga ima.

**Knjige:** autor (godina) *naslov*. mjesto: izdavač.

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**Poglavlje u knjizi ili članak u zborniku:** autor (godina) naslov, stranice, u: urednici knjige (ur.) *naslov*. mjesto: izdavač.

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**Dokumenti s interneta:** autor ili institucija ili naziv mrežne stranice (godina) *Naslov*. Ime projekta ili dokumenta ako postoji. link (DD.MM.GGGG. = datum kada ste pristupili poveznici).

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Dahlgren, Peter (2009) *Media and Political Engagement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ćapeta, Tamara and Rodin, Siniša (2011) *Osnove prava Europske unije (Introduction to European Union Law)*. Zagreb: Narodne novine.

**Journal Articles:** author (year) title (English translation). *journal* volume (number): pages.

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Ridgeout, Victoria, Foehr, Ulla and Roberts, Donald (2010) *Generation M²: Media in the Lives of 8- to 18- Years Olds*. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. http://kff.org/other/poll-finding/report-generation-m2-media-in-the-lives/ (28.10.2013).

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